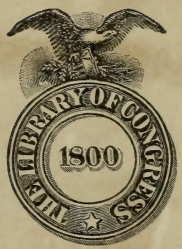

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Annals of the West

Embracing a concise account of

Principal Events

which have occurred in the

Western States & Territories

from the

Discovery of the Mississippi Valley

to the

Year Eighteen Hundred & Fifty-six

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and published by

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PREFACE.

The popularity and apparent demand, throughout our country, for a volume such as the compiler now presents to the public, was a principal, though not the strongest inducement for preparing a third edition at this time—and from the point now selected for its publication.

The projector of these Annals has been most anxious to correct errors, unavoidable in former editions, and to embrace in the present his entire original plan. To secure greater facilities for that accurate knowledge of the early Western Settlements by the English, so necessary in the compilation of a reliable work on the subject, Pittsburgh was selected as the most eligible place of publication. The first edition was issued at Cincinnati, where he was assisted by the lamented James H. Perkins, a gentlemen highly competent for the task. That volume was, however, necessarily incomplete, embracing only the central portion of the West.

A desire to include in its pages a more full account of events connected with the early history of Illinois, Missouri and other communities, induced him, at a later period, to prepare a second edition, which was issued a few years ago in St. Louis, and included a thorough revision of the former issue, with considerable additions—in which he had the valuable assistance of Rev. J. M. Peck, a gentleman whose long residence in the Far West, and familiarity with the history of those portions less elaborately treated of in the first edition, rendered him admirably qualified for the undertaking.

Although the author claims credit for but little more originality than that displayed in the *plan* of the work now

presented, he has devoted much time and more labor than most of his readers, unacquainted by experience with such tasks, will give him credit for, in its compilation—to which he brings the knowledge acquired by the observation of thirty-five years in the extensive Mississippi Valley, and by visits to nearly every memorable spot connected with its early history.

Although not arranged in *strict* accordance with the plan originally projected, it is believed this new and greatly extended edition, for general accuracy, and especially for fullness of detail, may be fairly commended to the reader, as worthy of attention, as a work for perusal and future reference.

While it is not pretended, in view of the necessary imperfection of all human works, that the volume is wholly free from errors and imperfections, the author has endeavored to procure all the facts detailed or in any way alluded to in its pages, from the most reliable sources and the best authorities; it will be found to contain a faithful narrative of the prominent events in Western History, deserving of the perusal, not only of the millions who occupy its fertile acres, but of every American—and especially of the

YOUNG MEN OF OUR COUNTRY,

TO WHOM

THIS VOLUME

IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

PITTSBURGH, October, 1856.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

1512. Ponce de Leon discovers Florida.

1516. Diego Miruelo visits Florida.

1530. Vasquez de Ayllon kidnaps the natives for slaves.
Pamphilo de Narvaez goes to Florida.

1535. Jacques Cartier enters and explores the St. Lawrence.

1538. De Soto asks leave to conquer Florida.

1539. De Soto reaches Tampa Bay.
De Soto reaches Appalachee Bay.

1540. De Soto in Georgia.
De Soto reaches Mavilla on the Alabama.

1541. De Soto reaches Mississippi.
De Soto crosses Mississippi and rambles westward.
De Soto changes his course westward and southward.

1542. De Soto travels eastward toward Mississippi.
De Soto reaches Mississippi and dies.

1543. His followers attempt to reach Mexico by land, and fail.
They arrive on the coast of Mexico by water.

1544. De Biedma presents his account of De Soto's expedition to the King of Spain.

1562. Florida settled by French colonists.

1565. Pedro Melandez de Avilez establishes St. Augustine.
Avilez, by order of the King of Spain, exterminates the Huguenots of Florida.
Dominic de Gourges, a French catholic, avenges his countrymen.

1608. Quebec founded by S. Champlain.

1613. Montreal Island settled.

1616. Le Caron explores Upper Canada.

1630. Charles I. grants Carolana to Sir Robert Heath.

1634. First Mission founded on the eastern shore of Lake Huron.
Brebœuf, Lallemand and Daniel, Missionaries, arrive at Lake Huron.

1635. Missionaries visit the Sault Ste. Marie.

1636. St. Joseph, St. Louis and St. Ignatius missions established.

1640. Raymbault and Pigart follow to the West.

1641. Canadian envoys first meet North West at the Sault Ste. Marie.

1647. Sieur de Longneville, with a small company, it is said, was at Fox River Rapids. (doubtful.)

1654. Father Simon Le Moine discovered the Onondago Saline.
Fur traders from Montreal penetrate the Western Lakes.

1659. Two French traders passed the winter on the shores of Lake Superior.

1660. Rene Mesnard coasts the Southern shore of Lake Superior.
Mesnard establishes the missions of Ste. Theresa and Chegoimegon.

1661. Mesnard perished in the forest, of cold and hunger.

1663. Colonel Wood's alleged travels.

1665. Tracy made viceroy of New France.
Allouez founds first permanent station on Lake Superior.

1667. La Salle first arrives in Canada from France.

1668. Claude Dablon and Jacques Marquette plant mission of Ste Marie.

1670. N. Perrot is ordered West by the Intendant to propose a congress of Lake Indians.
Alleged travels of Captain Bolt.

1671. Grand council at the Sault Ste. Marie.
French take formal possession of the North West.
Marquette establishes permanently the mission of St. Ignatius.

1672. Allouez and Dablon visited Green Bay and all the Western shore of Lake Michigan.

1673. Marquette and his companions leave Mackinac to seek the Mississippi.
Marquette and his companions cross from Fox river to Wisconsin.
Marquette and his companions reach Mississippi.
Marquette and his companions meet Illinois Indians.
Marquette and his companions reach Arkansas.
Marquette and his companions leave on return to Mackinac.
Marquette and Joilet at Des Moines, (as supposed.)
Marquette at and alone about Chicago.

1675. Marquette dies on the Eastern shore of Lake Michigan.
La Salle returns to France.

1676. La Salle again in Canada and rebuilds Fort Frontenac.

1677. La Salle visits France a second time.

1678. La Salle and Tonti sail for Canada.
La Salle and Tonti arrive at Quebec.
La Salle and Tonti cross Lake Ontario.
Persons from New England said to have explored the South West.

1679. La Salle loses his stores in Lake Ontario.
The Griffin sails up Lake Erie through the straits to Huron.
La Salle and his party encountered dreadful storms on Lake Huron.
The Griffin miraculously saved, arrives at Mackinac.
The party weigh anchor and sail to Green Bay.
The Griffin laden and sent back to Niagara.
La Salle with part of his men commences voyage up Lake Michigan.
They reach the head of Lake Michigan and discover the St. Josephs river.
During November build Fort Miamies at mouth of St. Josephs river.
Reinforced by Tonti, they ascend the St. Josephs and cross to Kankakee.

1680. La Salle and his party in Peoria Lake.
La Salle, under great depression of mind, builds and names Fort Crevecœur.
Hennepin sent to explore the Mississippi.
La Salle commences his journey, returning to Canada.
M. Hennepin on the Upper Mississippi.
Tonti commences building Fort St. Louis.
Hostility of the Iroquois obliges Tonti to leave the country.
La Salle returns to Illinois.
Hennepin returns to Canada.

1681. La Salle and Tonti meet at Mackinac.
La Salle a third time goes westward.
La Salle at St. Josephs again.
La Salle goes by Chicago to Illinois river.
La Salle finds Fort Crevecœur in good condition.

1682. La Salle goes from Chicago westward
La Salle on banks of the Mississippi.
La Salle descends Mississippi.
La Salle discovers mouths of Mississippi.
La Salle takes possession by process verbal.
La Salle returns to St. Josephs, of Michigan.
La Salle intends to ascend the Mississippi with a colony.

1683. La Salle leaves Illinois for Quebec.
La Salle immediately sails for France, at Rochelle, in December.

1684. La Salle sails from France for mouth of Mississippi.
La Salle reaches St. Domingo.
La Salle sails from St. Domingo for mouth of Mississippi.
La Salle discovers the main land.
The Iroquois place themselves under England.

1685. La Salle in the Gulf of Mexico.
La Salle sends party on shore to go eastward for mouth of Mississippi.
La Salle reaches Matagorda Bay.
Beaujeu sails for France, leaving La Salle in great distress.
La Salle building in Texas; unfortunate.
La Salle in person searches for the Mississippi.

1686. La Salle returns to Matagorda Bay.
La Salle goes again to seek the Mississippi.
Tonti goes down Mississippi to meet La Salle.
La Salle returns unsuccessful.

1687. La Salle leaves for Mississippi the third time.
La Salle sends men to look for stores.
La Salle follows and is killed by those men.
His murderers quarrel and slay one another.
Seven of La Salle's best companions leave the main body.
The seven proceed toward Mississippi, and reach Arkansas.
They reach Fort St. Louis, on the Illinois river.
La Salle's death was not published until next year.

1688. La Salle's former companions leave Fort St. Louis, for Quebec.
Thence they sail for France, and arrive at Rochelle, in October.
Population of all French North America, about 12,000.

1689. War of the European alliance.
D'Iberville victorious on Hudson's Bay.

1690. D'Iberville invades English Colony of New York.

1693. Rev. Gravier, a Missionary at Kaskaskia, Illinois.
Kaskaskia founded by Gravier; date unknown.
Cahokia settlement prior to Kaskaskia; date likewise unknown.

1697. Treaty between France and England, and peace of Ryswick.

1698. D'Iberville appointed Governor of Louisiana.
Bienville appointed Intendant of Louisiana.
Dr. Coxe sends two vessels toward the Mississippi.

1699. D'Iberville at the Bay of Mobile.
D'Iberville enters the Mississippi.
D'Iberville sails for France.
Bienville sounds Mississippi and meets English.
Fort L'Huillier built on Blue Earth river, Minnesota.

1700. D'Iberville returns from France.
D'Iberville goes up the Mississippi to Natchez.
D'Iberville sends Le Seur to St. Peter's, in search of copper mine.

1701. De la Motte Cadillac founds Detroit.
D'Iberville founds a colony on Mobile river.
Iroquois again place themselves under England.

1702. Fort built on the Bay of Mobile.

1705. Colony much reduced by sickness.

1706. D'Iberville at Havana on a voyage to France.
Bienville Governor, pro tem.

1707. First grant of lands at Detroit.

1708. D'Artaguette in Louisiana.

1710. Governor Spottswood, of Virginia, explores the Alleghenies.

1712. War between the French and their allies, and the Ottagamie and Mascoutens Indians.
Monopoly of Louisiana granted to Crozat.
Tuscaroras admitted in confederacy with Iroquois.

1713. Treaty of Utrecht, leaving boundary between colonies unsettled.

1714. Fort Rosalie (Natchez) commenced.

1717. Crozat resigns his privilege of monopoly.
Fort Chartres commenced—first a wooden structure.
Louisiana trade granted to Company of West.
New Orleans commenced.
John Law connected with Company of the West.

1718. Emigrants augment the population of New Orleans.
Renault leaves France for Illinois.

1719. Company of the West made Company of the Indies.
Governor Keith, of Pennsylvania, urges the building a Fort on Lake Erie.

1720. Law made minister of finance.
Stock of Company of the Indies worth 2050 per cent.
Stock commences depreciation.
Company of the Indies bankrupt.
Charlevoix arrives in America and lands at Quebec.
Renault buys slaves at St. Domingo for working mines in Illinois.
Mine La Motte, Missouri, discovered and wrought.
Spanish invasion of Missouries from Santa Fe.
Spaniards totally defeated and all except a single individual slain.
La Harpe explores Washita and Arkansas.

1721. Charlevoix at Montreal.
Charlevoix at the Falls of Niagara.
Charlevoix at Fort de Pontchartrain, (Detroit.)
Charlevoix at Mackinac.
Charlevoix at the Fort on St. Josephs river.
Charlevoix at the source of the Theakiki, (Kankakee.)
Charlevoix at Pimiteouy, (Peoria.)
Charlevoix at Kaskaskia.
Charlevoix at Natchez.

1722. English erect a trading post at Oswego.
Charlevoix at New Orleans.
Charlevoix at Biloxi.

1726. Iroquois a third time place themselves under England.

1727. English build a Fort at Oswego.

1729. French among the Natchez, murdered.

1730. Natchez conquered and destroyed.
Alleged travels of Salling in the West.
Governor Keith earnestly recommends securing West to England.

1732. Company of Indies resign Louisiana to the king.

1735. Vincennes settled according to some authorities.

1736. Expedition of French against Chickasaws.
D'Artaguette conquered and slain.
Vincennes, Senat and D'Artaguette burned.
Bienville fails in assault on Chickasaws, and retreats.

1739. French collect to attack the Chickasaws.

1740. Peace between French and Chickasaws.
Lanse d'la Grasse (at New Madrid) supposed to have been inhabited.

1742. John Howard is said to have gone down Ohio river.

1744. Treaty of English and Iroquois at Lancaster.
Vaudreuil fears English influence in the West.
Renault returns to France.

1745. Pierre Chartier conciliates Shawanese and French.

1748. Chickasaws attack French post on Arkansas.
Conrad Weiser sent to the Ohio.
Ohio Land Company formed.
Pierre Chartier instigates war between Iroquois and Shawanese.
English establish a trading post on Great Miami, Ohio.
Excessively cold, stormy, and severe winter.

1749. Grant of land to Loyal Company.
Celeron sent to bury medals along the Ohio river.

1750. English traders it is said were made prisoners at Great Miami.
Twigtwee or Miami Indians killed by French soldiers.
Both time and place are uncertain.
English driven from their station on Miami, by the French.
Twigtwee or Miami Indians defend the English and are killed.
Large shipments of products from Illinois to New Orleans.
Five French villages in Illinois.
Forty sailing vessels at New Orleans.
Dr. Walker explores Kentucky.

1751. Christopher Gist, (it is believed,) explored the interior of Ohio.
Gist surveyed land south of Ohio river, east of Kanawha.
Gen. Andrew Lewis surveyed for Greenbriar Company.

1752. French again attack English post on Great Miami, (doubtful.)
Treaty at Logstown.—Indians confirm Lancaster Treaty of 1744.
Families locate West of the Alleghenies.
French organize an army to occupy the Upper Ohio.

1753. French build Fort Presqu' Isle.
French build Fort Le Bœuf.
Fort Venango commenced.
Pennsylvania Assembly informed of French movements.
Commissioner sent to warn French; stops at Logstown.
French sent with arms for friendly Indians.
Colonies authorized to resist French by force.
Treaty with North-Western Indians at Winchester.
Treaty at Carlisle with Iroquois, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies and Wyandots.
Ohio Company open line at Braddock's road.
Washington commissioned to bear message to French commandant.

1753. Washington leaves Will's creek for Fort Venango.
Washington on Monongahela, at Turtle creek.
Washington makes accurate observation at the junction of the two rivers.
Washington at Logstown engages Indian chief to accompany him.
Washington at Venango directed to proceed to Le Bœuf.
Washington reaches French commandant at Le Bœuf.
Great number of boats containing French army passes Oswego.
Washington leaves French commandant to return to Virginia.

1754. Washington at Gist's house on Monongahela.
Washington at Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia.
Troops called into service by Virginia.
French fort at Venango finished.
English commence building a fort at the junction.
Contrecœur demands surrender of the English.
Ensign Ward capitulates; is permitted to leave, together with his men and stores.
Virginia troops moving westward.
Washington crosses Alleghenies.
Washington attacks and kills Jumonville.
New York sends £5,000 to Virginia.
Washington at Fort Necessity.
Washington surrenders Fort Necessity.
Washington retires to Mount Vernon.
French hold the whole West.

1755. France proposes a compromise.
Braddock lands at Alexandria in Virginia.
France and England sent fleets to America.
Braddock's army marches by two routes westward.
Expedition against Nova Scotia leaves Boston.
Braddock arrives at Fort Cumberland.
Braddock marches from Fort Cumberland.
Braddock reaches the Monongahela.
Braddock re-crosses Monongahela, meets French and Indians, and is defeated.
Braddock died at the Great Meadows.

1756. Fort Chartres rebuilt; a strong stone structure.
Lewis' Expedition against the Ohio Indians, and failure.
Indians fill the valley of Virginia.
War formally declared between France and England.
Armstrong's Expedition against Kittanning.
First Indian treaty held at Easton.
Monsieur Donville defeated and slain.

1757. Massacre at Fort William Henry.
Pitt made Prime Minister.

1758. Fort Stanwix built.
Louisburg and Fort Frontenac taken.
Post leaves for the Ohio river to conciliate Indians.
Post encounters much fatigue and danger.
Post arrives at Kuskushkee, and goes to Fort Du Quesne.
Post confers with Indians near Fort Du Quesne.

1758. Grant defeated near Fort Du Quesne.
Washington opening a road over the mountains.
French and Indians attack Forbes at Loyalhanna.
Forbes marches from Loyalhanna to Turtle creek.
Post's second mission to Ohio Indians.
French burn and retire from Fort Du Quesne.
Forbes takes possession of the Forks. (Pittsburgh.)
English erect temporary works; Forbes returns to Philadelphia.
Col. H. Mercer left in command.
Cherokee Indians become hostile to Colonists.

1759. Forbes dies at Philadelphia.
D'Aubry brings army stores and troops from Illinois to Venango.
Garrison at Fort Pitt fear the French at Venango.
Gen. Stanwix arrives at Fort Pitt.
Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara and Quebec yield.

1760. The French yield Canada to the English.
Cherokee war against south-west Colonies.
Gen. Monkton treats with the Indians at Fort Pitt.
Settlers again go over the mountains.
Rogers takes possession of Detroit.
Rogers returns across Ohio to Fort Pitt.

1761. Death of Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix.
Alexander Henry, Indian trader, visits N. West.
Christian F. Post goes to settle on Tuscarawas river.

1762. Bouquet warns all persons from settling on Indian lands.
Post and Heckewelder go to Tuscarawas.
Dark day at Detroit.
Preliminaries to Peace of Paris settled.
Louisiana transferred to Spain.
The Canadas contain upward of 100,000 souls.

1763. Mason and Dixon commence to survey line between Pennsylvania and Maryland.
Treaty of Paris concluded.
Detroit attacked by Pontiac.
Mackinac taken by Indians.
Presqu' Isle (Erie) taken by Indians.
Sandusky, Fort, surprised and taken by Indians.
St. Josephs Fort, on St. Josephs river, taken by Pottawattamies.
Ouiatenon garrison surrendered—were not massacred.
Fort Miami (near Fort Wayne) garrison made prisoners.
Fort at Green Bay evacuated and garrison escaped.
Le Bœuf attacked, fort burnt, garrison escaped.
The date of the massacre at forts at Venango not known.
Battle of Bushy Run.
Fort Pitt besieged, and relieved by Bouquet.
Proclamation to protect Indian lands.
Laclede arrives at Ste. Genevieve.
Laclede selects site of St. Louis.
Forts Bedford and Ligonier attacked; not taken.

1764. St. Louis founded by Laclede.
Bradstreet makes dishonorable peace with Northern Indians.
Bouquet makes peace with Ohio Indians.
French Officers ordered to give up Lower Louisiana to Spain.

1765. Sir William Johnson makes treaty at German Flats.
George Croghan goes westward.
Croghan made prisoner at the Wabash.
Captain Stirling, for England, takes possession of Illinois.
Proclamation of Governor Gage.

1765. } First families known to be at Pittsburgh.
1766. }

1766. "*Quebec Bill*" passed in the British Parliament.
Capt. Jonathan Carver explored the unknown North-West.
Settlers again cross the Mountains.
Walpole Company proposed.
Col. James Smith visits Kentucky.
Capt. Pitman arrives in Illinois.
Mason and Dixon's Line finished to Dunker Creek.

1767. Western Indians grow impatient.
Franklin labors for Walpole Company.
Finley visits Kentucky.
Zeisberger founds Mission on the Allegheny.
Gen. Bouquet died at Pensacola.
Mason and Dixon ceased surveying line between Pennsylvania and Maryland.
English traders first visit Assiniboine river.

1768. Treaty of Fort Stanwix—grand acquisition of lands from Indians.
Capt. Pitman still at Illinois.
Capt. Carver returns from the North-West.
Indian treaty at Pittsburgh.
Severe penal laws, to prevent settlement on Indian lands.

1769. Mississippi Company proposed.
Boone and others start for Kentucky.
Boone and others reach Red river, of Kentucky.
Boone made prisoner by the Indians.

1770. Grave Creek Settlement, Virginia, first made.
Moravians invited to Big Beaver.
Moravians leave Allegheny and remove to Beaver.
Treaty of Lochaber.
Ohio Company merged in Walpole Company.
Washington visits the West.
The Zanes found Wheeling.
Spain takes possession of St. Louis and Upper Louisiana.
The Long Hunters explore the West.

1771. Boone returns to North Carolina.
Long Hunters still abroad.

1772. Indians murdered by whites on Lower Kanawha.
Moravians invited by Indians, remove from Beaver to Tuscarawa.
Gen. Gage's proclamation against settlers on Wabash.
Moravians found Schoenbrun on Tuscarawa.

1773. Boone and others start to settle Kentucky.
Boone and companions attacked by Indians, and return.
Bullitt, M'Afee and others descend the Ohio.
Bullitt and others survey at Falls and Kentucky river.
Gen. Thompson surveys the valley of Licking.
Gen. Lyman goes to Natchez.
Purchase by Illinois Company in Illinois.
Big Bone Lick, near the Ohio, discovered.
Kennedy, from Kaskaskia, ascends Illinois river in search of a copper mine.
Kennedy describes ruins of a fort at the south-west end of Lake Peoria.

1774. James Harrod in Kentucky.
Contentions between Pennsylvania and Virginia.
Connolly calls out militia, and usurps civil authority.
St. Clair arrests Connolly and companions.
Connolly and associates are released on parole.
Connolly receives armed forces from Virginia.
Connolly takes possession of Fort Pitt, and names it Fort Dunmore.
Magistrates made prisoners by Connolly.
Pennsylvania magistrates carried prisoners to Virginia.
Discussion about the unfinished Mason and Dixon line.
Connolly writes to the settlers about Wheeling to attack Indians.
Cresap unfortunately agrees with Connolly.
Greathouse murders several Indians.
Logan revenges his family. Preparation for war.
Boone sent for surveyors down the river.
Friendly Shawanese attacked by Connolly.
Several Indian traders murdered.
M'Donald attacks Wapatomica.
Troops under Lewis march down Kanawha.
Troops under Lewis reach Point Pleasant.
Battle of Point Pleasant.
Dunmore makes an unpopular peace.
Simon Girty considered a valiant soldier.
Simon Girty acts in concert with Virginians against Indians.

1775. Treaty of Wataga; purchase by Transylvania Company.
Boone returns to Kentucky, and founds Boonsboro.
Henderson and associates arrive at Boonsboro.
Henderson calls representatives to the first Legislature in the West.
Representatives hold their session under a large tree.
Guy Johnson influences Iroquois against Americans.
Oneidas and Tuscaroras adhere to America.
Congress forms three Indian departments.
Meeting of Commissioners and Indians at Pittsburgh.
Connolly arrested in Maryland.

1775. Purchase by Wabash Company on Wabash river.
Capt. John Neville takes possession of Fort Pitt.
Provincial government of Pennsylvania denounces Judge Crawford.
A very large meeting at Hannastown of citizens of Western Pennsylvania.

1776. Monongalia county, Virginia, made from West Augusta.
Ohio county, Virginia, erected from West Augusta district.
An attack on Detroit proposed in Congress.
Washington advises the employment of Indians.
Indians generally incline to the British.
Congress authorizes the employment of Indians.
Indians drive off Kentucky settlers.
George Rogers Clark moves to Kentucky.
Kentuckians choose delegates for Virginia Assembly.
Clark and Jones are their representatives.
Clark procures gunpowder from Virginia Council.
Virginia admits Kentucky among her counties.
Clark and Jones return from Virginia by Pittsburgh.
Jones is killed by Indians—Clark returns to Harrodsburg.
Kentucky settlements made Kentucky county, Virginia.
Fort Appleby built at Kittanning.

1777. Cornstalk (Indian chief,) murdered at Point Pleasant.
Congress of Indians and British at Oswego.
Kentucky infested with Northern Indians.
Kentucky elects (legally,) burgesses to Virginia Assembly.
Logan's station assailed by Indians.
Clark sends spies to Illinois.
Logan crosses the mountains for gunpowder.
Bowman, with one hundred men, comes West from Virginia.
Fort Henry (Wheeling,) attacked.
First court in Kentucky, at Harrodsburg.
The attack on Detroit urged in Congress.
Clark opens his plan of conquering Illinois to Governor Henry.
Harrodsburg attacked by Indians.

1778. Orders issued to Clark to attack Illinois.
Boone taken prisoner at Salt Licks, on Licking river.
Boone taken to Detroit, thence to Scioto.
Clark succeeds in gathering a small army at Louisville.
Clark passes falls of Ohio, and descends to Fort Massac.
Boone escapes from Indian captivity.
Clark marches from Ohio river towards Kaskaskia.
Clark conquers Kaskaskia, as likewise Cahokia.
Vincennes joins the American cause.
M'Intosh sent to command at Fort Pitt.
Fort M'Intosh, on the upper Ohio, built.
New Jersey objects to land claims of Virginia.
Boone makes an incursion against Indians on Scioto.
Boonsboro besieged by British and Indians.
Fort Laurens built on the Tuscarawas.
Clark holds council with Indians of the Illinois.

1778. Treaty with Delaware Indians at Pittsburgh.
Virginia grants Henderson and company the Green river land.
Governor Hamilton, from Detroit, re-takes Vincennes.

1779. Boundary between Pennsylvania and Virginia settled.
Clark is notified of the capture of Vincennes.
Clark's extraordinary march from Kaskaskia.
Clark's miraculous re-capture of Vincennes.
Governor Hamilton sent a prisoner to Virginia.
State of Delaware objects to land claims of Virginia.
Americans suspect and attack the Iroquois.
First settlement of Lexington, Kentucky.
Virginia passes additional land laws.
Maryland objects to land claims of Virginia.
Brodhead's expedition against the Allegheny Indians.
Sullivan's expedition against the Iroquois.
Bowman's expedition against Indians in Miami valley.
Fort Laurens on Tuscarawas abandoned.
Indians treat with Brodhead at Fort Pitt.
Rogers and Benham attacked by Indians.
Land Commissioners open their sessions in Kentucky.
Congress asks Virginia to reconsider land laws.
Continued Indian outrages about Fort Pitt.

1780. Hard winter.—Great suffering in the West.
New York authorizes a cession of Western lands.
Fort Jefferson built on the Mississippi.
Great emigration to the South-West.
Virginia grants lands in Kentucky for education.
St. Louis attacked by British and Indians.
Louisville established by law.
Byrd with a large force invades Kentucky.
Clark prepares to attack the Shawanese.
Clark builds block house opposite the mouth of Licking.
Marches thence to Upper Miami.
Clark defeats the Shawanese and destroys their property.
Battle of King's Mountain in N. Carolina.
Scarcity of provisions—almost famine at Fort Pitt.
South-Western boundary of Pennsylvania definitely established.

1781. Laws of Virginia prevent sale of provisions out of the State.
Renewed efforts for an expedition against Detroit.
Virginia makes her first act of cession.
Spaniards from St. Louis take Fort St. Josephs, near Lake Michigan.
Jay instructed that he may yield the navigation of Mississippi.
New York cedes her Western lands.
Brodhead attacks Delaware Indians on Muskingum.
Gen. G. R. Clark solicits aid from Western Pennsylvania.
Clark addresses Col. Lochry of Westmoreland.
Lochry, Orr and others raise a force and descend the Ohio.
Lochry killed—his troops taken prisoners.
Mary Heckewelder born, first white child in Ohio.
Americans begin to settle in Illinois.

1781. Chickasaws attack Fort Jefferson.
Moravians carried to Sandusky by British and Indians.
Moravian Missionary taken to Detroit.
Williamson leads a party against Moravian Indians.
Clark forestalls surplus provisions of Pennsylvania.
Pennsylvanians disgusted with the grasping conduct of Clark.
Col. Brodhead prevents Virginians removing cannon from Pitt.
Great emigration of girls to Kentucky.
Washington county, Pennsylvania, established.

1782. British establish a military post at Sandusky.
Moravian Indians murdered by Americans.
Moravian missionaries taken to Detroit.
Attack on Estill's station—whites defeated.
Crawford's expedition—taken prisoner and burnt.
Attack on Bryant's station.
Battle at the Blue Licks; Kentuckians defeated.
Land offices opened for Virginia lands.
Clark's second incursion through Miami valley.
Provisional articles of peace with Great Britain.
Rice's Fort, near Wheeling, assailed by Indians.
Lexington, Ky., incorporated by Virginia Assembly.
Fort Nelson built at falls of Ohio, Louisville.
Catfish, (Washington,) Pennsylvania, first laid out as a town.

1783. Hostilities between United States and Great Britian cease.
Kentucky formed into one district.
Congress calls on the States to cede lands.
Peace proclaimed to the army.
English propose to carry away slaves.
Washington protests against course of English.
Rufus Putnam applies for lands in the West.
Baron Steuben sent to receive Western posts.
Cassaty sent to Detroit.
Virginia withdraws Clark's commission.
Definitive treaty of Peace.
Washington writes to Duane about Western lands.
Congress proposes terms of cession to Virginia.
Congress forbids all purchases of Indian lands.
Congress instructs Indian Commissioners.
Virginia grants Clark and his soldiers lands.
Virginia authorizes cession on terms proposed.
British leave New York, (taking slaves.)
Col. Daniel Brodhead opens first store in Kentucky, at Louisville.

1784. Col. James Wilkinson opens second store in Kentucky, at Lexington.
Treaty of Peace ratified by the United States.
Virginia gives deed of cession.
Indian commissioners re-instructed.
Pittsburgh re-surveyed; population increases.
Treaty of Peace ratified by England.
Virginia refuses to comply with treaty.

1784. England refuses to deliver up Western posts.
Treaty with Iroquois at Fort Stanwix.
Logan calls a meeting at Danville.
First Kentucky Convention meets.
Kentucky receives many emigrants.
Maysville, Kentucky, settled.

1785. Treaty with Delawares, &c., at Fort M'Intosh.
Severe penalty against settling north of Ohio river.
All previous settlers forced from their homes.
Officers of United States enjoined to prevent families crossing Ohio.
An attempt to settle at mouth of Scioto in defiance of law.
The aggressors are killed by Indians.
Ordinance for the survey of Western lands passed.
Second Kentucky Convention meets.
Don Gardoqui comes from Spain.
Third Kentucky Convention meets.
A colony emigrates from Virginia to Illinois.
Great confederacy of Northern Indians formed by Brant.
Fort Harmar built at mouth of Muskingum.
First survey of lands in the North-West Territory, (Congress land.)
Morgantown, Virginia, established.

1786. Brant visits England to learn purposes of ministers.
Virginia agrees to independence of Kentucky.
Putnam and Tupper call meeting to form Ohio Company.
Treaty with Shawanese at Fort Finney, (mouth of Miami.)
Ohio Company of associates formed.
Governor of Virginia writes to Congress respecting Indian invasions.
The negotiation about Mississippi before Congress.
Resolution of Congress produces cession by Connecticut.
Congress authorizes the invasion of North-Western Territory.
Pittsburgh Gazette commenced; first printing in Ohio valley.
Jay authorized to yield navigation of Mississippi at a definite term.
Pursuant to invasion of N. W. Territory, Clark marches to Vincennes.
Clark ascends the Wabash to Vermilion river.
Kentucky troops become mutinous, and return home without discharge.
Clark abandons the expedition, and returns to Vincennes.
Connecticut makes a second act of cession.
Americans seize Spanish property at Vincennes.
Virginia protests against yielding navigation of Mississippi.
Great dissatisfaction throughout the West.
Governor of Virginia informed of Clark's movements.
Great Indian council in North-West—they address Congress.
Frankfort, Kentucky, established by Virginia Assembly.

1787. Fourth Kentucky convention meets.
New England Ohio Land Company choose directors.
Meeting in Kentucky relative to navigation of Mississippi.
Wilkinson goes to New Orleans.
Dr. Cutler negotiates with Congress for lands.
Congress makes order in favor of Ohio Company.

1787. Ordinance passed for government of North West Territory.
Innis refuses to prosecute invaders of Indian lands.
Kentucky Gazette established at Lexington.
Symmes of New Jersey applies for land.
First entries of Virginia reserve lands North of the Ohio.
Fifth Kentucky convention meets.
New England Ohio Land Company completes a contract.
Symmes' application referred to Board of Treasury.
United States troops ordered West.
St. Clair appointed Governor of North-Western Territory.
New Englanders of Ohio Land Company prepare to go West.
Symmes issues proposals for settlers.
John Brown, first Western Representative, goes to Congress.
Fort Franklin, on the site of Franklin, Pennsylvania, built.

1788. Indians expected to make a treaty at Marietta.
Denham purchases the site of Losantiville, (Cincinnati.)
The admission of Kentucky debated in Congress.
New Englanders of Ohio Company land at Muskingum.
Marietta and her avenues named with pomp and pageantry.
Admission of Kentucky refused by Congress.
St. Clair reaches the North-Western Territory.
Sixth Kentucky convention meets.
First law of North-Western Territory published.
Symmes starts for the West.
Losantiville (Cincinnati) planned and surveyed.
First Court held at Marietta.
Symmes reaches his purchase; is overjoyed.
Another Grand Indian council in the North-West.
Indians forbid treaties with separate nations.
Seventh Kentucky convention meets.
Columbia settled by Stites and others.
Doctor Connolly in Kentucky as a spy and British agent.
The founder of Cincinnati leaves Maysville.
Cincinnati reached according to McMillan.
Virginia passes third act to make Kentucky independent.
Colonel George Morgan, of New Jersey, at New Madrid.
Almanacs first printed at Lexington, Kentucky.
Great emigration West: about five thousand persons pass Fort Harmar.
Maysville, Kentucky, established a town.

1789. Treaty of Fort Harmar concluded.
Wilkinson goes to New Orleans again.
Daniel Story first clergyman and teacher at Marietta.
Symmes' settlement threatened by Indians.
The force sent to protect Symmes go to Losantiville.
Major Doughty builds Fort Washington at Losantiville, (Cincinnati.)
Western scouts withdrawn by Virginia.
Eighth Kentucky convention meets.
Governor Miro of New Orleans writes to Sebastian.
Congress empowers President to call out Western militia.
President authorizes Governor St. Clair to call out militia.

1789. General Harmar reaches Fort Washington with three hundred troops.
Thomas Hutchins, United States Geographer, died at Pittsburgh.
Fort Steuben, (or blockhouse) built near Charleston, on upper Ohio river.

1790. Governor St. Clair arrives at Losantiville and names it Cincinnati.
Governor St. Clair descends the Ohio to Fort Steuben, (Jeffersonville.)
Governor St. Clair proceeds to Vincennes.
Governor St. Clair crosses prairies to Kaskaskia.
Antoine Gamelin sent to upper Wabash Indians.
Indian hostilities take place.
St. Clair calls out Western militia.
Ninth Kentucky convention meets.
Troops gather at Fort Washington, (Cincinnati.)
Harmar leaves Fort Washington and marches northward.
Colonel Hardin with the advance reaches Miami villages.
Main army reaches Miami villages.
Camp at Miami village; men behave unsoldier-like.
Colonel Trotter is sent to reconnoitre the Indian haunts.
Hardin attacks Indians; not successfully.
Hardin desires another trial with Indians; is again defeated.
Harmar looses all confidence in the militia.
Harmar dissatisfied with Colonel Trotter.
Harmar marches on return to Fort Washington.
Army halts at old Chillicothe; soldiers disobedient.
Militia men are punished by whipping.
Harmar reprimands Colonel Trotter and Major McMullen.
Mutiny of Kentuckians quashed—army proceeds to Fort Washington.
Western inhabitants petition Congress to fight Indians in their own way.
Massey and others contract to settle Manchester.

1791. Big Bottom settlement destroyed by Indians.
Excise laid on ardent spirits by Congress.
General Charles Scott authorized to march against Indians.
Proctor starts on his Western mission.
Proctor reaches Buffalo creek.
Proctor is refused a vessel to cross Lake Erie.
Family of Kirkpatricks attacked at morning worship and murdered by Indians in Armstrong county, Pennsylvania.
St. Clair at Fort Washington preparing his expedition.
Proctor abandons his mission and returns.
General Charles Scott marches against Wabash Indians.
Meeting at Brownsville, Pennsylvania, against excise.
Wilkinson marches against Eel river Indians.
Excise officers of Allegheny and Washington counties, Pennsylvania, assailed.
Meeting at Pittsburgh to oppose excise law.
St. Clair commences his march northward.
St. Clair builds Fort Hamilton on Great Miami.
St. Clair and Butler disagree.
St. Clair builds Fort Jefferson in North-Western Territory.
St. Clair marches north, towards head of Maumee.
St. Clair arrives at a branch of Wabash, supposed to be the St. Mary's.
St. Clair is attacked and defeated. Army disorganized.

1791. Portion of the army returns to Fort Washington.
Feeble garrisons are left at Forts Jefferson and Hamilton.
Terror of Indian invasion expressed by Western Pennsylvania and Virginia.
Massacre of Jolly's family, near Wheeling.

1792. Peace offered by the United States to Western Indians, through the Senecas.
Pond and Stedman sent West as peace-makers.
Brant invited by government to Philadelphia.
Wilkinson sends a party to the field of St. Clair's defeat.
Gallipolis settled by deluded French colonists.
Iroquois chiefs visit Philadelphia.
Instructions issued to Trueman.
Kentucky admitted into the Union as a State.
Excise law amended, though not to satisfaction.
Hendrick, a Stockbridge Indian chief, sent West.
Instructions issued to Rufus Putnam.
Trueman and Hardin leave Fort Washington.
Pennsylvania purchases from Congress the Triangle tract.
Gen. Wayne moves westward.
Brant, pursuant to invitation, visits Philadelphia.
Fire lands given to sufferers by Connecticut.
Great anti-excise meeting at Pittsburgh.
Rufus Putnam makes treaty with Indians at Vincennes.
Great Indian Council at "*Grand Glaize,*" (Fort Defiance.)
Adair attacked near Fort St. Clair.
Opposition to excise law diminishes.
United States troops at Legionville, on the Ohio.

1793. United States Legion goes down to Cincinnati.
Last Indian depredation in Kentucky.
Pickering and others appointed to treat with Indians at Maumee.
Unusual preparations for a council and treaty at Sandusky.
Citizen Genet reaches the United States.
Commissioners for council with Indians reach Niagara.
Genet is presented to Washington.
First Democratic Society in Philadelphia.
Commissioners correspond with Governor Simcoe.
Commissioners meet Brant and hold a council.
Commissioners at Elliott's house, head of Lake Erie.
Indians arrive at Elliott's, and meet Commissioners.
Indians decline meeting Americans at Sandusky.
Final action of the Commissioners and Indians.
Wayne leaves Cincinnati with his legion.
Wayne encamps at Greenville.
Wayne is joined by Kentuckians, under Scott.
Lowry and Boyd attacked near Fort St. Clair.
French emissaries sent West.
Field of St. Clair's defeat visited by Wayne.
Fort Recovery built on St. Clair's battle ground.
Western people dissatisfied with government.
Opposition to excise feebler.
First session of Kentucky Assembly at Frankfort.
Brant gives the true character of the British.

1794. Fort built at Le Bœuf (Waterford,) by Major Denny.
Whisky riots re-commence.
Lord Dorchester's speech to Indians.
The Mingo Creek Association formed.
Wayne prepares for his campaign.
Governor Simcoe builds a fort on Maumee.
Democratic Society formed at Pittsburgh.
Spaniards offer help to Indians.
French emissaries forced to leave the West.
Contest respecting Presqu' Isle.
Indians attack Fort Recovery.
Suits commenced against whisky rioters.
Gathering about Neville's house.
Neville's house burnt.
Meeting at Mingo Creek.
Mail robbed by Bradford.
Charles Scott, with fifteen hundred men, joins Wayne.
Great gathering at Braddock's field.
Washington issues proclamation against insurgents.
Wayne marches toward Maumee.
Wayne sends his last message to Indians.
Wayne commences building Fort Defiance.
Wayne builds Fort Deposit.
Wayne meets and conquers Indians.
Wayne's correspondence with Col. Campbell.
Wayne threatens Fort Miami.
Wayne returns to Fort Defiance and finishes it.
Wayne marches to head of Maumee.
Fort Wayne built at head of Maumee.
Commissioners of government meet whisky insurgents.
British try to prevent Indians making peace.
Vote taken upon obedience to the law in Pennsylvania.
Vote not satisfactory to the government.
Washington calls out militia of four States.
Gen. Lee marches, with militia, against insurgents.
The most guilty malcontents escape by flight.
The less guilty surrender without resistance.
Indians ask for peace of Col. Hamtramck.
Last depredation by Indians in Western Virginia.
Sandy Lake Fort, Minnesota, erected.

1795. Block-house built at Presqu' Isle (Erie,) by Gen. Irvine.
Indians sign preliminaries of a treaty.
Prisoners are interchanged.
Connecticut prepares to sell her reserve.
Council of Greenville opens.
The Baron de Carondelet writes to Sebastian.
Jay's protracted treaty finished.
Treaty of Greenville signed.
Council with Indians at Greenville closed.
Grant by Congress to Gallipolis settlers.
Connecticut sells Western Reserve to land company.

1795. Pinckney concludes a treaty with Spain.
Dayton, Ohio, laid out by Ludlow.

1796. Chillicothe, Ohio, laid off and settled.
Sebastian visits the South-West.
Cleveland, Ohio, laid out and named.
British surrender posts in the North-West.
Difficulties with Spain recommence.
Gen. Wayne died at Presqu' Isle, (Erie.)
First paper manufactory in the West.
Dayton, Ohio, first populated.
Congress donates land to Ebenezer Zane.
Fort Malden, Canada West, building commenced.
Tract of land granted to the Zanes.

1797. Power visits Kentucky and writes to Sebastian.
Daniel Boone moves west of Mississippi.
Occupying claimant law of Kentucky passed.
Cleveland, Ohio, first populated.
Brooke county, Virginia, erected.
British subjects from Detroit settle near Fort Malden.

1798. William Henry Harrison made Secretary of North-West Territory.
Alien and sedition laws passed.
Nullifying resolutions in Kentucky.
Representatives for North-Western Territory first chosen.
Washington appointed (a second time,) commander-in-chief of American army.
Steubenville, Ohio, founded—streets surveyed at right angles.
Transylvania University established at Lexington, Kentucky.
Amhertsburg, adjacent to Fort Malden, settled by Britons from Detroit.

1799. Greensburg, Pennsylvania, incorporated a borough.
Representatives of North-Western Territory meet.
Representatives nominate candidates for Council.
Assembly of North-Western Territory organize at Cincinnati.
W. H. Harrison appointed delegate in Congress from North-West Territory.
Zanesville laid out and settled on Zane's tract.

1800. Great increase of products sent from Ohio river.
Indiana Territory formed.
Connecticut yields jurisdiction of her reserve.
United States gives Connecticut patents for the soil.
Treaty of St. Ildefonso.
Assembly of North-West Territory meets at Chillicothe.
First missionary in Connecticut Reserve.
Lancaster, Ohio, surveyed and settled.
Congress authorizes the President to make inquiry for copper-mines in North-West.
President, John Adams, appoints an agent to examine the south side of Lake Superior.
A number of new counties made in Western Pennsylvania.

1801. W. H. Harrison appointed Governor of Indiana Territory.
St. Clair re-appointed Governor of North-West Territory.
Legislature of North-West Territory again at Cincinnati.
Worthington made agent to procure a State Government for Ohio.
Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, incorporated a borough.
Beaver, Pennsylvania, incorporated a borough.
Louisiana ceded by Spain to France.

1802. University at Athens, Ohio, established.
First bank in Kentucky.
Congress agree that Ohio may become a State.
The Spanish Intendant forbids the use of N. Orleans by Americans.
Convention meets and forms a constitution for Ohio.
Constitution for Ohio finished.
Cincinnati incorporated a borough.
Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, chartered and organized.
Convention at Pittsburgh to form an exporting company.
Advent of French Swiss to Indiana.

1803. Congress approbates the constitution, and declares Ohio a State.
New Orleans made free for American shipping.
Livingston and Monroe in France; purchase Louisiana.
Lands located for Miami University.
Miami Exporting Company at Cincinnati chartered.
United States Senate ratify the purchase of Louisiana.
Louisiana given up to the Americans.
Xenia, Ohio, town plat surveyed.
Col. Hamtramck died at Detroit.
D. Goforth discovered mammoth skeleton at Big Bone Lick, Ky.

1804. Fort Dearborn built at Chicago.
Territory of Orleans and district of Upper Louisiana organized.
Lewis and Clark start on their expedition.
Immense quantity of land purchased from Sac and Fox Indians.
Ohio University chartered by State legislature.
First inhabitants in Xenia, Ohio.
Harmonie Society settle in Butler county, Pennsylvania.
Kittanning, Pennsylvania, surveyed and settled.

1805. Michigan Territory formed.
Detroit, (old town,) burnt to the ground.
Burr's first visit to the West.
General Assembly meet in Indiana Territory.
Tecumthe and the Prophet begin to influence the Indians.
Indians sell all their land in North-Eastern Ohio.
Pike ascends and explores the Mississippi above St. Anthony's.
Pike purchases land for military stations on Upper Mississippi.
Steubenville, Ohio, incorporated a borough.

1806. Great eclipse of the sun, June 16th.
Burr again active; writes to Wilkinson.
Spaniards cross the Sabine river.

1806. Burr again goes West; is at Pittsburgh.
Lewis and Clark return from Oregon.
Daviess tries to arrest Burr.
Sebastian found guilty by Kentucky Legislature.
Burr's men descend the Ohio river.
Burr's boats and stores arrested.
Burr meets his men at the mouth of Cumberland.
Pike's expedition to heads of Arkansas.
Washington College, Pennsylvania, incorporated.

1807. Burr yields to civil authority of Mississippi.
Burr escapes and is seized.
Burr's trial at Richmond.
Petition for slavery in Indiana territory.
Bank of Kentucky chartered.
Brant, the celebrated king of Mohawk Indians, died.
Merriweather Lewis appointed governor of Upper Louisiana.
G. C. Moreau arrived at Pittsburgh.

1808. Bank of Marietta, Ohio, chartered.
Bank of Chillicothe, Ohio, chartered.
Tecumthe and the Prophet remove to Tippecanoe.
Madison, Indiana, settled.
Rev. David Zeisberger, Moravian missionary, died, aged eighty-seven.
Harrison's first interview with Tecumthe.

1809. Vincennes is four weeks without a mail.
Illinois Territory formed.
Miami University chartered.
Settlement made at Boone's Lick, Missouri.
Missouri Fur Company formed at St. Louis.
Governor Lewis, of Missouri, alarmed at Indians; calls out militia.

1810. Second interview of Harrison with Tecumthe.
A trapper and hunter, named Colter, descended Missouri via Jefferson river, three thousand miles, alone.
Monks of La Trappe locate at the Great Mound on American Bottom, Illinois.

1811. Pittsburgh Magazine Almanac published by Cramer, Spear and Eichbaum.
Company of rangers organized in Illinois.
Mammoth Cave discovered in Kentucky.
Tecumthe goes to the South.
Harrison proposes to visit Indians.
Harrison marches toward Tippecanoe.
First steamboat (named New Orleans) leaves Pittsburgh.
Battle of Tippecanoe.
Great earthquakes begin.
Western people generally in consternation.
Hudson's Bay Company's grant to Lord Selkirk.
Meadville Academy incorporated by act of Assembly, March 20.

1812. Governor Meigs, of Ohio, calls for 1200 volunteers or militia.
General Hull marches from Dayton, Ohio.

1812. Declaration of war against England.
British at Malden informed of the declaration of war.
Hull encounters a tedious and tiresome march through the forest.
Hull arrives at Maumee, near the head of Lake Erie.
Hull sends men and goods by water to Detroit.
Hull first informed of declaration of war.
Americans cross to Sandwich, Canada.
Mackinac surprised and taken by the British.
American army returns to Detroit.
Brock reaches Malden, and advances to Sandwich.
Brock crosses to Detroit; Hull surrenders.
A detachment of Hull's army defeated at Brownstown.
Massacre of troops and families near Chicago.
Fort Harrison attacked by Indians.
W. H. Harrison appointed commander in North-West.
Governor Edwards and General Hopkins' plan to conquer Indians.
General Hopkins with a large force at Vincennes.
Hopkins marches up Wabash and crosses at Fort Harrison.
Hopkins enters the prairies, and marches to meet Edwards.
Hopkins' officers are disobedient, revolt and return to Kentucky.
Edwards attacks the Indians on Illinois river.
Hopkins makes an expedition to Upper Wabash.
Lord Selkirk plants colony on Red river.
Hopkins attacks Indians on Ponce Passu (Wild Cat) river.
Generals Winchester and Harrison meet at Fort Wayne.
Winchester marches to Fort Defiance.
Harrison makes head-quarters at Franklinton, Ohio.
Col. Campbell attacks Indians on Mississinewa.
Inhabitants at river Raisin importune Winchester for aid.
Massacre of families at Pigeon creek, Scott county, Indiana, by Indians.
Ohio Legislature selects "High Bank" of Scioto river for capital.
Little Turtle, the famous Miami Indian war chief, died.
Name of Upper Louisiana changed to Missouri Territory.

1813. Winchester marches down Maumee to the Rapids.
Winchester again importuned for help; sends troops to Frenchtown.
British at Frenchtown first defeated.
Americans defeated at Frenchtown with great loss.
Massacre of the wounded at Frenchtown.
Harrison retreats to Portage river.
Harrison returns to Maumee and builds Fort Meigs.
Fort Meigs besieged.
General Clay reaches Fort Meigs; Dudley's party lost.
British return to Malden.
British fleet prepare to attack Erie.
Fort Stephenson besieged.
Siege of Fort Stephenson raised.
Perry's vessels first leave Erie harbor.
Victory by Perry on Lake Erie.
British troops evacuate Malden; Citizens remain at Amhertsburg.
Americans take possession of Amhertsburg and make it head-quarters.
American Government re-established in Lower Michigan.

1813. Battle of the Thames in Canada.
Buffalo burnt by the British.
New Albany, Indiana, founded.
Vevay, Indiana, settled by Dufours.
Monks of La Trappe leave Illinois and return to France.

1814. Holmes' expedition into Canada.
John Cleves Symmes died at Cincinnati.
Expedition under Croghan against Mackinac.
Governor Clark's expedition to Prairie du Chien; Fort Shelby built.
Lieutenant Campbell sent to reinforce Fort Shelby.
Campbell attacked by Indians at Upper Rapids.
Campbell is defeated and returns to St. Louis.
Fort Wayne rebuilt.
Major Taylor's expedition on Upper Mississippi.
Major Taylor meets Indians at Rock Island.
Major Taylor is attacked by Indians; defeated and retreats.
Second grand Indian treaty at Greenville, Ohio.
M'Arthur's expedition into Canada.
Treaty of Ghent, preliminaries of peace with England.
Fort Erie taken by General Brown.
Evansville, Indiana, surveyed and settled.
Cleveland, Ohio, incorporated a Borough.

1815. Treaty with eight Indian tribes at Detroit.
Various treaties with Indians.
Ohio taxes banking capital.

1816. Act of Congress excluding foreigners from Indian trade.
Pittsburgh incorporated a city.
Columbus made capital of Ohio.
Bank of Shawneetown chartered.
General banking law of Ohio passed.
Indiana admitted into the Union.
Terre Haute, Indiana, settlement made.
Richmond, Indiana, founded and settled by "Friends Society."
Lord Selkirk conquers North West Company, takes Fort William.
Explosion of the Steam Boat Washington, Point Harman.

1817. First Steam Boat at St. Louis.
Northwest of Ohio purchased from Indians.
United States Bank opens branches at Cincinnati and Chillicothe.
Allegheny College at Meadville, Pennsylvania, incorporated.
Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, re-built.
Butler, Pennsylvania, incorporated a Borough.

1818. Illinois becomes a State.
General St. Clair died at his residence in Westmoreland county, Pa.
General G. R. Clark died near Louisville, Kentucky.
Bishop Dubourg arrives at St. Louis.
First Manufactory of fine flour at Prairie du Chien.
Treaty at St. Mary's, Ohio, with Wyandot, Seneca and Shawanese Indians.

1819. First Steam Boats on the Missouri river.
First Steam Boat on Lake Erie.
Military post established at Council Bluffs.
Expedition to the Yellow Stone river.
Contest of Ohio with the United States Bank.
Indian treaty at Edwardsville, Illinois.
Cincinnati incorporated a city.
Great depression in financial affairs in Pennsylvania.
Fort Snelling built at mouth of St. Peter's.
Fort Crawford built at Prairie du Chien.
Citizens of Missouri Territory move for State Government.

1820. Indiana Legislature appoint commissioners to locate seat of government.
Nullification resolutions of Ohio.
Constitution formed for Missouri State.
Congress refuses Missouri Constitution.
Governor Cass visits Lake Superior and Upper Mississippi.

1821. Missouri received into the Union by proclamation of President.
Indianapolis made permanent seat of government for Indiana.
Epidemic Fever at St. Louis, Missouri. Great mortality.
Kittanning, Pennsylvania, incorporated a Borough.

1822. Ohio moves in relation to Schools and Canals.
Population of St. Louis diminished by sickness and financial depression.

1823. Steam Boat Tennessee sunk near Natchez.
Illinois moves in relation to Canals.
Commencement of stone paving streets in St. Louis.

1824. Slavery contest in the State of Illinois.
Seminary established at Bloomington, Indiana.
St. Louis revives and re-commences improvements.
From December until March, 1825, mostly warm sunshine weather at Cincinnati.

1825. Ohio passes Canal and School Laws.
Governor Clark held council with Osage Indians.
General James Wilkinson died.
La Fayette, Indiana, planned and surveyed.
First legislation at Indianapolis.
Maj. Gen. La Fayette ascended the Ohio river. Steamboat "Mechanic" sunk on his passage.
United States grant 300,000 acres of land to Illinois for canal.
La Fayette, Indiana, begins to populate.

1826. First steam boat on Lake Michigan.
Kenyon College founded at Gambier, Ohio.
Western Reserve College, at Hudson, Ohio, chartered.

1827. Congress donates lands for Wabash and Erie Canal.
Fort Leavenworth, (Kansas,) built and garrisoned.
First Seminary built and opened in Illinois.

1827. First Grammar School at South Hanover, Indiana.
From December until March, 1828, rain fell nearly every day.

1828. Extraordinary increase of lead mining at Galena, Illinois.

1829. Steubenville Female Seminary established.
Fort Leavenworth threatened by Indians.

1830. Treaty with Keokuk at Prairie du Chien.
Attempt to drive Black Hawk west of Mississippi.

1831. Punishment by hard labor and imprisonment commenced in Illinois.
Black Hawk is hostile, and is driven across the Mississippi.
Black Hawk War commenced.
Legislature of Indiana authorizes making Wabash and Erie Canal.
Illinois militia are sent against Black Hawk.
United States troops sent against Black Hawk.
Black Hawk makes treaty at Fort Armstrong, and confirms the treaty of 1804.

1832. Great flood of the Ohio river.
Indianans commence Erie and Wabash Canal.
First steamboat at Chicago.
Maysville, Kentucky, incorporated a city.
College edifice at South Hanover erected and charter obtained.
Granville (Baptist) College, Ohio, chartered.
Schoolcraft's expedition to the source of Mississippi.
Indians reassert their rights, and war is resumed.
Black Hawk, in great force, returns east of Mississippi.
Stillman and party defeated near Rock river.
Black Hawk defeated on Wisconsin.
Black Hawk defeated on Mississippi.
Black Hawk delivered to United States government.
Cholera among Scott's troops and along the Lakes.
Final treaty with Sac and Fox Indians.
First epidemic Cholera on Ohio and Mississippi.
Two hundred U. S. soldiers died of cholera at Fort Gratiot.

1833. First settlement made in Iowa.
Extraordinary meteoric storm in November.
Trouble about boundary between Ohio State and Michigan Territory.
Governor of Ohio sends militia troops to the border.
Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians emigrate to Michigan Territory.

1834. John O'Connor condemned and executed at Du Buque, without law.
Oberlin Institute, Ohio, chartered, with University privileges.
Gazetteer of Illinois, published at Jacksonville.
Termination of bank charters in Ohio.
Wabash College, Crawfordville, Indiana, incorporated.
Capitol of Indiana, at Indianapolis, finished.
Late in May all foliage in the West destroyed by frost.

1835. Wabash College, Crawfordville, Indiana, organized.
Michigan forms a Constitution for State government.

1835. Congress refuses the Constitution, but offers terms.
Oberlin Institute organized as a College.
Milwaukie, Wisconsin, surveyed. (Previously settled.)

1836. Madison, Wisconsin, planned and surveyed.
Cornplanter, Seneca Indian Chief, died, aged about one hundred years.
The conditions offered by Congress to Michigan rejected.
Illinois and Michigan Canal commenced.
Territory of Wisconsin (including Iowa) organized.
Cleveland, Ohio, incorporated a city.
Mania of land and town lot trading in Chicago.
American Cannel Coal Company chartered, Indiana.
Heatherly War in Western Missouri.
Nicollet explores Mississippi to its source.

1837. Michigan complies with the terms of Congress, and becomes a State.
Internal improvement system adopted in Illinois.
Riots at Alton, Illinois: Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy killed.
Chicago is incorporated as a city.
State House of Missouri, at Jefferson City, burnt.
Asbury University, at Green Castle, Indiana, chartered.
Explosion of the steamer "Du Buque," off Muscatine bar.
Steam boat "Ben Sherrod" burnt on Mississippi river.

1838. Explosion of the steam boat "Moselle," near Cincinnati.
Territory of Iowa organized.
Contest with Mormons in Missouri.
Death of Governor William Clark of Missouri.
Indiana University, at Bloomington, Indiana, chartered.
Financial affairs at Chicago in desperate condition.
Exceeding drought: Ohio river scarcely navigable from July until Jan. 1839.

1838-39. Trouble between Missouri and Iowa Territory about boundary.
Militia forces sent to the border by each government.

1839. Bank Commissioners appointed in Ohio.
Mormons retreat to Illinois, and locate at Commerce.
Mormons change the name of their new location to Nauvoo.
The first steam arrival at Sault Ste. Marie. (The "Lexington.")
Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians, in Wisconsin Territory, made citizens of the United States.

1839-40. Iowa City located and made seat of Government.

1840. Presbyterian Theological Seminary removed to New Albany, Indiana.
Bloody tragedy at Bellevue, Iowa: seven men killed.
Great political excitement in the presidential canvass.

1841. Death of W. H. Harrison, President of the United States.
Public improvements cease in Illinois.
Great depression in financial matters throughout the West.
Smith Maythe and Lyman Crouch hung without trial in Kentucky.

1841. Bethany College founded by Rev. Alexander Campbell, D. D.
Wabash and Erie Canal completed to La Fayette.
Lake steam boat "Erie," burnt: more than one hundred lives lost.

1842. Fort Des Moines, Iowa Territory, built and garrisoned.
Cincinnati Astronomical Society founded.
Col. John C. Fremont's expedition left St. Louis.

1842-3. Excessively cold and protracted winter.

1843. Illinois Banks closed by Legislature.
Corner stone of Cincinnati Observatory laid.
Dreadful Massacre of the Chippewa Indians by the Sioux, in Minnesota.

1844. Steam boat "Shepherdess" sunk near St. Louis.
Great flood of Mississippi and Missouri rivers.
Steam boat navigation over the American Bottom.
American Bottom submerged sixty-five miles.
State Constitution formed for Iowa not accepted by Congress.
Capt. J. Allen ascends Des Moines river to its source.
Steam boat "Lucy Walker" exploded near New Albany.

1845. Banking law in Ohio for State and independent banks.
Illinois negotiates with bond-holders to finish canal.
Conflagration of one-fourth of Pittsburgh.
Wittemberg College, at Springfield, Ohio, chartered.

1846. Public improvements of Illinois resumed.
Convention in Wisconsin prepare a Constitution for State.
Constitution for Wisconsin rejected by Congress.
Milwaukie, Wisconsin, chartered by Territorial Legislature.
Meadville Theological School incorporated.

1847. Collision of schooner and steam boat near Conneaut, Ohio.
Convention in Illinois forms a new Constitution.
Charter of Asbury University, Indiana, amended.
Friends' High School established at Richmond, Indiana.
Explosion of steam boat "A. N. Johnston" near Manchester, Ohio.
Steam boat "Phœnix" burnt on Lake Michigan.

1848. Constitution of Illinois adopted by the people.
Michigan and Illinois canal completed.
Wisconsin forms a Constitution which is accepted by Congress.
California gold hunting commences

1849. Minnesota Territory organized.
Cholera is again epidemic on Mississippi and Ohio rivers.
Epidemic cholera and great fire at St. Louis.
O'Plain river (branch of Illinois,) flowed from its course.
Pacific Rail Road Convention at St. Louis.
Migration to California, *via* Missouri river, commences.

1849. Steam boat "Virginia" exploded, between Wheeling and Steubenville.
Ohio moves for a new Constitution.

1850. Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, first Catholic Bishop in the West, died at Louisville, Kentucky.
California gold hunters ascend Missouri river in great numbers.
Dreadful mortality from cholera among California emigrants on Missouri river.
Great migration to Minnesota Territory.
First steam boat above the Falls of St. Anthony.
Urbana University, Ohio, chartered.
Steam boat "G. P. Griffith" burnt on Lake Erie, with immense loss of life.
Ohio elects delegates to convention for new Constitution.

1851. Gen. Hugh Brady died at Detroit.
New Constitution for Ohio formed.

1853. Collision on rail road near Chicago—many lives lost.

1854. Explosion of steam boat "Kate Kearney" at St. Louis.
Kansas-Nebraska bill passed by Congress.
Summer and autumn of this year an unprecedented drouth.
Epidemic cholera at Pittsburgh.
This year closes with fearful forebodings of famine.

1855. Explosion of the steam boat "Lexington" on Ohio river.
From May until December of this year the Mississippi valley was visited with an unusual quantity of rain.
Agriculturists rejoice in a large yield of the fruits of their toil.

1856. Josiah Copley reports practicability of improving the navigation of the Ohio river, by means of dams and steam boat locks, at moderate expense.
First three months of this year much colder than usual.
Lowest water ever known at the head of the Ohio river.
Political excitement attending the Presidential campaign intense.

ANNALS OF THE WEST.

PERIOD I.

1512—1750.

The first explorers of the Mississippi valley were Spaniards.* The discovery of America by Columbus, in 1492, awakened among that people, in an unprecedented degree, a spirit of adventure and a thirst for gold. Juan Ponce de Leon was one of his companions on his second voyage, and afterward the conqueror of Porto Rico. From the natives of that island he learned a legend, that, with the characteristic credulity of that age, he accepted as a truth. There existed, said they, in Bimini, one of the Lucayos, a Fountain of Life. He who drank of its waters was proof against disease; he who bathed in it was endowed with perpetual youth. De Leon was inflamed with the desire of discovering and bathing in this wondrous fountain; and, on the 3d of March, 1512, he sailed from Porto Rico in search of the island that contained it. After a long cruise, on Easter Sunday, or Pascua Florida, he discovered a country of great extent, to which, in honor of the day, or from the flowers that covered the forests, he named Florida. From stress of weather, he was, however, prevented from an examination of the coast, and returned to Porto Rico. Still the desire of prosecuting his discovery remained, and after much delay he obtained authority from Charles V. to conquer, colonize, and govern the

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* The original authorities in regard to the Spanish explorations are:

1. Naufragios a Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vacca.
2. A narrative of the expedition of Hernando de Soto, by Louis Hernandez de Biedma, presented to the king and council of the Indies, in 1544.
3. A narrative of the expedition of Hernando de Soto into Florida, by a gentleman of Elvas, 1557.
4. A letter of De Soto to the authorities of St. Jago de Cuba, July 9, 1539.
5. The Florida of the Inca, by the Inca Garcelaso de La Vega, Madrid, 1723.

The relation of Biedma, the narrative of the gentleman of Elvas, and De Soto's letter, are given in the Historical Collections of Louisiana, by B. F. French, Part 2.—Philadelphia, 1850. And the Florida of the Inca is abridged in Irving's Conquest of Florida. Philadelphia, 1835.

lands he had seen; and, in 1521, he sailed again for Florida. But his landing was opposed; the natives attacked the strangers with incredible fury, and many of them were slain. The remainder were driven to their vessels, and Ponce de Leon returned with the wreck of his expedition, mortally wounded, to Cuba to die.

The natives indeed had good cause for their hostility. For in the meanwhile they had learned much of the spirit of the Spaniards. In 1516, Diego Miruelo visited the coast, and in trade with the natives obtained a considerable quantity of gold, and on his return spread abroad reports of the wealth of the interior. Meanwhile, the newly opened mines of Mexico demanded slaves, and, in 1520, Vasquez de Ayllon was sent out, with two vessels, to seek a supply. Approaching the coast, in the latitude of 32°, he landed in a region called by the natives Chicorea, at the mouth of a river he named Jordan, perhaps the Savannah or the Cambahee. The natives, at first distrustful, were reassured by presents, and enticed on board to trade. Soon they began to throng the ships, and the perfidious Spaniards seized upon all within reach, and sailed for St. Domingo. Disaster followed the crime; one of the vessels was lost, the other arrived, but the victims of their treachery, with the characteristic spirit of the Indian, proudly disdained to live slaves, refused food, and died. De Ayllon returned to Spain, received authority from Charles V. to conquer and govern the region he had visited; and, in 1525, he fitted out an expedition, and returned to the mouth of the Jordan. The Indians planned the destruction of the Spaniards, but concealed their purpose. Two hundred of them were decoyed to a village, on pretense of a feast; De Ayllon, with a small force, remained to guard the ships. All of the party were massacred; the guard was attacked—of these a few only escaped to St. Domingo. De Ayllon himself was either slain in the affray, or died afterward of his wounds and of grief.

The post of adelantado, or governor of Florida, was next conferred on Pamphilo de Narvaez. He organized an expedition for its conquest, sailed from Cuba, and on the 12th of April, 1528, anchored in a bay afterward named the bay of Espiritu Santo, or Tampa Bay; and landed with a force of four hundred men and forty-five horses. Here he took formal possession of the country in the name of his master, dismissed his vessels to await his return, and, despite the remonstrances of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vacca, plunged into an unknown and savage wilderness. The Indians,

whom the Spaniards had captured and compelled to serve as guides, lured them on with the pretense that there was to the north a great country called Appalachee, extremely fertile, and abounding in gold, that was to their imaginations another Mexico, and opened to them the prospect of another conquest. For many days they traversed trackless forests and swamps, through matted thickets and over rapid rivers, and continually exposed to the assaults of lurking savages. At length they arrived at the city of Appalachee, probably in southern Georgia; but it was only a village of two hundred and and forty wigwams, and its inhabitants had fled at their approach. Disappointed, disheartened, and suffering for food, their treacherous guides next pointed them to the village of Aute, nine days' journey to the south; where there was abundance of maize and of fish. Thither they directed their course; but their way was obstructed by deep lagoons, dismal swamps and impenetrable forests. Hordes of savages hung on their rear, that, to their imaginations, appeared of gigantic size, armed with enormous bows. At length, after incredible hardships, they reached the village of Aute, located perhaps near the present bay of St. Mark; but it was deserted and burnt, and only a little maize was left to the Spaniards to appease their hunger. A day's march further they reached the sea; but they had marched eight hundred miles, and it was impossible to retrace their steps, or to find their vessels. As a last resource, they determined to build five small barks, with which to escape from the coast. All their iron implements, even to their stirrups and spurs, were made into nails and tools. Their shirts were made into sails, their cordage was made of bark interwoven with horse-hair; while their horses served them for food. At length, on the 22d of September, they launched their barks and sailed down the coast, suffering every extremity of hunger and thirst. Three of the vessels foundered in a storm; the remaining two, after many days of fruitless coasting, were anchored near the shore; one of them, with Narvaez on board, was driven to sea by a sudden gale, and lost. There survived of this expedition only Alvar Nunez and four of his companions. They traversed, according to their own account, the northern parts of Florida, crossed the Mississippi, traveled over the plains and deserts of northern Texas to the Rocky mountains; passing from tribe to tribe, often as slaves, enduring the greatest hardships, till at length they reached the settlement of Compostella; from whence Alvar Nunez proceeded to Mexico, and thence to Lisbon, where he arrived, in 1537, nearly ten years after his first embarkation with Narvaez.

The report carried back by Alvar Nunez to Spain of the ill-fated expedition of Narvaez, in calmer times would have quenched the thirst for discovery. It however only inflamed it. The examples of Mexico and of Peru had created the belief that the New World was all occupied with barbarian empires, wealthy and weak; and the conquests of Cortez and of Pizarro had wakened among the cavaliers of Spain an ambition to follow their footsteps, and a thirst for glory and gold. Florida, which then included all the North American coast known to them, was the next great field of discovery; and the popular belief clung to the idea that Narvaez, in his long wanderings, had been skirting along the borders of rich barbarian empires, waiting only a conqueror.

Hernando de Soto, then at the court of Charles V., was fired with the representations of Nunez, and inflamed with the desire of rivaling the glory of the conqueror of Peru, whose standard he had followed. He had been the lieutenant of Pizarro in the Peruvian conquest, and acquired there experience in barbarian war, a passion for military adventure and boundless wealth. His experience, his connections, his position and his wealth, all fitted him for the post; and accordingly he asked leave to conquer Florida at his own cost. It was granted; and the title of Adelantado of Cuba and of Florida was conferred on him. The most extensive and costly arrangements were made for a voyage of discovery and of conquest. The cavaliers of Spain and Portugal, clad in silk and steel, repaired to his standard. Priests and monks, intent on extending the power of the church, joined his ranks; miners and chemists were provided to open and work the mines; and with an armament of nine hundred and sixty men,* in ten vessels, the most powerful, the most confident, and the best appointed that had ever embarked for the New World, De Soto sailed from Spain, on the 6th of April, 1538, for Cuba.

There a year was spent in preparation for the great expedition. Every thing that was necessary for conquest or colonization was provided. Men and implements for working in wood and iron, materials for assaying metals, cattle and swine to stock their colony, bloodhounds for capturing slaves, chains for confining them, arms and armor, the most costly and effective, were all provided and prepared. And with this great equipment the expedition sailed from Havana, on the 12th of May, 1539, and on Whitsunday, the 25th of May, they anchored in a bay named, from that circum-

* Biedma says there landed six hundred and twenty men.

stance, Espiritu Santo. Here they landed, and De Soto took formal possession of the country in the name of the emperor. No Indians were to be seen, and the Spaniards encamped securely on the shore; but during the night they were attacked with great fury, defeated and driven to their vessels. De Soto again disembarked his troops, and marching cautiously, encamped in a village six miles from the shore, which was deserted at his approach. Hirrihigua, its chief, was implacably hostile. Narvaez had cut off his nose, and caused his mother to be torn in pieces before him by his dogs. De Soto sought, by messages and presents, to appease him, but in vain. "I want none of their speeches; bring me their heads," he replied. Leaving here a garrison, and having recovered Ortiz, a companion of Narvaez, and having captured a number of Indians for guides, he set forth for the village of Aceura. The route of the Spaniards lay through tangled thickets, deep morasses, and quaking prairies. At length they came to a deep river, bordered by an impassable swamp, perhaps the Withlacoochee, and here the Indians that beset them disputed their passage; but after three days' fighting, and incredible hardships, they forced a passage, and reached the village. It was deserted, and the Spaniards, harassed day and night by the savages, set out again to seek the country of Ocali, where there was, they heard, perpetual spring, and whose warriors were cased in gold. But they were disappointed, and passed on to what they heard was the great and rich province of Appalachee. Vitachuco, one of the chiefs of that region, was hostile; but he was won by the presents and promises of De Soto, and came with his warriors and people to make a display of his power and magnificence. In the midst of the rejoicing and parade, the treacherous Spaniards seized the chief, attacked, slaughtered and dispersed his unsuspecting people. Thence they marched to the north, crossed the "Great Morass,"—where Narvaez had been finally defeated and driven back to the sea—doubtless the Okeefinokee swamp, and, after an obstinate battle for two days with the Indians, encamped for the winter at the Anhayca, the chief village of Appalachee, nearly one hundred leagues north from the bay of Espiritu Santo. The winter was spent in continual contests with the Indians. Early in March, 1540, they set out for the country of Cofachiqui, perhaps on the Savannah river. The country was fertile, the Indians were friendly, their queen received them with great hospitality; above all, they received "fourteen bushels" of pearls, and they were assured that there were enough of them in the neighboring villages to load all their horses. Here the Spaniards wished to

stop and form a colony, but De Soto refused his consent, seized his unsuspecting hostess and set out to the west, traversed the Cherochee country, passed through the country subject to the chief of Cosa, and reached the territories of Tuscaloosa. Tuscaloosa was the great chieftain of the south-west. He was of gigantic size, of high spirit, and ruled over a confederacy of tribes. He received the strangers with kindness; and they in turn seized him as a hostage, to secure the submission of his people, and marched on till they reached his principal town, Mauvile, now Mobile. Here many thousand Indians assembled to rescue their chief, and expel the invaders. The Spaniards were suddenly attacked with great fury; the battle lasted all day; the town was burned, eighty-three Spaniards, with forty-two horses, were slain, a great number, including De Soto himself, were wounded; several thousand Indians perished. But for the armor and fire-arms of the Spaniards, none of them would have escaped. All their ammunition and baggage were lost; but what, even in this extremity, concerned them most, all their wine and flour were gone, and it was no longer possible to celebrate the mass.

At this juncture it was ascertained that their ships had returned to the bay of Achusi, or Pensacola bay; and, weary of their misfortunes, the Spaniards determined to abandon the country and return home. De Soto was rendered desperate by his misfortunes, and foresaw in this spirit of his men the ruin of his hopes; and, determined to die rather than to return, he broke up his encampment and turned to the north-west, and, after a long march, encamped at the village of Chicasaw. The Indians there were peaceable, but the characteristic cruelty of the Spaniards could not be restrained; and the Indians, in revenge for the massacres, mutilations, and enslavement of their people, assembled, attacked and burned their camp. Forty men were slain, fifty horses, the remainder of their baggage, the greater part of their arms and clothing were destroyed. After this disaster, they removed and fortified themselves for the winter at Chicacilla. Early in the spring they resumed their march, and, after much suffering and many disasters, reached a great river, named by them the Rio Grande, by the Indians, Chucugua, Tumaliseu, Tapata, Mico, and, at its mouth, Ri. It was well described by the old chronicler, "The river in this place was a half league from one shore to the other, so that a man standing still could scarce be discerned from the opposite shore. It was of great depth, of wonderful rapidity, and very muddy; and was always filled with floating trees

and timber, carried down by the force of the current." Here the Spaniards prepared boats, and crossed the Mississippi; and, after wandering through the territories of various tribes, the most of whom were hostile, encamped for the winter at Utianque, on the Arkansas, near the western border of that State.

De Soto's spirit was broken by misfortune, and, in utter despair of finding either the gold or the glory he coveted, he resolved to seek again the Mississippi, and, if possible, the sea. Accordingly, early in the spring he set out, and, after long and tedious marches, reached the great river at Guachoya, about twenty miles below the mouth of the Arkansas. Thence he sent a party to seek the sea. After an absence of eight days, they returned and reported that they had advanced only fifteen leagues, on account of the great windings of the river, and the swamps and torrents with which it was bordered. Their report broke the spirit of De Soto. Despair seized his mind, disease attacked his frame, and, on the 21st of May, 1542, he died, and his body was sunk in the Mississippi. Luis de Moscoso succeeded to the command. Hearing vague rumors of Spaniards to the west, he set out in June, with the remains of the army, to the westward, in the hope of reaching Mexico. For three months they wandered, and passed at length over immense plains, covered with buffaloes, to a desert at the base of a range of high mountains. Wearied and dispirited, they turned their course, and reached the Mississippi above the mouth of the Arkansas. Here they wintered again, and prepared to descend the stream in the spring to the sea. Timber was found in the forests. All their iron implements, even to the fetters of their slaves, were wrought into nails. Grass served them for ropes. And thus they built seven small vessels, and, on the 2d of July, 1543, they embarked and followed the river, for twenty days, to its mouth, continually harassed by the Indians; and thence sailed along the coast fifty days, to the westward, and at length arrived at the Spanish settlement of Panuco.

And thus ended the great expedition. De Soto wandered over a great part of the continent in quest of wealth and fame; and found nothing so great as his grave. Of that chosen band of cavaliers, so brilliant and so confident, that followed him, scarcely three hundred, naked, battered and famishing, returned to ask the charity of their countrymen. The career of Spanish conquest to the northward was effectually checked. And but for the motives that religious and national hatred supplied, Florida might have remained unoccupied and unexplored. To furnish an asylum for his perse-

cuted countrymen of the Reformed faith, Admiral Coligni projected a colony in the New World; and, on the 18th of February, 1562, he sent out John Ribault, with a colony of French Calvinists.* A settlement was made below the Cambahee, named Carolana; and Ribault, leaving his colony, returned to France. Discontent sprung up, a mutiny ensued, and the settlement was abandoned. Two years later, another colony was sent out under the worthy Laudonnierre; and, on the river of May, with psalms and thanksgiving, they laid the foundations of what they hoped would be a secure retreat for the people of God. But the information was conveyed to Spain that a band of heretics had located themselves within the limits of the empire; and, in 1565, Pedro Melendez de Aviles was sent out by the king, with orders to exterminate them. On St. Augustine's day he landed on the coast, built a fort that yet perpetuates, in the name of the chief city of Florida, the day of its foundation, and from thence, marching secretly and rapidly by land, he surprised the Huguenot settlement of Carolana, and massacred the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex. Ribault was at sea; when he returned he was induced, with his companions, to surrender, upon the faith of the oath of Melendez. They gave up their arms, and were massacred. The crime was soon avenged. Dominic de Gourges, a Catholic of Gascony, once himself the victim of Spanish cruelty, burned with the desire of avenging his countrymen. For this purpose he fitted out an expedition, approached the coast, surprised and stormed the Spanish forts, put their inhabitants to the sword, and hanged their leaders on the same trees on which some of the French had been hanged. Melendez returned, repaired his posts, fortified St. Augustine, and governed his colony for ten years.

For a century the Spaniards made no further progress in the colonization of Florida. A few scattered missions, indeed, were established, and a religious province, named St. Helena, was chartered by the Holy See, and placed under the care of the Franciscan monks. The whole of Florida, with its vague limits, was attached to Mexico; but of the results of the great expeditions, and of the great sacrifices, of the heroic age of Spanish enterprise, there remained only the colony of St. Augustine.

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* A catalogue of the authorities in regard to the Huguenot and Spanish settlements in Florida, may be found in Sparks' American Biography.

The French made early and more successful attempts to explore and colonize the New World.* In 1535, James Cartier entered and explored the St. Lawrence to the Isle of Orleans; and, six years later, in conjunction with Roberval, led out a colony to that region, which he named New France. It failed, and for sixty years no further effort at colonization in America was made; but, in 1608, Samuel Champlain brought out a colony to the Isle of Orleans, and laid the foundation of the city of Quebec, and, five years later, of Montreal. In the same year of his arrival, Champlain, to secure the friendship of the Indians inhabiting the banks of the St. Lawrence, accompanied them in an expedition against their enemies, on the shores of the lake that bears his name. The allies gained a victory over their foes; and that event secured for three generations the alliance of the Algonquins, and the implacable hatred of the Iroquois. This fact determined the course of French exploration. The Iroquois confederacy, powerful in their union, and more powerful from the firearms they obtained from the Dutch, effectually barred the progress of the French traders and missionaries to the south, while their alliance with the Algonquins of the east, secured to them the friendship of the Algonquins of the west. Accordingly, very early explorations were made in the direction of the great western lakes.

In 1616, Le Caron, a Franciscan, the companion of Champlain, penetrated the wilderness to the waters of Lake Huron; and, along with Viel and Sagard, labored for ten years as a missionary among the tribes there and on the Niagara. The purposes of Champlain were more religious than commercial; he esteemed "the salvation of a soul worth more than the conquest of an empire;" his charter recognized the Indian convert as a citizen of France, and the Franciscans were chosen to conduct his missions. As elsewhere, however, the more active order of the Jesuits took possession of the missions, and, in 1634, Brebœuf and Daniel, and later, Lallemand, passed by way of the Ottawa to Lake Huron and to the Sault Ste. Marie,† and established at St. Joseph, St. Louis, and St. Ignatius, villages of Christian Hurons. In 1640, Raymbault and Pigart followed, and in the next year roamed as missionaries with the Hurons of Lake Nipissing. Later in the same year, Raymbault and Jogues passed, in a birch canoe, around the north shore of Lake Huron to the Sault Ste. Marie, met there a council of the Chippewas, and learned

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* Bancroft, vol. 3.

† Falls of the river St. Mary's, between Lakes Superior and Huron.

of the Nadouessies or the Sioux, who dwelt eighteen days' journey west of the great lake. But the path of those early missionaries was beset with peril and suffering. In the next year, Jogues and Bressani were captured by the Iroquois, and tortured; in 1648, St. Joseph was destroyed, and Daniel slain; and, in 1649, St. Louis and St. Ignatius were taken, and Brebœuf and Lallemand burned by the same relentless foes. But the French enterprise and the Catholic zeal were not checked. In 1660, Rene Mesnard was sent out to the far west. He passed around the south shore of Lake Superior, gathered a church at the bay of St. Theresa, and on his way from thence to the bay of Chegoimegon, was lost in the forest, at the portage of Kewenaw; and his cassock and breviary were found long after among the Sioux.

Meanwhile, a change was made in the government of the colony. The company of the hundred associates, that had ruled it since 1632, resigned its charter; new France passed to the company of the West Indies. In 1665, Tracy was made viceroy, Courcelles governor, and Talon intendent.* The Jesuit missions were taken under the care of the new government; and Claude Allouez was sent out in the same year, by way of the Ottawa, to the far west. Reaching the Sault Ste. Marie, he passed around the south shore of Lake Superior, and landed at the bay of Chegoimegon. There, at the chief village of the Chippewas, he established a mission, and made, on behalf of the colony, an alliance with them, the Pottawattamies, Sacs and Foxes, and the Illinois, against the Iroquois. In the next year, he passed with the Ottawas to the north shore, and at the western extremity of the lake met the Sioux, and from them learned of a great river flowing to the south, which they called "Messipi." Thence he returned to Quebec to seek more laborers. In 1668, Claude Dablon and Jaques Marquette repaired to the Sault, and established the mission of Ste. Marie; and during the next five years Allouez, Dablon and Marquette explored the regions south of Superior, and west of Michigan, and established the missions of Chegoimegon, St. Marie, Mackinaw, and Green Bay. The purpose of exploring the Mississippi sprang from Marquette himself; but it was furthered by the plans of the intendent Talon, to extend the power of France to the west. In 1670, Nicholas Perot was sent to the west to propose a congress of the tribes of the lakes. In May, 1671, the great council was held at

* The duties of intendent included a supervision of the policy, justice, and finance of the province.

Sault Ste. Marie; the cross was set up, by its side a column inscribed with the lilies of the Bourbons, the Vexilla Regis was chanted, and the nations of the north-west, with all the pomp of the feudal age, were taken into the alliance and under the protection of France. Talon was not satisfied with mere display. There were three opinions in regard to the course of the great river, of which Allouez had heard—that it ran to the south-east into the Atlantic, below Virginia—that it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico—and that it emptied into the Gulf of California, and opened a highway to China and the East. To determine this problem, to secure the lands through which it flowed to France, and thus to signalize the close of his administration, Talon approved the purpose of Marquette, and directed him, with M. Joliet, of Quebec, to explore the Mississippi.

On the 13th of May, 1673,* Marquette, Joliet and five voyageurs embarked in two birch canoes at Mackinaw, and passed down the lake. The first tribe they visited were the Folles Aviones, or nation of Wild Oats, now known as the Menomonies, living around the north shore of the Bay of Puans, or Green Bay. These Indians, with whom Marquette was previously acquainted, were informed of their plan of exploration and begged them to desist. There were Indians, they said, on that great river, who would cut off their heads without the least cause; warriors who would seize them; monsters who would swallow them, canoes and all; even a demon, who shut the way, and buried in the waters that boil about him, all who dared draw nigh; and, if these dangers were passed, there were heats there that would infallibly kill them.† "I thanked them for their good advice," says Marquette, "but I told them I could not follow it; since the salvation of souls was at stake, for which I should be overjoyed to give my life." Passing through Green Bay, they entered Fox river, and toiling over stones which cut their feet, as they dragged their canoes through its strong rapids, reached a village where lived in union the Miamis, Mascoutens,‡ and "Kikabeux" (Kicka-

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* Marquette's Journal in French's Historical collections of Louisiana, Part 2.

† The allusion here is to the legend of the *Piasa*—or the monster bird that devoured men, of which some rude Indian paintings were seen thirty years since on the cliffs above the city of Alton; and Indians as they passed in their canoes made offerings, by dropping tobacco and other articles, valuable in their estimation, in the river.

‡ In Charlevoix's time these occupied the country from the Illinois to the Fox river of Wisconsin, and from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi.—See his Map.

poos.) Here Allouez had preached, and in the midst of the town there was a cross, on which hung skins, and belts, and bows, and arrows, which "these good people had offered to the great Manitou, to thank him because he had taken pity on them during the winter, and had given them an abundant chase." Beyond this point no Frenchman had gone; here was the bound of discovery; and much did the savages wonder at the hardihood of these seven men, who, alone in two bark canoes, were thus fearlessly passing into unknown dangers. On the 10th of June, they left this wondering and well-wishing crowd, and, with two Indian guides to lead them through the lakes and marshes of that region, started for the river, which, as they heard, rose about three leagues distant, and fell into the Mississippi. These guides conducted them to the portage, and helped them to carry their canoes across it; then, returning, left them "alone amid that unknown country, in the hands of God."

With prayers to the mother of Jesus they strengthened their souls, and committed themselves, in all hope, to the current of the westward-flowing river, the "Ouisconsin" (Wisconsin); a sand-barred stream, hard to navigate, but full of islands covered with vines, and bordered by meadows, and groves, and pleasant slopes. Down this they floated until, upon the 17th of June, they entered the Mississippi, "with a joy," says Marquette, "that I cannot express." Quietly floating down the great river, they remarked the deer, the buffaloes, the swans—"wingless, for they lose their feathers in that country"—the great fish, one of which had nearly knocked their canoe into atoms, and other creatures of air, earth and water, but no men. At last, however, upon the 21st of June, they discovered, upon the western bank of the river, the footprints of some fellow mortals, and a little path leading into a pleasant meadow. Leaving the canoes in charge of their followers, Joliet and Father Marquette boldly advanced upon this path toward, as they supposed, an Indian village. After walking for two leagues, they came to a cluster of villages along the banks of a river, then called the Moingona, now probably the Des Moines.* Making their presence known by a loud cry, they were met by four old men, who presented to them the calumet, and escorted them to their chief. Here they made known the purpose of their voyage,

* It is not certain that the Moingona was the Des Moines. If it was, the points of their landing was, from Marquette's description, nearly opposite the city of Nauvoo.

and the chief begged them to desist, on account of the dangers of the voyage. "I told him," says Marquette, "that we did not fear death, and that I would esteem it a happiness to lose my life in the service of God, at which he seemed to be much surprised." They were then entertained with a feast and the dance of the calumet, spent the night with the chief, and were escorted by nearly six hundred persons to their canoes. These Indians called themselves Illinois, in their language, *men;* the name of their tribe was Peruraca, and their language was a dialect of the Algonquin. Marquette, like all the early travelers, describes the Illinois as remarkably handsome, well-mannered, and kindly, even somewhat effeminate. Leaving these savages, the adventurers passed the rocks upon which were painted those monsters of whose existence they had heard on Lake Michigan, and soon found themselves at the mouth of the Pekitanoni, or Missouri of our day; the character of which is well described—muddy, rushing, and noisy. They next passed a dangerous rock in the river,* and then came to the Ouabouskigou, or Ohio, a stream which makes but a small figure in Father Marquette's map, being but a trifling water-course compared to the Illinois. From the Ohio, our voyagers passed with safety, except from the musquitoes, into the neighborhood of the "Akamscas," or Arkansas. Here they were attacked by a crowd of warriors, and had nearly lost their lives; but Marquette resolutely presented the peace-pipe, and some of the old men of the attacking party were softened, and saved them from harm. "God touched their hearts," says the pious narrator. The next day the Frenchmen went on to "Akamsca,"† where they were received most kindly, and feasted with great friendship. These Indians cooked in and eat from earthenware, and were amiable and unceremonious, each man helping himself from the dish and passing it to his neighbor. From this point, Joliet and Marquette determined to return to the north, as dangers increased toward the sea, and no doubt could exist as to the point where the Mississippi emptied, to ascertain which was the great object of their expedition. Accordingly, on the 17th of July, they left Akamsca; retraced their path with much labor to the Illinois, through which they soon reached the lake; and "nowhere," says Marquette, "did we see such

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* The Grand Tower, about one hundred miles below St. Louis.

† The Akamsca, or Arkansas, was an Indian village on the west side of the Mississippi, about 36 miles above the mouth of the Arkansas.—*Charlevoix Letters*, p. 306.

grounds, meadows, woods, stags, buffaloes, deer, wild-cats, bustards, swans, ducks, paroquets, and even beavers," as on the Illinois river.

In September, the party, without loss or injury, reached Green Bay, and reported their discovery; one of the most important of that age, and one which opened up the great valley to the enterprise of their countrymen. That consideration, however, did not influence the mind of Marquette. "If," says he, "my perilous journey had been attended with no other advantage than the salvation of one soul, I would think my peril sufficiently rewarded. I preached the Gospel to the Illinois of Peruraca for three days together. My instructions made such an impression upon this poor people, that, as soon as we were about to depart, they brought to me a dying child to baptize, which I did about half an hour before he died, and which, by a special providence, God was pleased to save."

Afterward, Marquette returned to the Illinois, by their request, and ministered to them until 1675. On the 18th of May, in that year, as he was passing with his boatmen up Lake Michigan, he proposed to land at the mouth of a stream running from the peninsula, and perform mass. Leaving his men with the canoe, he went a little way apart to pray, they waiting for him. As much time passed, and he did not return, they called to mind that he had said something of his death being at hand, and anxiously went to seek him. They found him dead: where he had been praying he had died. The canoe-men dug a grave near the mouth of the stream, and buried him in the sand. Here his body was liable to be exposed by a rise of water; and would have been so, had not the river retired, and left the missionary's grave in peace. Charlevoix, who visited the spot some fifty years afterward, found that the waters had forced a passage at the most difficult point, and had cut through a bluff, rather than cross the lowland where that grave was. The river is called Marquette.* While the simple-hearted and true Marquette was pursuing his labors of love in the west, two men, differing widely from him and each other, were preparing to follow in his footsteps, and perfect the discoveries so well begun by him and the Sieur Joliet. These were Robert de la Salle and Louis Hennepin.

Robert, Chevalier de la Salle, was a native of Rouen, in Normandy. He was educated in a seminary of the Jesuits, and probably being designed for the church, received no share of his

* Charlevoix, p. 222.

father's estate. For some unknown reason he left the seminary, with, however, the approbation of his superiors, came to Canada about the year 1667, and engaged in the fur trade. But his active mind was busied with speculations far beyond the details of his business. It was the belief of that age that a passage, through the American continent, might be found to China and the East, and La Salle's mind was so filled with the idea, and with the hope of realizing it, that his trading post on the island of Montreal was named La Chine. And thus he was occupied with great thoughts of discovery when Marquette and Joliet returned. At once La Salle received from them the idea, that, by following the great river northward, or by turning up some of the streams which joined it from the westward, his aim might be certainly and easily gained. He applied to Frontenac, then governor-general of Canada, laid before him an outline of his views, dim but gigantic, and, as a first step, proposed to rebuild of stone, and with improved fortifications, Fort Frontenac, upon Lake Ontario, a post to which he knew the governor felt all the affection due to a namesake. Frontenac entered warmly into his views. He saw that in La Salle's suggestion, which was to connect Canada with the Gulf of Mexico by a chain of forts upon the vast navigable lakes and rivers which bind that country so wonderfully together, lay the germ of a plan which might give unmeasured power to France, and unequaled glory to himself, under whose administration he fondly hoped all would be realized. He advised La Salle, therefore, to go to the king of France, to make known his project, and ask for the royal patronage and protection; and, to forward his suit, gave him letters to the great Colbert, minister of finance and marine. Accordingly, in 1675, he returned to France; his plan was approved by the minister, to whom he presented Frontenac's letter; La Salle was made a chevalier; was invested with the seigniory of Fort Catarocouy or Frontenac, upon condition he would rebuild it; and received from all the first noblemen and princes assurances of their good-will and aid. Returning to Canada, he labored diligently at his fort till the close of 1677, when he again sailed for France with news of his progress. Colbert and his son, Seignelay, now minister of marine, once more received him with favor, and, at their instance, the king granted new letters patent with new privileges. His mission having sped so well, on the 14th of July, 1678, La Salle, with his lieutenant, Tonti, an Italian, and thirty men, sailed again from Rochelle for Quebec, where they arrived on the 15th of September; and, after a few days' stay, proceeded to Fort Frontenac.

Here was quietly working, though in no quiet spirit, the rival and co-laborer of La Salle, Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan friar, of the Recollet variety; a man full of ambition to be a great discoverer; daring, hardy, energetic, vain and self-exaggerating, almost to madness; and, it is feared, more anxious to advance his own selfish ends than the truth. He had in Europe lurked behind doors, he tells us, that he might hear sailors spin their yarns touching foreign lands; and he profited, it would seem, by their instructions. He came to Canada when La Salle returned from his first visit to the court, and had, to a certain extent, prepared himself, by journeying among the Iroquois, for bolder travels in the wilderness. Having been appointed by his religious superiors to accompany the expedition which was about to start for the extreme West, under La Salle, Hennepin was in readiness for him at Fort Frontenac, where he arrived, probably, in October, 1678.

The Chevalier's first step was to send forward men to prepare the minds of the Indians along the lakes, for his coming, to soften their hearts by well-chosen gifts and words, and to pick up peltries, beaver-skins, and other valuables; and, upon the 18th of November, 1678, he himself embarked in a little vessel of ten tons, to cross Lake Ontario. This, says one of his chroniclers, was the first ship that sailed upon that fresh water sea. The wind was strong and contrary, and four weeks nearly were passed in beating up the little distance between Kingston and Niagara. Having forced their brigantine as far toward the Falls as was possible, our travelers landed; built some magazines with difficulty, for at times the ground was frozen so hard, that they could drive their stakes or posts into it only by first pouring upon it boiling water; and then made acquaintance with the Iroquois, of the village of Niagara, upon Lake Erie. Not far from this village, La Salle founded a second fort, upon which he set his men to work; but finding the Iroquois jealous, he gave it up for a time, and merely erected temporary fortifications for his magazines; and then, leaving orders for a new ship to be built,* he returned to Fort Frontenac, to forward stores, cables, and anchors for his forth-coming vessel. Through the hard and cold winter days, the frozen river lying before them "like a plain, paved with fine polished marble," some of his men hewed and hammered upon the timbers of the *Griffin*, as the great bark was to be named, while others gathered furs and

* The keel was laid by La Salle, on the 26th of January, 1679, at the mouth of Cayuga creek, on the American side of the Niagara, about six miles above the great Falls.

skins, or sued for the good will of the bloody savages amid whom they were quartered; and all went merrily until the 20th of January, 1679. On that day the Chevalier arrived from below. The vessel in which his valuables had been embarked, was wrecked through the bad management of the pilots; and though the more important part of her freight was saved, much of her provision went to the bottom. During the winter, however, a quantity of furs was collected, with which, early in the spring of 1769, the commander returned to Fort Frontenac to get another outfit, while Tonti was sent forward to scour the lake coasts, muster together the men who had been sent before, collect skins, and explore the country. In thus coming and going, buying and trading, the summer of this year passed away, and it was the 7th of August before the *Griffin* was ready to sail. Then, with *Te Deums* and the discharge of arquebuses, she began her voyage up Lake Erie.

Over Lake Erie, through the strait beyond, across the lake they named St. Clair, and into Huron, the voyagers passed most happily. In Huron they were troubled by storms, dreadful as those upon the ocean, and were at last forced to take refuge in the road of Michilimackinac. This was upon the 27th of August. At this place La Salle remained until the middle of September, founded a fort there, and sent men therefrom in various directions to examine the country. He then went on to Green Bay, the "Baie des Puans," of the French; and, finding there a large quantity of skins and furs collected for him, he determined to load the *Griffin*, and send her back to Niagara. Accordingly upon the 18th of September, she was dispatched under the charge of a pilot, supposed to be competent and trustworthy, while La Salle himself, with fourteen men, proceeded up Lake Michigan, paddling along its shores in the most leisurely manner; Tonti, meanwhile, was sent to find stragglers, with whom he was to join the main body at the head of the lake.

From the 19th of September till the 1st of November, the time was occupied by La Salle in his voyage up the sea in question. On the day last named, he arrived at the mouth of the river of the Miamis, or St. Josephs, as it is now called. Here he built a fort and remained for nearly a month, when hearing nothing from his *Griffin*, he determined to push on before it was too late.

On the 3d of December, having mustered all his forces, thirty laborers and three monks, after having left ten men to garrison the fort, La Salle started again upon "his great voyage and glorious undertaking." Ascending the St. Josephs river in the south-

western part of Michigan to a point where, by a short portage, they passed to the "*The-a-ki-ki*," now corrupted into Kankakee, a main branch of the Illinois river. Proceeding slowly, the better to observe the country, about the last of December, they reached a village of the Illinois Indians, perhaps near the Buffalo Rock, in La Salle county, Illinois, containing some five hundred cabins, but, at that moment, no inhabitants. The Sieur La Salle, being in great want of bread-stuffs, took advantage of this absence of the Indians to help himself to a sufficiency of maize, of which large quantities were found hidden in holes under the huts or wigwams. This done, the voyagers betook themselves to the stream again, and toward evening on the 4th of January, 1680, fell into a lake which must have been the lake of Peoria. Here the natives were met with in large numbers, but they were gentle and kind, and having spent some time with them, La Salle determined in that neighborhood to build another fort, for he found that already some of the adjoining tribes were trying to disturb the good feeling which existed; and, moreover, some of his own men were disposed to complain. A spot upon rising ground, near the river, was accordingly chosen, about the middle of January, and the fort of *Crevecœur** (Broken Heart,) commenced; a name expressive of the very natural anxiety and sorrow, which the loss of the *Griffin*, his consequent impoverishment, the danger of hostility on the part of the Indians, and of mutiny on the part of his men, might well cause him.

Nor were his fears by any means groundless. In the first place, his discontented followers, and afterward emissaries from the Mascoutens, tried to persuade the Illinois that he was a friend of the Iroquois, their most deadly enemies; and that he was among them for the purpose of enslaving them. But La Salle was an honest and fearless man, and, as soon as coldness and jealousy appeared on the part of his hosts, he went to them boldly and asked the cause, and by his frank statements, preserved their good feeling and good-will.

Meanwhile the winter wore away, and the prairies were beginning to look green again; but La Salle heard no good news, received no reinforcement; his property was gone, his men were fast deserting him, and he had little left but his own strong heart. The second year of his hopes, and toils, and failures, was half gone, and he further from his object than ever; but still he had that

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* The site of Crevecœur is unknown.

strong heart; and it was more than men or money. He saw that he must go back to Canada, raise new means, and enlist new men; but he did not dream therefore, of relinquishing his projects. On the contrary, he determined, that while he was on his return, a small party should go to the Mississippi and explore that stream toward its source; and that Tonti, with the few men that remained, should strengthen and extend his relations among the Indians.

For the leader of the Mississippi exploring party, he chose Father Louis Hennepin; and, having furnished him with all the necessary articles, started him upon his voyage on the last day of February, 1680.

Having thus provided against the entire stagnation of discovery during his forced absence, La Salle at once betook himself to his journey eastward; a journey scarce conceivable now, for it was to be made by land from Fort Crevecœur round to Fort Frontenac, a distance of at least twelve hundred miles, at the most trying season of the year, when the rivers and the lakes would be full of floating ice, and offer to the traveler neither the security of winter, nor the comfort of summer. But the chevalier was not to be daunted by any obstacles; his affairs were in so precarious a state that he felt he must make a desperate effort, or all his plans would be forever broken up; so through snow, ice and water, he found his way along the southern borders of Lakes Michigan, Erie and Ontario, and at last reached his destination. He found, as he expected, every thing in confusion; his *Griffin* was lost, his agents had cheated him, his creditors had seized his goods. Had his spirit been one atom less elastic and energetic, he would have abandoned the whole undertaking; but La Salle knew neither fear nor despair, and by mid-summer he was once more on his way to rejoin his little band of explorers on the Illinois. This pioneer body, meanwhile, had suffered greatly from the jealousy of the neighboring Indians, and the attacks of bands of Iroquois, who wandered all the way from their homes in New York, to annoy the less warlike savages of the prairies. Their sufferings, at length, in September, 1680, induced Tonti to abandon his position, and seek the lakes again, a point which, with much difficulty, he effected. When, therefore, La Salle, who had heard nothing of all these troubles, reached the posts upon the Illinois, in December, 1680, or January, 1681, he found them utterly deserted; his hopes again crushed, and all his dreams again disappointed. There was but one thing to be done, however, to turn back to Canada, enlist more men, and secure more means; this he did, and in June, 1681, had

the pleasure to meet his comrade, Lieutenant Tonti, at Mackinaw, to whom he spoke with the same hope and courage which he had exhibited at the outset of his enterprise.

Hennepin meanwhile left Fort Crevecœur, on the 29th of February, 1680. In seven days he reached the Mississippi, and paddling up its icy stream, as he best could, by the 11th of April had gone no further than the Wisconsin. Here he was taken prisoner by a band of northern Indians, who treated him and his comrades with considerable kindness, and took them up the river until about the 1st of May, when they reached the Falls of St. Anthony, which were then so named by Hennepin, in honor of his patron saint. Here they took to the land, and traveling nearly two hundred miles towards the northwest, brought him to their villages. These Indians were the Sioux.

Here Hennepin and his companions remained about three months, treated kindly and trusted by their captors; at the end of that time, he met with a band of Frenchmen, headed by one Sieur de Luth, who, in pursuit of trade and game, had penetrated thus far by the route of Lake Superior; and, with these fellow countrymen, the Franciscan returned to the borders of civilized life, in November, 1680, just after La Salle had gone back to the wilderness. Hennepin soon after went to France, where, in 1684, he published a work narrating his adventures.

This volume, called "A Description of Louisiana," he, thirteen years afterward, enlarged and altered, and published with the title "New Discovery of a Vast Country situated in America, between New Mexico and the Frozen Ocean." In this new publication, he claimed to have violated La Salle's instructions, and, in the first place, to have gone *down* the Mississippi to its mouth, before ascending it. His claim was doubted, and examination has proved it to be a complete fable—the materials being taken from Le Clercq's account of the voyage of La Salle, published in 1691. Le Clercq's account is derived from the letters of Father Zenobe Mambre, who was with La Salle on his voyage.

To return again to the chevalier himself, he met Tonti, at Mackinaw, in June, 1681; thence he went down the lakes to Fort Frontenac, to make the needful preparations for prosecuting his western discoveries; in August, 1681, he was on his way up the lakes again, and on the 3d of November at the St. Josephs, as full of confidence as ever. The middle of December had come, however, before all were ready to go forward; and then, with twenty-three Frenchmen, eighteen eastern Indians, ten Indian women, and three

children, he started, not as before by the way of the Kaukakee, but by the Chicago river, traveling on foot, and with the baggage on sledges. It was upon the 5th or 6th of January, 1682, that the band of explorers left the borders of Lake Michigan, crossed the portage, passed down to Fort Crevecœur, which they found in good condition, and on the 6th of February were upon the banks of the Mississippi. On the 13th they commenced their downward passage, but nothing of interest occurred until, on the 26th of the month, at the Chickasaw Bluffs, a Frenchman named Prudhomme, who had gone out with others to hunt, was lost; a circumstance which led to the erection of a fort upon the spot, named from the missing man, who was found, however, eight or nine days afterward. Pursuing their course, they at length, upon the 6th of April, 1682, discovered the three passages by which the Mississippi discharges its water into the gulf.

"A process verbal," in the French archives, describes the ceremony with which possession was taken of the country, in the name of the French king. It thus proceeds: "We landed on the bank of the most western channel, about three leagues from its mouth. On the 7th, M. de la Salle went to reconnoitre the shores of the neighboring sea, and M. de Tonti likewise examined the great middle channel. They found these two outlets beautiful, large and deep. On the 8th, we re-ascended the river, a little above its confluence with the sea, to find a dry place, beyond the reach of inundations. The elevation of the North Pole was here about twenty-seven degrees. Here we prepared a column and a cross, and to the said column we affixed the arms of France, with this inscription:

LOUIS LE GRAND, ROI DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE, REGNE,
LE NEUVIEME AVRIL, 1682.

The whole party, under arms, chaunted the *Te Deum*, the *Exaudiat*, the *Domine salvum fac Regem;* and then, after a salute of firearms and cries of *Vive le Roi*, the column was erected by M. de la Salle, who, standing near it, said with a loud voice in French:

"'In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious prince, Louis the Great, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, I, in virtue of the commission of his majesty, which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take, in the name of his majesty and of his successors to the crown,

possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, ports, bays, adjacent straits; and all the nations, people, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams and rivers, comprised in the extent of the said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great river St. Louis, on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Alighin, Sipore or Chukagona, and this with the consent of the Chaounons, Chickachaws, and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the river Colbert, or Mississippi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the country of the Kious or Nadouessious, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Montantees, Illinois, Mesigameas, Natches, Koroas, which are the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom also we have made alliance, either by ourselves or by others in our behalf,* as far as its mouth at the sea, or Gulf of Mexico, about the twenty-seventh degree of the elevation of the North Pole, and also to the mouth of the river of Palms; upon the assurance, which we have received from all these nations, that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the said river Colbert; hereby protesting against all those who may in future undertake to invade any or all of these countries, people or lands, above described, to the prejudice of the right of his majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations herein named. Of which, and of all that can be needed, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand an act of the Notary, as required by law.'

"To which the whole assembly responded with shouts of *Vive le Roi*, and with salutes of firearms. Moreover, the said Sieur de la Salle caused to be buried at the foot of the tree, to which the cross was attached, a leaden plate, on one side of which were engraved the arms of France, and the following Latin inscription:

LVDOVICVS MAGNVS REGENT.
NONO APRILIS CIↃ IↃC LXXXII.
ROBERTVS CAVELLIER, CVM DOMINO DE TONTY, LEGATO, R. P. ZENOBI MEMBRE, RECOLLECTO, ET VIGINTI GALLIS PRIMVS HOC FLVMEN, INDE AB ILINEORVM PAGO, ENAVIGAVIT, EJVSQVE OSTIVM FECIT PERVIVVM, NONO APRILIS, ANNI CIↃ IↃC LXXXII.

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* There is an obscurity in this enumeration of places and Indian nations, which may be ascribed to an ignorance of the geography of the country; but it seems to be the design of the Sieur de la Salle to take possession of the whole territory watered by the Mississippi from its mouth to its source, and by the streams flowing into it on both sides.—*Sparks.*

After which the Sieur de la Salle said, that his majesty, as eldest son of the church, would annex no country to his crown without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein, and that its symbol must now be planted; which was accordingly done at once, by erecting a cross, before which the *Vexilla* and the *Domine salvum fac Regem* were sung. Whereupon the ceremony was concluded with cries of *Vive le Roi.*

"Of all and every of the above, the said Sieur de la Salle having required of us an instrument, we have delivered to him the same, signed by us, and by the undersigned witnesses, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two.

LA METAIRE, *Notary.*

De la Salle,	Jaques Cauchois,
P. Zenobe, *Recollect Missionary*,	Pierre You,
Henry de Tonty,	Giles Meucrat,
Francois de Boisrondet,	Jean Michel, *Surgeon*,
Jean Bourdon,	Jean Mas,
Sieur d'Autray,	Jean Dulignon,

Nicholas de la Salle."

Thus was the foundation fairly laid for the claim of France to the Mississippi valley, according to the usages of European powers. But La Salle and his companions could not stay to examine the land they had entered, nor the coast they had reached. Provisions with them were exceedingly scarce, and they were forced at once to start upon their return for the north. This they did without serious trouble, although somewhat annoyed by the savages, until they reached Fort Prudhomme, where La Salle was taken violently sick. Finding himself unable to announce his success in person, the chevalier sent forward Tonti to the lakes, to communicate with Count de Frontenac: he himself was able to reach the fort at the mouth of the St. Josephs, toward the last of September. From that post he sent with his dispatches Father Zenobe, to represent him in France, while he pursued the more lucrative business of attending to his fur trade, in the north-west, and completing his long-projected Fort of St. Louis, upon the high and commanding bluff of the Illinois, now known as Rock Fort; a bluff two hundred and fifty feet high, and accessible only on one side.* Having seen

* There is an uncertainty in regard to the site of Rock Fort. Buffalo Rock, three miles below Ottawa, on the north side of the river, is about fifty or sixty feet high, and contains about 600 acres. Starved Rock, three miles above La Salle, so named from the tradition that a band of Illinois Indians were starved there by their enemies, is on

this completed, and the necessary steps taken to preserve a good understanding with the Indians, and also to keep up a good trade with them, in the autumn of 1683 the chevalier sailed for his native land, which he reached December 13th.

At one time he had thought probably of attempting to establish a colony on the Mississippi, by means of supplies and persons sent from Canada; but further reflection led him to believe his true course was to go from France to the mouth of the Mississippi, with abundant means of settling and securing the country; and to obtain the necessary ships, stores, and emigrants, was the main purpose of his visit to Europe. But he found his fair fame in danger, in the court of his king. His success, his wide plans, and his overbearing character were all calculated to make him enemies; and among the foremost was La Barre, who had succeeded Frontenac as governor of Canada. Notwithstanding the influence of these, through the notoriety acquired by the publication of Hennepin's book, and especially by means of his own address and perseverance, La Salle overcame the obstacles in his way, secured the friendship of the minister Seignelay, and the favor of the king; and received the grant of a fleet to transport a colony to America, and take possession of the mouth of the Mississippi on behalf of the crown.

On the 24th of July, 1684, twenty-four vessels sailed from Rochelle to America, four of which were for the discovery and settlement of the famed Louisiana. These four carried two hundred and eighty persons, including the crews; there were soldiers, artificers, and volunteers, and also "some young women." No doubt this brave fleet started full of light hearts, and vast, vague hopes; but it had scarcely sailed when discord began; for La Salle and the commander of the fleet, M. de Beaujeu, were well fitted to quarrel one with the other, but never to work together. In truth, La Salle seems to have been no wise amiable, for he was overbearing, harsh, and probably selfish to the full extent to be looked for in a man of worldly ambition. However, in one of the causes of quarrel which arose during the passage, he acted, if not with policy, certainly with boldness and humanity. It was when they came to the Tropic of Cancer, where, in those times, it was customary to dip all green hands, as is still sometimes done under the Equator. On this occasion the sailors of La Salle's little

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the south side of the Illinois river, and ninety or one hundred feet high, and accessible only on one side. There are no other points along the river that will meet the description of Rock Fort. Distances and measurements were overrated by the early French explorers.

squadron promised themselves rare sport and much plunder, grog, and other good things, the forfeit paid by those who do not wish a seasoning; but all these expectations were stopped, and hope turned into hate, by the express and emphatic statement on the part of La Salle, that no man under his command should be ducked, whereupon the commander of the fleet was forced to forbid the ceremony.

With such beginnings of bickering and dissatisfaction, the Atlantic was crossed, and upon the 20th of December, the island of St. Domingo was reached. Here certain arrangements were to be made with the colonial authorities; but, as they were away, it became necessary to stop there for a time. And a sad time it was. The fever seized the new-comers; the ships were crowded with sick; La Salle himself was brought to the verge of the grave; and when he recovered, the first news that greeted him, was that of his four vessels, the one wherein he had embarked his stores and implements, had been taken by the Spaniards. The sick man had to bestir himself thereupon to procure new supplies; and while he was doing so, his enemies were also bestirring themselves to seduce his men from him, so that with death and desertion, he was likely to have a small crew at the last. But energy did much; and, on the 25th of November, the first of the remaining vessels, she that was "to carry the light," sailed for the coast of America. In her went La Salle and the historian of the voyage, Joutel.

For a whole month were the diconsolate sailors sailing, and sounding, and stopping to take in water and shoot alligators, and drifting in utter uncertainty, until, on the 28th of December, the main land was fairly discovered. But "there being," as Joutel says, "no man among them who had any knowledge of that bay," and there being also an impression that they must steer very much to the westward to avoid the currents, it was no wonder they missed the Mississippi, and wandered far beyond it, not knowing where they went. At last, La Salle, out of patience, determined to land some of his men, and go along the shore toward the point where he believed the mouth of the Mississippi to be, and Joutel was appointed one of the commanders of this exploring party. They started on the 4th of February, and traveled eastward three days, when they came to a great stream which they could not cross. Here they made fire signals, and, on the 13th, two of the vessels came in sight; the mouth of the river, or entrance of the bay, for such it proved to be, was forthwith sounded, and the barks sent in to be under shelter. But La Salle's old fortune was at work here

again; the vessel which bore his provisions and most valuable stores, was run upon a shoal by the grossest neglect, or, as Joutel thinks, with malice prepense; and soon after, the wind coming in strong from the sea, she fell to pieces in the night, covering the bay with casks and packages, which could not be saved, or were worthless when drawn from the salt water. From this untimely fate La Salle rescued but a small part of his second stock of indispensables. As if to add to the misfortunes of the colonists just at this juncture, Beaujeu set sail and returned to France, leaving to them eight pieces of cannon, but without balls; and without even provisions for their sustenance. Leaving his people under the protection of a rude fortification, made of the timbers of their vessel, La Salle explored the surrounding region and the streams that emptied into the bay, in the hope that some of them might prove the outlet of the Mississippi. He was disappointed, but found on a river he named the Vaches, a fit location for a fort. To this point the camp was removed; and, after incredible labor, a fortification, sufficient to protect them from the Indians, was made of timbers dragged for a league over the plain by the men. The fort was named St. Louis, and was located at the head of Matagorda Bay.

"As soon as the work was somewhat advanced,* M. de la Salle gave Joutel orders to finish it; left him the command of it and about one hundred men; he took the rest of his people and embarked on the river, with the resolution of going up as high as he could. Joutel stayed but a short time after him in the fort which had been begun; every night the savages were roving in the neighborhood; the French defended themselves, but with losses that weakened them. On the 14th of July, Joutel received an order from M. de la Salle to join him with all his people. Many good stout men had been killed or taken by the Indians; others were dead with fatigue, and the number of sick increased every day; in a word, nothing could be more unhappy than M. de la Salle's situation. He was devoured with grief, but he dissimulated it pretty well; by which means his dissimulation degenerated into a morose obstinacy. As soon as he saw all his people together, he began in good earnest to think of making a settlement, and fortifying it. He was the engineer of his own fort, and being always the first to put his hand to work, everybody worked as well as he could to follow his example. Nothing was wanting but to encourage this good will of

* Bossu's statement in Dillon's Indiana.

the people; but M. de la Salle had not sufficient command of his temper. At the very time when his people spent their force with working, and had but just as much as was absolutely necessary to live upon, he could not prevail on himself to relax his severity a little, or alter his inflexible temper, which is never seasonable, and less so in a new settlement.

"It is not sufficient to have courage, health, and watchfulness, to make any undertaking succeed. Many other talents are requisite. Moderation, patience, and disinterestedness are equally necessary. M. de la Salle punished the least of faults with severity, and seldom any word of comfort came from his mouth to those who suffered with the greatest constancy. He had, of course, the misfortune to see all his people fall into a state of languor and despondency, which was more the effect of despair than of excess of labor or scantiness of good nourishment. Having given his last orders at his fort, he resolved to advance into the country, and began to march on the 12th of January, 1687, with M. de Cavelier, his brother, Moranget and the young Cavelier, his nephews, Father Anastasius, a Franciscan friar, Joutel, Duhaut, L'Archeveque, De Marne, a German, whose name was Hiens, a surgeon named Liotot, the pilot Tessier, Saget, and an Indian who was a good huntsman. As they advanced further into the country they found it inhabited; and when they were but forty leagues from the nation of the Cenis, they heard that there was a Frenchman among those Indians. It was a sailor from Lower Bretany, who had lost himself when M. de la Salle first came down the Mississippi. Joutel went to fetch him from among those Indians. He only quitted them to be witness of a crime.

"March 17th, Moranget being on a hunting-party, and having, as it is said, abused with words, Duhaut, Hiens, and the surgeon Liotot, those three men resolved to get rid of him as soon as possible, and to begin with the servant of M. de la Salle, and his Indian huntsman, who was called Nika, who both accompanied Moranget, and could have defended him. They communicated their design to L'Archeveque and the pilot, Tessier, who approved of it, and desired to take part in the execution. They did not speak of it to the Sieur de Marne, who was with them, and whom they wished to have been able to get away. The next night, while the three unhappy victims whom they would sacrifice to revenge, slept very quietly, Liotot gave each of them several blows with the hatchet on the head. The Indian and the servant died immediately. Moranget raised himself so as to sit upright, without

speaking a word. and the murderers obliged the Sieur de Marne to dispatch him, threatening to kill him, too, if he refused; thus, by making him an accomplice of their crime, they wanted to secure themselves against his accusing them. The first crime is always followed by uneasiness. The greatest villains find it difficult to conquer it. The murderers conceived that it would not be easy to escape the just vengeance of M. de la Salle, unless by murdering him; and this they resolved upon, after deliberating on the means of effecting it. They thought the safest way was to meet him and surprise all that accompanied him; and so open themselves a way for the murder which they intended to perpetrate. So strange a resolution could only be inspired by that blind despair which hurries villains into the abyss which they dig for themselves. An unexpected incident became favorable to them, and delivered into their hands the prey which they sought for. A river that separated them from the camp, and which was considerably increased since they passed it, kept them two days; this retardment, which at first seemed an obstacle to their project, facilitated the execution of it. M. de la Salle wondering that his nephew, Moranget, did not return, nor either of the two men that were with him, determined to go and seek them himself. It was remarked that he was uneasy when he was going to set out, and inquired, with a kind of uncommon concern, whether Moranget had quarreled with any one. He then called Joutel, and entrusted him with the command of his camp, ordering him to go his rounds in it from time to time, and to light fires, that the smoke might bring him on his road again, in case he should lose his way. He likewise bid him give nobody leave to absent himself. He set out on the 20th, attended by Father Anastasius and an Indian.

"As he approached the place where the assassins had stopped, he saw some vultures soaring pretty near the spot, and concluded that there was some carrion: he fired his gun; and the conspirators, who had not yet seen him, guessing that it was he who was coming, got their arms in readiness. The river was between him and them. Duhaut and L'Archeveque crossed it, and seeing M. de la Salle advancing slowly, they stopped. Duhaut hid himself in the long grass, with his gun cocked; L'Archeveque advanced a little more; and a moment after, M de la Salle knowing him, asked him where his nephew was. He answered that he was lower down. At the same instant Duhaut fired. M. de la Salle received the shot in his head, and fell down dead. It was the 20th of March, 1687, that this murder was committed, near the Cenis. Father Anastasius,

seeing M. de la Salle drop down at his feet, expected that the murderers would not spare him, though they should have no other view in it than to get rid of a witness of their crime. Duhaut came near to quiet him, and told him that what they had done was an act of despair, and that they had long thought of revenging themselves on Moranget, who had endeavored to ruin them. Father Anastasius informed M. Cavelier of his brother's death. That gentleman told them that if it was their intention to kill him likewise, he would forgive them his death beforehand; and he only demanded, as a favor, a quarter of an hour to prepare himself for death. They replied that he had nothing to fear, and that nobody complained of him. Joutel was not then in the camp. L'Archeveque, who was his friend, ran to inform him that his death was certain, if he showed any resentment of what had happened, or if he pretended to take advantage of the authority with which M. de la Salle had invested him. Joutel, who was of a very gentle temper, answered that they should be content with his conduct, and that he believed that they ought to be pleased with the manner in which he had hitherto behaved; and then he returned to the camp. As soon as Duhaut saw Joutel, he called out to him that every one should command by turns. He had already taken all the authority into his hands, and the first use he made of it, was to make himself master of the magazine. He divided it afterward with L'Archeveque, saying that every thing belonged to him. There were about thirty thousand livres worth of goods, and near twenty-five thousand livres both in coin and in plate. The assassins had force and boldness on their side; they had shown themselves capable of the greatest crimes; accordingly they met with no resistance at first. They soon divided and quarreled among themselves. They found difficulties in dividing the treasure; they came to blows, and Heins fired his pistol at Duhaut's head, who reeled, and fell four yards from the place where he stood. At the same time, Rutel, the sailor whom Joutel fetched from the Cenis, fired a gun at Liotot. That wretch lived yet several hours, though he had three balls in his body. So the two assassins, one of M. de la Salle, and the other of his nephew, Moranget, were themselves the victims of that spirit of fury which they had inspired into this unhappy colony. The Indians knew not what to think of these murders. They were quite scandalized by them. They were in the right, and could with more reason treat those Frenchmen as barbarians, than we had to consider them as such. Be that as it will, such was the tragic death of Robert Cavelier Sieur de la Salle, a man of abilities, of a great

extent of genius, and of a courage and firmness of mind which might have carried him to something very great, if, with these good qualities, he had known how to get the better of his sullen, morose mind, to soften his severity, or rather the roughness of his temper, and check the haughtiness with which he treated not only those who depended entirely upon himself, but even his associates."

As soon as the Indians along the coast learned the death of La Salle, they attacked the fort and massacred all the colonists, except three sons and a daughter of Talon, and a young man named Bremen. All of these, except one of the sons of Talon, were afterward rescued by the Spaniards. Talon and Munier were recovered, and employed afterward as interpreters for the Spanish missionaries. L'Archeveque and Grollet were captured by the Spaniards, and condemned to the mines of New Mexico; Anastasius, the brother and the nephew of La Salle, Joutel, and Tessier set out in May for the Illinois, and in July reached a French station at the mouth of the Arkansas; on the 14th of September they reached Fort St Louis, and in the next spring passed on to Quebec and sailed to France, where they arrived on the 9th of October, 1688.

When La Salle sailed for France, in 1683, Tonti was left in command of Fort St. Louis. In the fall of 1684, he was informed that La Salle had sailed from Rochelle, for the mouth of the Mississippi, and with a company of forty men he went down the Mississippi to the gulf, and waited for La Salle till the spring of 1685.* Hearing nothing of La Salle or of the colonists, that were hopelessly wandering along the shores of Texas, he returned; and on his arrival at the mouth of the Arkansas, he says: "My French companions, delighted with the beauty of the climate, asked my permission to settle there. As our intention was only to civilize and humanize the savages, by associating with them, I readily gave my consent. I formed the plan of a house for myself at the Arkansas; I left ten Frenchmen of my company there, with four Indians, to proceed with the building, and I gave them leave to lodge there themselves, and to cultivate as much of the land as they could clear. This little colony has since then so increased and multiplied, that it has become a resting-place for the Frenchmen who travel in that country."† When Joutel and his companions arrived at Fort St. Louis, Tonti was absent on an expedition against the Iroquois. On his return, they concealed from him the fact of the death of La Salle, and presenting a letter with his signature, requesting the

* American State Papers, vol. xii, p. 90. † Tonti's Narrative, Paris, 1697.

delivery to them of money or goods, received from the unsuspecting commandant furs to the value of four thousand livres, and other effects. After they had gone, Couture, to whom they had communicated the facts, in regard to the failure of the expedition and the death of La Salle, at the mouth of the Arkansas, came up to Fort St. Louis. Surprised and grieved at his revelations, Tonti, early in 1689, put himself at the head of an expedition to rescue the colonists at the Fort St. Louis on Matagorda Bay. He marched through the country of the Cenis Indians until within seven days' march of the Spaniards, when some of his men deserted, and he was obliged to return, after an absence of ten months. He remained several years at Fort St. Louis as commandant of the Illinois, joined afterward Iberville, in 1700, at the mouth of the Mississippi, and two years later was employed on a mission to the Chickasaws, but of his subsequent history nothing is known.

When Joutel and his companions arrived in France, with the news of the failure of the expedition and of the death of La Salle, Europe was on the eve of a general war.* The League of Augsburg was formed, in 1687, by the princes of the empire, to restrain the ambition of Louis XIV., and, in 1688, he commenced hostilities by the capture of Philipsburgh. England, in the next year, under the government of William III., joined the alliance; and Louis found himself compelled, with only the aid of the Turks, to contend with the united forces of the Empire, of England, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Savoy. And yet the tide of battle wavered. In 1689, the French were defeated at Walcourt, and the Turks at Widdin; in 1690, the French were victorious at Charleroy and Beachy Head, and the Turks at Belgrade. In 1691, victory inclined to the French; in 1692, the victories of Neerwinden and Heidelberg were achieved; but in 1693, Louvois and Luxemberg were dead, and Namur surrendered to the allies. The war extended to the New World;† and was maintained by the French with more than equal success, in proportion to the disparity of population and resources. In 1688, a census of all French North America showed only a population of 11,249; the English in North America were twenty times that number. At first the war was prosecuted with vigor. In 1689, De Ste. Helene and D'Iberville, two of the sons of Charles le Morne, crossed the wilderness and

* Russell's Modern Europe, vol. 2.

† Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. 3.

reduced the English forts on Hudson's Bay. But in August of the same year the Iroquois, the hereditary allies of the English, captured and burned Montreal. Frontenac, then absent on an expedition by sea to reduce New York, was recalled, Fort Frontenac was abandoned, no French posts between Trois Rivieres and Mackinaw remained, and the West was only saved by the Jesuit missionaries. To recover their influence over the Indians, and to avenge their losses, three expeditions were planned. De Mantet, De Ste. Helene and D'Iberville led a war party, in January, 1690, twenty-two days through the snow, from Montreal to Schenectady. The village was surprised and burned, its people were massacred or carried to Canada; a few only escaped to Albany. From Trois Rivieres, Hertel led a party to Salmon Falls, destroyed the village, and carried away fifty-four women and children captives; and Portneuf, from Quebec, surprised and destroyed the settlement at Casco Bay. On the other hand, Nova Scotia was reduced by the colonies; an expedition to Montreal proceeded to Lake Champlain, but failed through the dissensions of its leaders; and an expedition of thirty-four ships from Boston appeared before Quebec, but failed through the incompetence of Sir William Phipps. In the succeeding years a border warfare, with various successes, was maintained along the whole line of the English and French colonies. The peace of Ryswick, in 1697, closed the war, and France retained Hudson's Bay, and all the places of which she was in possession in 1688; but the boundaries of the English and French claims were left in dispute.

The conclusion of peace left the French court at liberty to pursue its scheme of colonization in the Mississippi valley; and, in 1698, D'Iberville, who had distinguished himself by the conquest of Hudson's Bay, and afterward at the massacre of Schenectady, was, through the influence of Count Ponchartrain, appointed governor, and De Bienville, his brother, intendant of Louisiana; and, on the 24th of September, they set sail from Rochelle, with four vessels and two hundred colonists, for the mouth of the Mississippi; and, on the 24th of January, 1699, they anchored at the island of St. Rose. From thence they sailed to Dauphin island, and afterward landed at Ship island, at the mouth of the Pascagoula river. From thence D'Iberville and De Bienville, with ten barges and forty-eight men, explored the coast, and, on the 2d of March, they entered the "Hidden River," (Mississippi). The appearance of the mouth differed from what D'Iberville had been led to expect, and he doubted whether he had really reached the great river of the West,

but all doubt was dispelled when, after reaching an Indian village at Pascagoula, he was shown a letter left by Tonti, in 1685, for La Salle; and, after proceeding up the river as far as the mouth of Red river, he returned by the way of the lakes he named Maurepas and Ponchartrain, to Ship Island; established his colony at Biloxi, fifteen miles north of the island, and leaving it in command of Bienville, returned to France.

In September, 1699, De Bienville went round to explore the mouths of the Mississippi, and take soundings. Engaged in this business, he had rowed up the main entrance some twenty-five leagues, when, unexpectedly, and to his no little chagrin, a British corvette came in sight, a vessel carrying twelve cannon, slowly creeping up the swift current. M. Bienville, nothing daunted, though he had but his leads and lines to do battle with, sent a message on board that if this vessel did not leave the river without delay, he had force enough at hand to make her repent it. This had its effect; the Britons turned and stood to sea again, growling as they went, and saying that they had discovered that country fifty years before, that they had a better right to it than the French, and would soon make them know it. The bend in the river where this took place is still called "English turn." This was the first meeting of those rival nations in the Mississippi valley, which, from that day, was a bone of contention between them till the conclusion of the French war of 1756. Nor did the matter rest long with this visit from the corvette. Englishmen began to pass over the mountains from Carolina, and trading with the Chicachas, or Chickasaws of our day, stirred them up to acts of enmity against the French.

When D'Iberville returned from France, in January, 1700, and heard of this encroachment of the English, he again took formal possession of the Mississippi valley in the name of the king; and built, for the protection of the river, a small fort about fifty-four miles above its mouth. Meanwhile Tonti arrived, in February, from the Illinois, and, in company with him, D'Iberville explored the river as far as the villages of the Natchez, where, on an elevated bluff, he selected a location for the future capital of his colony, and surveyed the site of a fort to be named Rosalie, in honor of the Countess of Ponchartrain, which was afterward built in 1714. In 1702, the head quarters of the colony were removed to the Bay of Mobile; a fort was built on its western shore, and the Perdido was agreed on as the boundary between the French claims in Louisiana and the Spanish in Florida; and on the west the French claims extended to the Bay of St. Bernard. Explorations were made

along the Mississippi and its branches; treaties were made with the Indian tribes; but, from sickness and hardships, little progress in settlement was made, and, in 1705, the colony was reduced to one hundred and fifty persons. In 1706, D'Iberville died, at Havana, and the colony remained under the direction of Bienville until 1711. At that time it had increased to three hundred and eighty persons, settled at Ship Island, Cat Island, Biloxi, and Mobile; but deprived of the aid of the mother country, little progress was made. In that year Louisiana, which had previously been politically a dependence of Canada, was erected into a royal province, and D'Artaguette appointed commissary. During all this period the colony was left to its own resources. France was engaged in a continental war. In 1701, Louis violated the treaty of Ryswick, by acknowledging the pretender James as the lawful king of England, war was declared, an alliance was formed between the Empire, Holland, England, Savoy and Portugal against France; the object of which was declared to be, besides the protection of England and Holland, to prevent a union of the Spanish and French crowns, and thus hinder the French from possessing the Spanish colonies in America. The war was marked by a constant success of the allies; the great ministers of Louis were gone, and the great battles of Blenheim, in 1704, Ramillies, in 1706, and Malplaquet, in 1709, completely humbled the pride and prostrated the power of France. In America a border war raged all along the extended frontiers of the English and French colonies, marked as usual by massacres and cruelties, but distinguished by no successes further than the conquest of Nova Scotia, in 1710. The treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, closed the war; England gained the assiento, the monopoly of the slave trade, and in America, Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. A pledge was extorted that France should never molest the Five Nations, subject to the dominion of Great Britain; but, notwithstanding the advice of William Penn, no settlement of boundary between the British colonies and French Louisiana was made.

Immediately after the suspension of hostilities, the French court, in the belief that a private man of means and energy could do more for the advancement of the colony than the government, granted, on the 14th of September, 1712, the monopoly of Louisiana to Anthony Crozat,* for fifteen years; and the ownership of any

* Dillon's Indiana, p. 33.

mines he might open. Crozat, with whom was associated Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, and governor of Louisiana, relied mainly upon two things for success in his speculation; the one, the discovery of mines; the other, a lucrative trade with New Mexico. In regard to the first, after many years' labor, he was entirely disappointed; and met with no better success in his attempt to open a trade with the Spaniards, although he sent to them both by sea and land. Crozat, therefore, being disappointed in his mines and his trade, and having withal managed so badly as to diminish the colony, at last, in 1717, resigned his privileges to the king again, leaving in Louisiana not more than seven hundred souls.*

Then followed the enterprises of the far-famed Mississippi Company, or Company of the West, established to aid the immense banking and stock-jobbing speculations of John Law, a gambling, wandering Scotchman, who seems to have been possessed with the idea that wealth could be indefinitely increased by increasing the circulating medium in the form of notes of credit. The public debt of France was selling at 60 to 70 per cent. discount; Law was authorized to establish a bank of circulation, the shares in which might be paid for in public stock at par; and to induce the public to subscribe for the bank shares, and to confide in them, the Company of the West was established in connection with the bank, having the exclusive right of trading in the Mississippi country for twenty-five years, and with the monopoly of the Canada beaver trade. This was in September, 1717. In 1718 the monopoly of tobacco was also granted to this favored creature of the State; in 1719, the exclusive right of trading in Asia and the East Indies; and soon after, the farming of the public revenue, together with an extension of all these privileges to the year 1770; and, as if all this had been insufficient, the exclusive right of coining for nine years was next added to the immense grants already made to the Company of the West.† Under this hot-bed system, the stock of the company rose to 500, 600, 800, 1000, 1500, and at last 2050 per cent. This was in April, 1720. At that time the notes of the bank in circulation exceeded two hundred millions of dollars, and this abundance of money raised the price of every thing to twice its true value. Then the bubble burst; decree after decree was made to uphold the tottering fabric of false credit; but in vain. In

* By Louisiana here is to be understood Louisiana proper; not the Illinois country commonly included at that period.

† After 1719, called the Company of the Indies.

January, 1720, Law had been made minister of finance, and as such he proceeded first, to forbid all persons to have on hand more than about one hundred dollars in specie; any amount beyond that must be exchanged for paper, and all payments for more than twenty dollars were to be made in paper; and this proving insufficient, in March, all payments over two dollars were ordered to be in paper, and he who dared attempt to exchange a bill for specie forfeited both. Human folly could go no further; in April the stock began to fall; in May the company was regarded as bankrupt, the notes of the bank fell to ten cents on the dollar, and though a decree made it an offense to refuse them at par, they were soon worth little more than waste paper.

Under the direction of a company thus organized and controlled, and closely connected with a bank so soon ruined, but little could be hoped for a colony which depended on good management to develop its real resources for trade and agriculture.* In 1718, colonists were sent from Europe, and New Orleans laid out with much ceremony and many hopes; but in January, 1722, Charlevoix writing thence, says: "If the eight hundred fine houses, and the five parishes, that were two years since represented by the journals as existing here, shrink now to a hundred huts, built without order, a large wooden magazine, two or three houses that would do but little credit to a French village, and half of an old store-house, which was to have been occupied as a chapel, but from which the priests soon retreated to a tent, as preferable; if all this is so, still how pleasant to think of what this city will one day be, and, instead of weeping over its decay and ruin, to look forward to its growth to opulence and power."† And again, "The best idea you can form of New Orleans, is to imagine two hundred persons sent to build a city, but who have encamped on the river-bank, just sheltered from the weather, and waiting for houses. They have a beautiful and regular plan for this metropolis; but it will prove harder to execute than to draw."‡ Such, in substance, were the representations and hopes of the wise historian of New France, respecting the capital of the colony of Law's great corporation; and it may be certain that with the chief place in such a condition,

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* A set of regulations for governing the company, passed in 1721, may be found in Dillon's Indiana, pp. 41 to 44.

† Charlevoix, iii. 430—ed. 1744.

‡ Charlevoix, iii. 441—ed. 1744.

not much had been done for the permanent improvement of the country about it. The truth was, the same prodigality and folly which prevailed in France during the government of John Law, over credit and commerce, found their way to his western possessions; and though the colony then planted survived, and the city then founded became in time what had been hoped, it was long before the influence of the gambling mania of 1718, '19 and '20 passed away. Indeed the returns from Louisiana never repaid the cost and trouble of protecting it, and, in 1732, the company asked leave to surrender their privileges to the crown, a favor which was granted them.

But though the Company of the West did little for the enduring welfare of the Mississippi valley, it did something; the cultivation of tobacco, indigo, rice and silk was introduced, the lead mines of Missouri were opened, though at vast expense and in hope of finding silver; and, in Illinois, the culture of wheat began to assume some degree of stability and of importance. In the neighborhood of the river Kaskaskia, Charlevoix found three villages, and about Fort Chartres, the head-quarters of the company in that region, the French were rapidly settling.

All the time, however, during which the great monopoly lasted, was in Louisiana a time of contest and trouble. The English, who from an early period had opened commercial relations with the Chickasaws, through them constantly interfered with the trade of the Mississippi. Along the coast from Pensacola to the Rio del Norte, Spain disputed the claims of her northern neighbor: and at length the war of the Natchez struck terror into the hearts of both white and red men. Amid that nation, D'Iberville had marked out Fort Rosalie, in 1700, and fourteen years later its erection had been commenced. The French, placed in the midst of the natives, and deeming them worthy only of contempt, increased their demands and injuries until they required even the abandonment of the chief town of the Natchez, that the intruders might use its site for a plantation. The inimical Chickasaws heard the murmurs of their wronged brethren, and breathed into their ears counsels of vengeance; the sufferers determined on the extermination of their tyrants. On the 28th of November, 1729, every Frenchman in that colony died by the hands of the natives, with the exception of two mechanics. The women and children also were spared. It was a fearful revenge, and fearfully did the avengers suffer for their murders. Two months passed by, and the French

and Choctaws in one day took sixty of their scalps; in three months they were driven from their country, and scattered among the neighboring tribes; and within two years the remnants of the nation, chiefs and people, were sent to St. Domingo and sold into slavery. So perished this ancient and peculiar race, in the same year in which the Company of the West yielded its grants into the the royal hands.

When Louisiana came again into the charge of the government of France, it was determined, as a first step, to strike terror into the Chickasaws, who, devoted to the English, constantly interfered with the trade on the Mississippi. For this purpose the forces of New France, from New Orleans to Detroit, were ordered to meet in the country of the inimical Indians, upon the 10th of May, 1736, to strike a blow which should be final. D'Artaguette, governor of Illinois, with the young and gallant Vincennes, leading a small body of French, and more than a thousand northern Indians, on the day appointed, was at the spot; but Bienville, who had returned as the king's lieutenant to that southern land which he had aided to explore, was not where the commanders from above expected to meet him. During ten days they waited, and still saw nothing, heard nothing of the forces from the south. Fearful of exhausting the scant patience of his red allies, at length D'Artaguette ordered the onset; a first and a second of the Chickasaw stations were carried successfully, but in attacking a third, the French leader fell; when the Illinois saw their commander wounded, they turned and fled, leaving him and Vincennes, who would not desert him, in the hands of the Chickasaws. Five days afterward, Bienville and his followers, among whom were great numbers of Choctaws, bribed to bear arms against their kinsmen, came up the stream of the Tombecbee; but the savages were on their guard, English traders had aided them to fortify their position, and the French in vain attacked their log fort. On the 20th of May, D'Artaguette had fallen; on the 27th, Bienville had failed in his assault; on the 31st, throwing his cannon into the river, he and his white companions turned their prows to the south again. Then came the hour of barbarian triumph, and the successful Chickasaws danced around the flames in which were crackling the sinews of D'Artaguette, Vincennes, and the Jesuit Senat, who stayed and died of his own free-will, because duty bade him.

Three years more passed away, and again a French army of nearly four thousand white, red and black men, was gathered upon the banks of the Mississippi, to chastise the Chickasaws.

From the summer of 1739 to the spring of 1740, this body of men sickened and wasted at Fort Assumption, upon the site of Memphis. In March of the last named year, without a blow struck, peace was concluded, and the province of Louisiana once more sunk into inactivity.

There remains little that is interesting in the history of Lower Louisiana. An idea of its condition, in 1750, may be inferred from a letter of the Jesuit Vivier, written on November 7th of that year. He says:

"For fifteen leagues above the mouth of the Mississippi, one sees no dwellings, the ground being too low to be habitable. Thence to New Orleans the lands are partially occupied. New Orleans contains, black, white and red, not more, I think, than twelve hundred persons. To this point come all kinds of lumber, brick, salt-beef, tallow, tar, skins and bear's grease; and above all, pork and flour from the Illinois. These things create some commerce; forty vessels and more have come hither this year. Above New Orleans, plantations are again met with; the most considerable is a colony of Germans, some ten leagues up the river. At Point Coupee, thirty-five leagues above the German settlement, is a fort. Along here, within five or six leagues, are not less than sixty 'habitations.' Fifty leagues farther up is the Natchez post, where we have a garrison who are kept prisoners by their fear of the Chickasaws and other savages. Here and at Point Coupee, they raise excellent tobacco. Another hundred leagues brings us to the Arkansas, where we have also a fort and garrison, for the benefit of river traders. There were some inhabitants about here formerly, but in 1748 the Chickasaws attacked the post, slew many, took thirteen prisoners, and drove the rest into the fort. From the Arkansas to the Illinois, near five hundred leagues,* there is not a settlement. There should, however, be a good fort on the Ouabache (Ohio,) the only path by which the English can reach the Mississippi. In the Illinois are numberless mines, but no one to work them as they deserve. Some individuals dig lead near the surface, and supply the Indians and Canada. Two Spaniards, now here, who claim to be adepts, say that our mines are like those of Mexico, and that if we would dig deeper, we should find silver under the lead; at any rate the lead is excellent.

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* Distances are overrated in all the old French journals. The distance, in fact, was about 500 English miles, instead of French leagues.

There are also in this country, copper mines, beyond doubt, as from time to time large pieces are found in the streams."*

Upper Louisiana, or the Illinois, was probably occupied by the French without interruption, from the time of the first visit of La Salle, in 1679.† Of necessity, their missions and settlements were formed along the routes of travel between Canada and the mouth of the Mississippi. The only mode of communication used, was by canoes; and of consequence only the navigable rivers, tributary to the Mississippi and to the St. Lawrence, interlocking each other, were explored.

From the hostility of the Iroquois, the earliest missionaries and traders were cut off from the Lakes Ontario and Erie; and their route to Superior and Green Bay was, from Montreal, up the Ottowa river to Lake Nipissing, and down the French river to Lake Huron.

The route followed by Marquette, was from Mackinaw to Green Bay; thence up the Fox river of Wisconsin, to Winnebago Lake; thence up the Wapacca to a portage in Portage County, Wisconsin, to the Wisconsin river and to the Mississippi.

The route followed by La Salle, was from Niagara up Lakes Erie, St. Clair and Huron, to Mackinaw; thence down Lake Michigan to the mouth of the river St. Joseph's, up that river to a portage of three miles, in St. Joseph's county, Indiana, to the Kankakee river; thence down to the Illinois, and to the Mississippi.

Another route was established about 1716, from the head of Lake Erie up the Maumee to the site of Fort Wayne; thence by a portage to the Wabash; thence, by way of that river, to the Ohio and Mississippi. At a later period another route was opened. It passed from Lake Erie at Presquille, over a portage of fifteen miles to the head of French creek, at Waterford, Pa.; thence down that stream to the Allegheny, and to the Ohio.

Along these lines the French posts were confined, and, as there were no agricultural communities, except the Illinois settlement, in the West during the whole period of the French occupation, the posts were either trading stations or forts, built for the protection of the traders, or to secure the French ascendency over the Indians.

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* Lettres Edifiantes, (Paris, 1781,) vii. 79 to 106.

† There is no certainty, however, of any settlement previous to 1712.

At the most northern point of the Southern peninsula of Michigan, and nine miles south-west of the Island of that name, La Salle founded Fort Mackinaw, in 1679.

At the mouth of the St. Joseph's river he built Fort Miami, in 1679; which was burned, however, by some deserters from Tonti, two years afterward.

In 1680, he built Fort Crevecœur on the Illinois river, near the site of Peoria.

In the same year Tonti built Fort St. Louis, or the Rock Fort, in La Salle county, Illinois; but its exact location is unknown.

These posts served as points of settlement for the traders and voyagers, who followed immediately in the track of La Salle, and for the Jesuit missionaries that accompanied or followed him. The climate and soil of Lower Illinois were inviting, and accordingly the first settlements were made in that region. The exact date is uncertain.

It is conjectured, that before the close of the seventeenth century, traders passed down south from the St. Joseph's to Eel river and Wabash; and a report* of La Salle to Frontenac, made perhaps in 1682, mentions the route by the Maumee and Wabash, as the most direct to the Mississippi. That route was indeed established in 1716; but of the date of settlements on the Lower Wabash, there is no certain information. The uncertainty that is connected with the settlement of Vincennes† is a case in point. Volney, by conjecture, fixes the settlement of Vincennes about 1735;‡ Bishop Brute, of Indiana, speaks of a missionary station there in 1700, and adds, "The friendly tribes and traders called to Canada or protection, and then M. de Vincennes came with a detachment, I think, of Carignan, and was killed in 1736."‖ Mr. Bancroft says a military establishment was formed there in 1716, and in 1742, a settlement of herdsmen took place.§ Judge Law regards the post as dating back to 1710 or 1711, supposing it to be the same with the Ohio settlement, and quotes also an Act of Sale, existing at Kaskaskia, which, in January, 1735, speaks of M. de Vinsenne, as "Commandant au Poste de Ouabache."¶ Again, in a petition

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* Hennepin's New Discovery, London, 1698, p. 312.

† Che-pe-ka-keh (Brush Wood,) was the Indian name of Vincennes, and was the seat of the Peean-kee-shaws Indians.

‡ Volney's View, p. 336.

‖ Butler's Kenbecky, Introduction, XIX, note.

§ Bancroft's History of the United States, III, 346.

¶ Law's Address, p. 21.

of the old inhabitants at Vincennes, dated in November, 1793, is found the settlement spoken of, as having been made before 1742;* and such is the general voice of tradition. On the other hand, Charlevoix, who records the death of Vincennes, which took place among the Chickasaws, in 1736, makes no mention of any post on the Wabash, or any missionary station there; neither does he mark any upon his map, although he gives even the British forts upon the Tennessee and elsewhere. Vivier, in 1750, says nothing of any mission on the Wabash, although writing in respect to western missions, and speaks of the *necessity* of a fort upon the "Ouabache." By this, it is true, he meant doubtless the Ohio, but how natural to refer to the post at Vincennes, if one existed. In a volume of "Memoires" on Louisiana, compiled from the minutes of M. Dumont, and published in Paris, in 1753, but probably prepared in 1749, though there is an account of the Wabash, or St. Jerome, its rise and course, and the use made of it by the traders, not a word is found touching any fort, settlement or station on it. Vaudreuil, when Governor of Louisiana, in 1751 mentions even then no post on the Wabash, although he speaks of the need of a post on the Ohio, near to where Fort Massac, or Massacre, was built afterward, and names Fort Miami, on the Maumee.† Still further, in "The Present State of North America," a pamphlet published in London, in 1755, with which is a map of the French posts in the west, it is stated that in 1750 a fort was founded at Vincennes, and that in 1754, three hundred families were sent to settle in that region.

The records of the church of St. Francois Xavier, at Vincennes, show no earlier date than 1749. They are given‡ as interesting memorials of western history.

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*American State Papers, XVI, 32.

†There were *four* places called "Miami," one at the junction of the Little St. Joseph and Ste. Marie, in Indiana, now called Fort Wayne.

The second was at the mouth of the St. Joseph's river of Michigan.

The third was on the Illinois river, and placed by Charlevoix on his Map of New France, 1723.

The fourth was the fort erected by the British, early in 1794, at the foot of the rapids of the Maumee, about fifteen miles from the west end of Lake Erie.

Some of the authorities quoted, by the "Ouabache" mean the Ohio river, which had the name of "*Ouabache*," in French and English documents until about 1735.

‡These records were furnished to the publisher through the politeness of Rev. E. Audruin, Parish Priest of St. Xavier's Church, at Vincennes. But few of the old records of the early French missions are available. In 1840, the publisher visited Rev. Dr. Wiseman, of St. Mary's Seminary, in Missouri, to inquire for the materials of the early

"In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, and on the 21st day of April, after having published three bans, between Julien Trothier Des Rivieres, son of Julien Trothier Des Rivieres, of the Parish of Montreal, and Josette Marie, daughter of Antoine Marie and Marianne Chicamise, her father and mother, residing in this parish; there having been no impediment, I, the undersigned, missionary of the company of Jesus, doing the duties of Curate, having received their mutual consent of marriage, give unto them the nuptial benediction, with the ceremonies prescribed by the Holy Church. In the presence of Monsieurs De St. Ange, Lieutenant of a detached company of Marine, Commandment of Post Vincennes, and of Jean Baptiste Guilbert, Toussaint, Antoine Bouchard, Jean B. Pudet, Louis Gervais.

S. L. MEURIN, *Jesuite.*

Witnesses who did sign with me.

ST. ANGE, *Commandant of Post Vincennes.*
J. C. RIDDAY,
LOUIS GERVAIS,
BOUCHARD,
FILLATRAUX."

"On the 4th of June, 1749, I baptized Jean Baptiste, son of Pierre Yiapichagane, "Little Chief," and Catharine Mskicse. The god-father and mother were Francois Fillatraux and Marie Mikilchensecse Laframboise.

SEBAST. LUD. MEURIN, *S. J.*"

"I, the undersigned, gave the nuptial benediction to Pierre Yiapichagane, Little Chief, and Mskicse, united previously by a natural marriage, June 26th, 1749.

S. L. MEURIN, *J.*"

From this date until 1780, after the conquest of Illinois, there were about fifty marriages of the French, and one more only of the Indians, (in July, 1749,) and one hundred and ninety baptisms, a

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history of those missions, and was informed by him that after a great flood of the western waters, during the French domination of Louisiana, many of the inhabitants who had emigrated from New Orleans became alarmed and returned thither, and, at the suggestion of the clergy, carried the greater portion of the mission and church records with them, for greater safety. There they were deposited in a vault of the principal church of that place, where they remained for many years untouched. When afterward they were brought to light and examined, it was discovered that they were entirely decomposed by the humidity of the atmosphere.

portion of whom were adults. In the same period there are recorded the baptisms of sixteen Indian slaves and four Africans.

Among these records is the following statement:

"Pierre Godere, son of Francois Godere and Agnes Richard, was born at Ouias, and married the 5th of May, 1760, at Vincennes, to Susan Bolon, daughter of Gabriel Bolon and Susan Menard—which Susan Menard was born at St. Joseph, and supposed to be the first white child born in Indiana."

In the same church is found the following, being the earliest records of the settlement at Ouitenon:*

"To-day, 21st of the month of May, feast of Whit-Sunday, of the year 1752, I baptized, solemnly, Charles Mary, the legitimate son of Charles Boneau, and of Genevieve Dudevoir, who have settled at this post; said child being born yesterday evening at ten o'clock. The god-father was M. Francois Mary Merchant, Esquire, Sire De Ligneris, Captain of Infantry, commanding for the king at this post. The god-mother, Elizabeth Cardinal, wife of Claude Dudevoir, and grandmother to the child.

Done at Ouitenon, the year and day above mentioned.

Signed, P. DU JAUNAY,

Missionary of the Company of Jesus.

CHARLES BONEAU, *Marchant Des Ligneris.*

Soon after the visit of La Salle, Allouez, with some traders, located themselves at the site of Kaskaskia, which was named "the Village of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin." In 1690, Gravier succeeded Allouez, and Pinet established a mission at Cahokia, then called "Notre Dame des Kahokias." Rasle came to Kaskaskia in 1692, and remained in charge of the mission for two years; and subsequently Marest succeeded him, and was remaining there in 1712; and, during the greater part of the time, seems to have had all the missions under his charge. During the same period, Ribourde and Mambre were employed mainly, it is probable, about Fort St. Louis. The success of these missions was, it appears from the letters of the missionaries, not flattering, but they served as points of attraction for the French traders in the west; and accordingly Kaskaskia, in 1712, had become a village; land titles were acquired, and it was chosen as the capital of the Illinois.

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* Wah-wee-ah-tenon was the Indian name of the residence of Ouias, and was a French missionary station and fort.

The treaty of Ryswick contained a claim of jurisdiction, on the part of England, over the Iroquois; but the French afterward disregarded the claim, and sought, through the influence of the Jesuits, to secure a peace with, and an ascendency over, that powerful confederacy. They were successful, and in 1700 a treaty was negotiated by De Callieres between the French and their allies on the one side, and the Iroquois on the other; by which the French secured peace and trade with all the tribes from the English borders to the Mississippi, and the possession of the line of the lakes. To secure the benefits of that treaty to France, De Callieres sent out De la Motte Cadillac, with a Jesuit missionary and one hundred colonists, to take possession of the Detroit river. In July of that year, he arrived, and built a fort, which he named Ponchartrain, on the site of the present city of Detroit. In 1705, Cadillac was invested by the king with authority to cede the lands about that post to French settlers. The terms of one of these grants* will show the tenure by which they were held, and will illustrate the policy the French government pursued in regard to its colonies, and the meager encouragement it bestowed upon the great interest of agriculture. The grantee was bound to pay a rent of fifteen livres a year, in peltries, to the crown forever; to improve the grant within three months from the date of the contract; to plant a May-pole, on May-day, in each year, before the door of the manor-house; to make fences for his grant in a prescribed manner, and, when required, to assist in making his neighbors' fences. He was forbidden to buy or sell articles of merchandise, carried to or from Montreal, through servants, clerks, or foreigners; to work, directly or indirectly, for ten years, at the business of a blacksmith, locksmith, armorer, or brewer; to sell brandy to the Indians; or to mortgage the land without consent of the government. The crown reserved the property of all minerals, and of timber for military purposes. The grantor reserved the right of hunting rabbits, hares, partridges, and pheasants; and the right to grind all the grain produced on the land, receiving toll according to the custom of Paris. On every sale of the land a tax was levied, and the government reserved the right to take precedence of any buyer, and take the land at the price offered. Agriculture, under such restrictions as these, could not prosper. At Detroit, as elsewhere throughout New France, except in favored localities, the cultivation

* Dillon's Indiana, p. 29.

of the soil was neglected, the attention of the settlers was directed to trade, mining, and hunting; and, consequently, when the day of trial came, the French were found unable to contend with the more powerful and more compact colonies of the English. The climate and scenery of Detroit, nevertheless, invited emigration; a French village grew up around Fort Ponchartrain; a village of Hurons and one of Ottawas were built under the protection of the fort; and Detroit became one of the most flourishing of the French posts in the west. In 1713, the Foxes from the west attacked the fort, then under the command of Du Boison.* The fort was defended by only twenty men, till Du Boison was enabled to collect a force from the friendly tribes, and the hostile band was compelled to surrender. The warriors were put to death, their women and children were divided among the victors.

Aside from the permanent settlements of Detroit, Vincennes, and the Illinois, explorations were made, and in some instances posts established, at different points along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. In 1695, La Seur† was sent out to establish peaceful relations with the Chippewas and Sioux, whose acquaintance had been made by Hennepin, in 1680. For this purpose he established a fort on the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Chippewa; left there a garrison, and, after exploring the St. Croix and the St. Pierre for forty leagues, where he discovered, as he supposed, copper mines, he returned to Montreal, with a chief of the Chippewas and one of the Sioux. A treaty was made between these, as representatives of their tribes, and Frontenac; and it was stipulated that La Seur should return to the St. Peter's in the next year; but the Sioux chief died during the winter, and he returned to France to obtain the privilege of opening the mines he had discovered. He received his commission in 1697, and on his return to Canada, was captured by the English cruisers, and threw his commission overboard, to avoid a discovery of his plans. After the peace of Ryswick, he returned to France, received a new commission, in 1698, and joined the expedition of D'Iberville to the mouth of the Mississippi, for the purpose of ascending that river, under the direction of L'Huillier, contractor-general of the crown, with thirty workmen, to the mines. On the 12th of July, 1700, he set out to

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* Du Boison's report, Detroit, 1845.

† Long's Expedition, vol. 2, p. 318.

ascend the river, and on the 1st of October reached the mouth of Blue Earth river, forty-four leagues up the St. Peter's, and on the 14th finished a fort, which he named L'Huillier. In the spring he opened the mine, and in twenty-two days secured thirty thousand pounds of supposed copper ore, of which four thousand were selected, and with that La Seur descended the Mississippi, and arrived at its mouth on the 10th of February, 1702. It is not known how long the forts, L'Huillier and La Seur, were maintained, but it is probable that no further effort was made to prosecute the business of mining in that region, and that they were deserted.

Up the Missouri, early explorations were made.* Dutisne passed up the Salene river, three hundred and fifty miles, to the villages of the Osages, made the acquaintance of the Pawnees, Poncas and Missouris, and took formal possession of the country. In 1705, Le Seur ascended the Missouri to the mouth of the Kansas; was well received by the Missouris and Kansas, and opened a profitable trade with them. These movements of the French to the West, and especially up the Missouri, awakened the jealousy of the Spaniards. "The Spaniards, desirous of removing an active neighbor from the vicinity of New Mexico, induced them, in 1720, to adopt the scheme of forming a considerable colony far beyond the boundaries, within which they had hitherto confined themselves. The numerous caravans that were to compose this colony, set out from Santa Fe. They directed their march toward the Osages, whom they wished to induce to take up arms against their eternal enemies, the Missouris, whose territory they had resolved to occupy. The Spaniards missed their way, and came directly to that nation, the ruin of which they were meditating; and, mistaking these Indians for the Osages, communicated their design without any reserve. The chief of the Missouris, who became acquainted by this singular mistake, with the danger that threatened him and his people, dissembled his resentment. He told the Spaniards he would gladly concur in promoting the success of their undertaking, and only desired eight and forty hours to assemble his warriors. When they were armed to the number of two thousand, they fell upon the Spaniards, whom they had amused with sports, and slew them in their sleep. All were massacred, without distinction of age or sex; the chaplain, who alone escaped the slaughter, owed his preser-

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* Du Pratz Louisiana.

vation to the singularity of his dress. This catastrophe having secured the tranquillity of Louisiana on the side where it was most threatened, the colony could only be molested by the natives; but these, although more numerous at that time than they are in our day, from a destitution of firearms, were not very formidable. Furthermore, they were divided into several nations, all of them feeble and at enmity with each other, though separated by immense deserts."* The settlements of Upper Louisiana, with the exception of the post at Detroit, under a military commandment, were without any definite political organization before the year 1718. At that time the company of the West sent out Boisbriant as intendant, with a small force to the Illinois, to establish a post, and to assume the direction of the colony. In the same year, he established a post on the Mississippi, fifteen miles above the village of Kaskaskia, which he named Fort Chartres. The fort, which was first built of wood, was badly located. It was on an alluvial bottom, on a site subject to inundation, on a river whose banks were constantly changing, and was valueless as a defense against civilized foes; but doubtless served for the head-quarters of the government and for the defense of the settlements.

The company of the West was formed with the special purpose of developing the mineral resources of Louisiana; and the upper Louisiana was regarded as especially rich in minerals. To open and work them, Philip Francis Renault was sent out, in 1719, with two hundred mechanics, miners and laborers. On his way, he bought, in the name of the company, five hundred slaves at St. Domingo, for working the mines, and arrived at the Illinois in 1720. This was the first introduction of slavery into the territory of the North West; about the same time it was introduced into the South West, and there soon acquired a permanent establishment. Of course, in the first instance here as elsewhere, it existed without law, but was sanctioned and regulated by subsequent legislation. The "ordinance for the government and administration of justice, police discipline and traffic in negro slaves, in the province of Louisiana," though sufficiently cruel to disgrace even a French king of the old regime, yet compares favorably with the slave codes of a later day.

"Louis, by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre, to all

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* Abbe Raynal.

present, and to come, greeting: The Directors of the Indies Company having represented that the province and colony of Louisiana is extensively settled by a great number of our subjects who employ negro slaves in the cultivation of the soil, we have deemed it consistent with our authority and justice, for the protection of that colony, to establish there a system of laws in order to maintain the discipline of the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church, and to regulate the estate and condition of slaves in the said country. And desiring to provide therefor, and show our subjects residing there, and those who may settle there in future, that, although they dwell in regions infinitely remote, we are always present to them by the extent of our sovereignty and by our earnest study to yield them aid. For these reasons, and others, moving us thereunto, by the advice of our council, and from our certain knowledge, plenary power and royal authority, we have enacted, ordained and decreed, and do enact, ordain and decree in our will and pleasure, as follows:*

"All slaves who may be in our said province, shall be educated in the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion, and be baptized.

"We command those colonists who purchase slaves recently imported, thus to have them instructed and baptized within a reasonable time, under pain of an arbitrary fine. We charge the directors general of said company, and all our officers, to enforce this strictly.

"We prohibit any other religious rites than those of the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church; requiring that those who violate this, shall be punished as rebels, disobedient to our commands. We prohibit all meetings for this purpose. Such we declare to be unlawful and seditious assemblages, subject to the same penalties inflicted upon masters who shall permit or suffer it with respect to their slaves.

"No overseers shall be set over the negroes to prevent their professing the Apostolic Roman Catholic Religion, under pain of forfeiture of such slaves by the masters appointing such overseers, and of arbitrarily punishing the overseers who shall have accepted said superintendence.

"We admonish all our subjects, of every rank and condition, to observe, scrupulously, Sundays and holidays. We prohibit their laboring, or causing their slaves to labor, on those days, (from the

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* Dillon's Indiana, p. 46.

hour of midnight to the following midnight) in the culture of the soil, or any other service, under penalty of a fine and arbitrary punishment to be inflicted upon the masters, together with forfeiture of those slaves who shall be detected by our officers at work. Reserving to them, nevertheless, the privilege of sending their slaves to market.

"We prohibit white subjects of both sexes, from contracting marriages with the blacks, under pain of punishment and an arbitrary fine, and we prohibit all Chaplains of vessels, priests and missionaries, whether secular or regular, from solemnizing marriages between them.

"We also prohibit our white subjects as well as blacks, affranchized, or born free, from living in a state of concubinage with the slaves; enacting that those who shall have had one or more children by such cohabitation, shall be severally condemned, as well as the master permitting it, to pay a fine of three hundred livres. And, if they are masters of the slaves, by whom they shall have such children, we decree that, beside the fine, they be deprived of both the slave and children, who shall be adjudged the property of the hospital of the district, without the capacity of subsequent affranchisement. Provided, that this article is of none effect, when the black man, either free-born or manumitted, who was not married during such cohabitation with his slave, shall espouse her according to the forms prescribed by the church; which act shall affranchise her, and make her children free and legitimate.

"Masters shall be obliged to inter in holy ground, within the cemeteries set apart for that purpose, their slaves who have been baptized.

"It is our will that the officers of our Superior Council of Louisiana, shall furnish an opinion as to the quantity of food, and the quality of clothing, it is proper for masters to furnish their slaves, in order that we may enact a statute thereupon. In the meantime, we permit said officers to regulate, by express provision, said food and raiment; interdicting the giving of any kind of spirituous liquors by masters to said slaves, in lieu of said victuals and clothing.

"We forbid, in like manner, their releasing themselves from the charge of feeding and supporting said slaves, by permitting them to labor a certain day in the week on their own account.

"Slaves who are not fed, clad and maintained by their masters, may give notice thereof to the Procureur General of said council, or the officers of the inferior courts, and place their complaints in

their hands; upon which, and even of their own accord, if the notice shall have come to them in some other way, the master shall be prosecuted on motion of the Procureur General, without cost; which course we direct to be pursued in case of crimes and cruel treatment of slaves by their masters.

"Slaves enfeebled by old age, sickness, or otherwise, whether the debility be incurable or not, shall be maintained and supported by their masters; and, in case they have abandoned them, said slaves shall be quartered upon the nearest hospital, to which their masters shall be condemned to pay eight sous per day for the maintenance and support of each slave—for the payment of which sum said hospital shall have a lien upon the plantations of said masters, into whose possession soever they may pass.

"We decree that the husband, his wife, and their children under age, cannot be seized and sold separately, if they are all within the power of one and the same master—declaring void, seizures and separate sales which may be made of them. This rule, it is our will, should govern in voluntary sales, under a penalty to be inflicted on those effecting such sales, of surrendering that one or those over whom they had control, who are adjudged to the purchasers, without being compelled to pay any remainder due upon the price of sale.

"It is also our will, that slaves of the age of forty years and upward, to that of sixty, attached to the lands and tenements, and engaged in actual labor there, shall not be seized for any other debt than what may be due upon the price of their original purchase, unless the lands and tenements were actually seized; in which case we direct that they be included in the actual seizure, and prohibit, as nullities, all proceedings by actual distress and adjudication by decree upon the lands and tenements, without embracing the slaves of the aforesaid age engaged there in actual service.

"We direct all guardians, both noblemen and commoners, tenants, lessees, and others, enjoying the profit of lands to which are attached slaves, who labor thereupon, to govern them in a parental manner; in consideration of which they shall not be compelled, after their term of management has expired, to account for those who have died, or been enfeebled by sickness, old age, or otherwise, without fault of theirs; but they may not retain as profits for their advantage, the children born of said slaves during their term of administration, whom we direct to be maintained and given up to those who are their owners and proprietors."

Of the years which followed, there is little that is interesting in the history of the Illinois; but its condition in 1750 may be inferred from a letter written in that year by Father Vivier. Writing "Aux Illinois," six leagues from Fort Chartres, June 8th, 1750, Vivier says: "We have here whites, negroes and Indians, to say nothing of cross-breeds. There are five French villages, and three villages of the natives, within a space of twenty-one leagues, situated between the Mississippi and another river called the Karkadiad (Kaskaskias.) In the five French villages are, perhaps, eleven hundred whites, three hundred blacks, and some sixty red slaves or savages. The three Illinois towns do not contain more than eight hundred souls, all told. Most of the French till the soil; they raise wheat,* cattle, pigs and horses, and live like princes. Three times as much is produced as can be consumed;† and great quantities of grain and flour are sent to New Orleans." In this letter, also, Vivier says that which shows Father Marest's fears of French influence over the Indian neophytes to have been well founded. Of the three Illinois towns, he tells us, one was given up by the missionaries as beyond hope, and in a second, but a poor harvest rewarded their labors; and all was owing to the bad example of the French, and the introduction by them of ardent spirits.‡

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* Imlay says that in 1746, eight hundred thousand pounds of flour, equal to 4,285 barrels, were exported from Illinois to New Orleans.

† In 1769, the French at the Illinois made upward of one hundred hogsheads strong wine from the American wild grape.—*Report of the Superintendent of the Census,* 1851.

‡ Brandy and rum entered largely into the commerce of Louisiana, and great quantities of those articles were shipped from New Orleans to the Illinois, for the Indian trade, during the whole period of the French domination.

PERIOD II.

1698—1765.

The French title to the valley of the Mississippi rested upon the fact of the explorations of Marquette and La Salle, the fact of occupation, and upon their construction of the respective treaties of Ryswick, Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle. The English claims to the same region were based on the fact of a prior occupation of the corresponding coast, on an opposite construction of the same treaties, and on alleged cession of the rights of the Indians. The rights acquired by discovery were conventional, and in equity were good only between European powers, and could not affect the rights of the natives; but the distinction was disregarded by both the French and English governments; and the inquiry of the Indian chief embodies the whole controversy in brief: "Where are the Indian lands, since the French claim all on the north side of the Ohio, and the English all on the south side of it?"

The English charters granted to all the original colonies expressly extended their grants westward to the South Sea, and the claims thus set up to the West, though held in abeyance, were never relinquished. The English colonies were fixed agricultural communities. The French colonies were rather trading, military and missionary establishments. And this fact furnishes in part the reason why the French were familiar with the whole valley of the Mississippi before the English passed the Alleghenies.

Explorations west of the Alleghenies were, however, made at different times during the period of the French occupation, mainly through individual enterprise, and efforts were made to induce the home government to colonize and occupy the valley of the Mississippi.

A volume called "A Description of the English province of Carolana, by the Spaniards called Florida, and by the French called La Louisiane, as also of the great and famous river Meschacebe, or Mississippi, the five vast navigable lakes of fresh water, and the parts adjacent, together with an account of the commodities of the growth and production of the said province," was published by Daniel Coxe, at London, in 1722. Charles I., in 1630, granted to Sir Robert Heath, all that part of America lying between thirty-one

and thirty-six degrees north latitude, from sea to sea, out of the limits of which the province of Carolina was afterward taken. This large grant was conveyed in 1638 to the Earl of Arundel, and afterward came into the possession of Dr. Daniel Coxe. In the prosecution of this claim, it appears* that Colonel Wood, of Virginia, from 1654 to 1664, explored several branches of the Ohio and "Meschacebe," the authority for which is a journal of Mr. Needham, who was employed by Col. Wood—that there was in existence before 1676, the journal of some one who had explored the Mississippi to the Yellow, or Missouri river—that in 1678 several persons went from New England as far as New Mexico, one hundred and fifty leagues beyond the Meschacebe, and on their return rendered an account of the government at Boston. Further, that Coxe himself, and through his agents, had entered the valley from Carolina and Pennsylvania, that in 1698 he had fitted out two vessels under the command of Captain Barr, one of which ascended the Mississippi one hundred miles, and that the English designed to make a settlement of the Huguenot refugees on the "Meschacebe," but that the death of Lord Lonsdale, who was the chief promoter of the scheme, frustrated the project. It is the main object of "The Description of Carolana," which was written by the son of the proprietor, to describe the topography of the Mississippi valley, from the journals and reports of all these explorers; and, though he borrows evidently from the French explorations, yet there is an exactness in his descriptions, that is a strong evidence of the truth of the journals on which it is based. There is even a remarkable sagacity and foresight in some of its allusions and suggestions. The south pass over the Rocky Mountains is marked as a great conveniency; there are tracts of country in the West "that would suit very well with camels;" the great importance of the cotton culture is affirmed; even the gold of California and the Sandwich Islands come under the notice of the writer. Yet, with the exception of the report of the English vessel met by Bienville at the "English turn," the description of which agrees with that of the vessel commanded by Captain Barr, there is no corroboration of any of these statements.

The policy of occupying the Mississippi valley was for a time neglected. It was revived by Alexander Spottswood,† who was,

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* Coxe's Memorial to King William, in 1699.

† Grahame's Colonial History.

in 1710, made Governor of Virginia. Spottswood was gifted with more than ordinary foresight and breadth of view. The purpose, even then entertained by the French, of enclosing the English colonies within the mountains, did not escape his penetration, and accordingly he proposed a system of measures to counteract their schemes. Through his representation, the Assembly of Virginia was induced to make appropriations to defray the expense of an exploration of the Alleghenies, then popularly believed to be impassable, for the purpose of discovering a passage to the valley beyond. Gov. Spottswood led the expedition in person. A practicable pass was discovered, a route was marked out for future emigrants, and the party returned to Williamsburg. There, as a memorial of the event, Spottswood established the "Transmontane Order, or Knights of the Golden Horse Shoe," conferred the honor of this novel knighthood on each of the companions of his expedition, and, in allusion to the horse shoes they used, which were not employed in the sandy soil of Eastern Virginia, he gave, as the badge of the order, a golden horse shoe, inscribed with the motto, "*Sic jurat transcendere montes.*" With more wisdom, he presented a memorial to the English government, in which, with great force and acuteness, he exposed the French scheme of military occupation, foretold the course they would pursue in the effort to limit the English colonies to the Atlantic coast, and advised the building of a chain of forts across to the Ohio, and the formation of settlements to counteract them. Nothing was done to carry out his suggestions, his recall prevented him from prosecuting his favorite plans, and the subject was lost sight of under the pressure of other affairs. Forty years later, the British colonies had occasion to remember the policy of Governor Spottswood, and to regret that it was so thoughtlessly abandoned.

Individuals, however, from time to time passed into the valley, for the purposes of trade or location. There are vague accounts that English traders were known on the Ohio as early, perhaps, as 1730. In 1742, John Howard crossed the mountains from Virginia, descended the Ohio in a skin canoe, and was taken prisoner by the French on the Mississippi. Soon after that time traders undoubtedly began to flock thither from Virginia and Pennsylvania. In 1748, Conrad Weiser,* a German of Herenberg, who

* Early History of Pennsylvania, App. 10.

had in early life acquired the Mohawk tongue, by a residence among them, was sent on an embassy to the Shawanees, on the Ohio. Mr. Weiser proceeded to Logstown,* a Shawanee village on the north side of the Ohio, seventeen miles below the site of Pittsburgh, where he met the chiefs of the tribe, delivered presents to them, and received assurances of their support against the French.

But the principal ground of claim of the British to the country west of the Alleghenies, was by treaties of purchase from the "Five Nations," or Iroquois. This was the only confederacy of Indian tribes that deserved the name of government in this part of North America. They had the rude elements of a confederated republic, and they were the conquerors of most of the other tribes from Lower Canada to the Mississippi, and even beyond. Different from the policy of all the other tribes, they left the conquered nations to manage their own internal affairs as they might choose, but exacted tributes, and especially claimed the right as conquerors to dispose of their country. On this right the Five Nations sold, in treaty with the British authorities, the country on the Ohio, including Western Virginia, and Kentucky, a large part of Illinois, and the country along the northern lakes into Upper Canada.

Waiving for the present all questions as to the justice of their claims, it is a fact now fully established, that this confederacy did set up claims to the whole country now embraced in Kentucky and Western Virginia north of the Cherokee claims, and the Northwestern Territory, except a district in Ohio and Indiana, and a small section in Southwestern Illinois, which was claimed and held by the Miami confederacy.

In 1684, Lord Howard, Governor of Virginia, held a treaty with the Five Nations, at Albany, when, at the request of Colonel Dungan, Governor of New York, they placed themselves under the protection of the British nation.† They made a deed of sale, by treaty, to the British government of a vast tract of country south and east of the Illinois river, and extending across Lake Huron into Canada. Another formal deed was drawn up, and signed by the chiefs of the national confederacy in 1726, by which their lands were conveyed in trust to England, "to be protected

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* Weiser's Journal. Early History of Pennsylvania. App. 12.

† "Plain Facts,"—Philadelphia, 1781, pp. 22, 23.

and defended by his majesty, to and for the use of the grantors and their heirs."*

If the Six Nations had a good claim to the western country, there could be but little doubt that England was justified in defending that country against the French, as France, by the treaty of Utrecht, had agreed not to invade the lands of Britain's Indian allies. This claim of the New York savages has been disputed; but the evidence nevertheless is very strong, that, before 1680, the Six Nations had overrun the western lands, and were dreaded from Lakes Erie and Michigan to the Ohio, and west to the Mississippi. In 1673, Allouez and Dablon found the Miamis upon Lake Michigan, fearing a visit from the Iroquois. In 1680, La Salle found them on the Illinois. The upper Ohio was called by the early French the river of the Iroquois; and was long unexplored for fear of their hostility. And the evidence from many sources is conclusive, that the Iroquois confederacy, rendered strong by the arms they received from the Dutch of New York, overran not only the regions north and south of their original seats, but that they, during the early part of the eighteenth century, extended their conquests and incursions to the Mississippi. But they retained no fixed possession of the regions they had thus overrun, and, indeed, through the influence of the French over the western tribes, and with the aid of the arms they furnished to them, confederacies were formed against the Iroquois; they were confined within narrower limits, and their title to such extended regions, if it ever existed, was extinguished.

But some of the western lands were also claimed by the British, as having actually been purchased. This purchase was said to have been made at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, when a treaty was held between the colonists and the Six Nations, relative to some alleged settlements that had been made upon the Indian lands in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland; of which there is a very good and graphic account, written by Witham Marshe, who went as secretary with the commissioners for Maryland. The Maryland commissioners reached Lancaster upon the 21st of June, before either the governor of Pennsylvania, the Virginia commissioners, or the Indians had arrived; though all but the natives came that evening.

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* This may be found at length in Pownall's "Administration of the Colonies," fourth edition.

The next forenoon wore wearily away, and all were glad to sit down, at one o'clock, to a dinner in the court-house, which the Virginians gave their friends, and from which not many were drawn, even by the arrival of the Indians, who came, to the number of two hundred and fifty-two, with squaws and little children on horseback, and with their fire-arms, and bows and arrows, and tomahawks, and, as they passed the court-house, invited the white men with a song to renew their former treaties. On the outskirts of the town, vacant lots had been chosen for the savages to build their wigwams upon, and thither they marched on, with Conrad Weiser, their friend and interpreter,* while the Virginians "drank the loyal healths," and finished their entertainment. A scene of festivity and drunkenness of the Indians followed, which continued at intervals for several days. It appears, however, in Marshe's journal, that the chiefs "narrowly scanned" the goods paid by the commissioners of Maryland for the lands that colony purchased, amounting to £220, Pennsylvania currency. The commissioners of Virginia paid £200 in gold, and a like sum in goods, with a promise that as settlements increased more should be paid. The commissioners from Virginia, at this treaty of Lancaster, were Col. Thomas Lee and Col. William Beverly.

Such was the treaty of Lancaster, upon which, as a corner-stone, the claim of the colonists to the West, by purchase, rested; and upon this, and the grant from the Six Nations, Great Britain relied in all subsequent steps.

The Shawanee Indians, on the Ohio, who had long shown symptoms of disaffection to the English, and subserviency to the French cause, now openly assumed a hostile character. Peter Chartiez, a half-blood and trader, was a French spy, who dwelt chiefly in Philadelphia. In 1743, he endeavored to engage the Shawanees in war with the Six Nations. This offense was overlooked by the Pennsylvania government, from an apprehension that his punishment would serve as a pretext for violence to their traders; but being reprimanded by Governor Thomas, for some other impropriety, he became alarmed, fled to the Shawanees, and persuaded them to declare for the French. Soon after, at the head of four hundred of their warriors, he lay in wait on the Allegheny river for the provincial traders, captured two of them, and, exhibiting a captain's commission from France, seized their property to the value of sixteen hundred pounds.

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* Early History of Pennsylvania.

As settlements extended, and the Indians became more hostile, the promise of further pay was called to mind, and Weiser was sent across the Alleghenies to Logstown, in 1748, with presents, to conciliate them; and to sound them, probably, as to their feeling with regard to large settlements in the West, which some Virginians, with Col. Thomas Lee, the Lancaster commissioner, at their head, were then contemplating. The object of these proposed settlements, was not the cultivation of the soil, but the monopoly of the Indian trade, which, with all its profits, had till that time been in the hands of unprincipled men, half civilized, half savage, who, through the Iroquois, had from the earliest period penetrated to the lakes of Canada, and competed everywhere with the French for skins and furs. It was now proposed in Virginia, to supersede these beyond the mountains, by means of a great company, which should hold lands and build trading-houses, import European goods regularly, and export the furs of the West, in return, to London. Accordingly, after Weiser's conference with the Indians at Logstown, which was favorable to their views, Thomas Lee, with twelve other Virginians, among whom were Lawrence and Augustine, brothers of George Washington, and also Mr. Hanbury, of London, formed an association which they called the "Ohio Company," and in 1748, petitioned the king for a grant beyond the mountains. This petition was approved by the monarch, and the government of Virginia was ordered to grant to the petitioners half a million of acres within the bounds of that colony, beyond the Alleghenies, two hundred thousand of which were to be located at once. This portion was to be held for ten years, free of quit-rent, provided the company would put there one hundred families within seven years, and build a fort sufficient to protect the settlement; all which the company proposed, and prepared to do at once, and sent to London for a cargo suited to the Indian trade, which was to come out so as to arrive in November, 1749.

Other companies were also formed about this time in Virginia, to colonize the West. Upon the 12th of June, 1749, a grant of 800,000 acres, from the line of Canada, on the north and west, was made to the Loyal Company; and, upon the 29th of October, 1751, another of 100,000 acres to the Greenbriar Company.

But the French were not blind all this while. They saw, that if the British once obtained a strong hold upon the Ohio, they might not only prevent their settlements upon it, but must at last come upon their lower posts, and so the battle be fought sooner or later.

To the danger of the English possessions in the West, Vaudreuil, the French governor, had been long alive. Upon the 10th of May, 1744, he wrote home representing the consequences that must come from allowing the British to build a trading-house among the Creeks; and, in November, 1748, he anticipated their seizure of Fort Prudhomme, which was upon the Mississippi below the Ohio. Nor was it for mere sickly missionary stations that the governor feared; for, in the year last named, the Illinois settlements, few as they were, sent flour and corn, the hams of hogs and bears, pickled pork and beef, myrtle wax, cotton, tallow, leather, tobacco, lead, iron, copper, some little buffalo wool, venison, poultry, bear's grease, oil, skins, and coarse furs to the New Orleans market. Even in 1746, from five to six hundred barrels of flour, according to one authority, and two thousand according to another, went thither from Illinois, convoys annually going down in December with the produce. Having these fears, and seeing the danger of the late movements of the British, Gallisoniere, then governor of Canada, determined to place along the Ohio, evidences of the French claim to, and possession of the country; and for that purpose, in the summer of 1749, sent Louis Celeron with a party of soldiers, to place plates of lead, on which were written the claims of France, in the mounds, and at the mouths of the rivers.

One of these plates was found at the mouth of the Muskingum; another at Venango. The following is a translation of the inscription on the latter:

"In the year 1749, reign of Louis XV., King of France, we, Celeron, commandant of a detachment by Monsieur the Marquis of Gallisoniere, commander-in-chief of New France, to establish tranquillity in certain Indian villages of these cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Toradakoin, this twenty-ninth of July, near the River Ohio, otherwise Beautiful River, as a monument of renewal of possession which we have taken of the said river, and all its tributaries; and of all the land on both sides, as far as the sources of said rivers; inasmuch as the preceding Kings of France have enjoyed it, and maintained it by their arms and by treaties; especially by those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix La Chapelle."

The claim of England and her colonies to the same region, was thus stated:* "That all the lands, or countries Westward from

* Colonial Records of Pennsylvania.

the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea, between 48 and 34 degrees North Latitude, were expressly included in the grant of King James the First, to divers of his Subjects, so long since as the year 1606, and afterwards confirmed in 1620; and under this grant, the Colony of Virginia claims extent so far West as the South Sea, and the ancient Colonies of the Massachusetts Bay, and Connecticut, were by their respective charters made to extend to the said South Sea, so that not only the right to the Sea Coast, but to all the Inland Countries from Sea to Sea, has at all times been asserted by the Crown of England."

To make good their title to the lands which they had in this manner claimed, the French made early and vigorous efforts to occupy, and fortify themselves in the Ohio valley. The nature and extent of these efforts may be inferred from a deposition of Stephen Coffen, who was for a time a prisoner among them, made on the 10th of January, 1754, to Col. Johnston, at New York. Aside from the information it contains, it is an interesting specimen of the style of the olden time.

"Stephen Coffen of full age being duly sworn deposeth and saith: that he was taken Prisoner by the French and Indians of Canada at Menis, in the Year 1747, under the Command of Major Noble, from whence he was brought to an Indian Village called Actagouche about Fifteen Leagues to the Westward of Chebucta, where he was kept three Weeks Prisoner; from thence was carried to a French Settlement called Beaubasin, where the French had a Wooden Fort then Garrisoned with Twenty-Five Men; remained there Two Months; from thence they took him to Gaspey, a considerable Fishing place in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, near to the Entrance of the River; there are about Three Hundred Families settled there; they kept him there working near Four Years; then he was brought to a place called Ramouski, inhabited by about Twenty-Five French Families, from which Place he sailed two Years to and from Quebec in a Sloop carrying Beaver and Furrs, Salmon, &ca., to Quebec, and in return brought back Brandy, Dry Goods, &ca.; during the Time of the Deponent's residing at Quebec he said it was commonly talked or reported that they the French intended to settle as many Families as they could to the Westward, to make up for the Loss of Two of their Towns sunk in the West Indies by an Earthquake. The Deponent further saith that the Navigation up the River Saint Lawrence is very dangerous, particularly so at the Isle aux Coudres and the Isle Orleans; the North Side of the former is the best Navigation, the South Side being very

rapid and rocky, and the Channel not above Two Hundred Yards wide, about six Fathom Water, whereas in the North Channel there is Fifteen Fathom; at the North East End of the latter begin Two Sand Banks, which extend a League down said River; the Channel is between both Banks, and pretty near the Middle of the River, from thence to the Town of Quebec good Navigation, being Fifteen Fathom all the Way. The Deponent says there is no possibility of going up said River without the Tide serves or a strong North-East Wind, especially at the Two aforementioned Islands. In September, 1752, the Deponent was in Quebec and endeavoring to agree with some Indians to convey him to his own country, New England, which the Indians acquainted the Governor of, who immediately ordered him to Goal, where he lay three Months. At the Time of his Releasement the French were preparing for a March to Belle Riviere, or Ohio, when he offered his Service, but was rejected by the Governor General Le Cain. He the said General setting out for Mont Real about the Third of January, 1753, to view and forward the Forces; the Deponent applied to Major Ramsay for Liberty to go with the Army to Ohio, who told him he would ask the Lieutenant De Rouy, who agreed to it, upon which he was equipped as a Soldier and sent with a Detachment of Three Hundred Men to Montreal, under the Command or Monsieur Babeer, who set off immediately with said Command by Land and Ice for Lake Erie; they in their Way stopped a couple of Days to refresh themselves at Cadarahqui Fort, also at Taranto on the North side of Lake Ontario, then at Niagara Fort Fifteen Days; from thence set off by Water, being April, and arrived at Chadakoin, on Lake Erie, where they were ordered to fell Timber and prepare it for building a Fort there according to the Governor's Instructions; but Mr. Morang coming up with Five Hundred Men and Twenty Indians put a Stop to the erecting a Fort at that Place by reason of his not liking the Situation, and the River of Chadakoins being too shallow to carry any Craft with Provisions, &ca, to Belle Riviere. The Deponent says there arose a warm Debate between Messieurs Babeer and Morang thereon, the first insisting on building a Fort there agreeable to his Instructions, otherwise on Morang's giving him an Instrument in Writing to satisfy the Governor in that Point, which Morang did, and then ordered Monsieur Mercie, who was both Commissary and Engineer, to go along said Lake and look for a good Situation, which he found and returned in three days, it being Fifteen Leagues to the South-West of Chadakoin; they were then all ordered to repair thither; when

they arrived there were about Twenty Indians fishing in the Lake, who immediately quit it on seeing the French; they fell to Work and built a square Fort of Chesnut Logs, squared and lapped over each other to the Height of Fifteen Feet, it is about one hundred and twenty square—a Log House in each Square—a Gate to the Southward and another to the Northward, not one Port Hole cut in any Part of it when finished—they called it Fort *Le Presque Isle*. The Indians who came from Canada with them returned very much out of Temper, owing as it was said among the Army to Morang's dogged Behavior and ill Usage of them (but they the Indians said at Oswego it was owing to the French's misleading them by telling them Falsehoods, which they said they had now found out) and left them. As soon as the Fort was finished they marched Southward, cutting a Waggon Road through a fine level Country twenty-one Miles to the River aux Bœufs (leaving Captain Derponteney with an hundred Men to garrison the Fort La Briske Isle); they fell to Work cutting Timber, Boards, &ca., for another Fort, while Mr. Morang ordered Monsieur Bite with Fifty Men to a Place called by the Indians Ganagarahhare, or the Banks of Belle Riviere, where the River aux Bœufs empties into it; in the meantime Morang had Ninety large Boats or Battoes made to carry down the Baggage and Provisions, &ca., to said Place. Monsieur Bite on coming to said Indian Place was asked what he wanted or intended. He, upon answering it was their Father the Governor of Canada's Intention to build a Trading House for their and all their Brethren's Conveniency, was told by the Indians that the Lands were their's, and that they would not have them build upon it. The said Monsieur Bite returning, met two Englishmen, Traders, with their Horses and Goods, whom they Bound and brought Prisoners to Morang, who ordered them to Canada in Irons. The said Bite reported to Morang the Situation was good, but the Water in the River aux Bœuf too low at that time to carry down any Craft with Provisions, &ca.; a few Days after the deponent says that about one hundred Indians called by the French the Loos, came to the Fort La Riviere aux Bœuff to see what the French were doing; that Monsieur Morang treated them very kindly, and then asked them to carry down some Stores, &ca., to the Belle Riviere on Horseback for Payment, which he immediately advanced them on their undertaking to do it. They set off with full Loads, but never delivered them to the French, which incensed them very much, being not only a Loss but a great Disappointment. Morang, a man of a very peevish, cholerick Disposition, meeting with

those and other Crosses, and finding the Season of the Year too far advanced to build the Third Fort, called all his Officers together and told them that as he had engaged and firmly promised the Governor to finish the Three Forts that Season, and not being able to fulfil the same was both Afraid and Ashamed to return to Canada, being sensible he had now forfeited the Governor's Favour for ever; wherefore rather than live in Disgrace he begged they would take him (as he then sat in a Carriage made for him, being very Sick some time) and seat him in the middle of the Fort and then set Fire to it and let him perish in the Flames, which was rejected by the Officers, who (the Deponent says) had not the least regard for him, as he had behaved very ill to them all in general. The Deponent further Saith that about eight Days before he left the Fort La Briske Isle, Chevalier Le Crake arrived Express from Canada in a Birch Canoe worked by Ten Men, with Orders (as the Deponent afterwards heard) from the Governor Le Cain to Morang to make all the Preparation possible against the Spring of the Year to build them Two Forts at Chadokoin one of them by Lake Erie the other at the End of the Carrying Place at Lake Chadokoin, which Carrying Place is Fifteen Miles from one Lake to the Other. The said Chevalier brought for Monsieur Morang a Cross of Saint Louis which the Rest of the Officers would not allow him to take until the Governor was acquainted of his Conduct and Behaviour. The Chevalier returned immediately to Canada. After which, the Deponent saith, when the Fort La Riviere aux Bœufs was finished (which is built of Wood Stockadoed Triangularwise. and has Two Log Houses in the inside), Monsieur Morang ordered all the Party to return to Canada for the Winter Season except Three Hundred Men which he kept to Garrison both Forts and prepare Materials against the Spring for the building other Forts. He also sent Jean Cœur, an Officer and Interpreter, to stay the Winter among the Indians on Ohio, in order to prevail with them not only to allow the Building Forts on their Lands, but also to perswade them if possible to join the French Interest against the English. The Deponent further saith that on the twenty eighth of October last he set off for Canada under the Command of Captain Deman, who had the Command of twenty two Battoes with twenty Men in each Battoe, the Remainder being Seven Hundred and Sixty Men followed in a few Days, the thirtieth arrived at Chadakoin, where they stayed four Days, during which Time Monsieur Peon with Two Hundred Men cut a Waggon Road over the Carrying Place from Lake Erie to Lake Chadakoin, being fifteen

Miles, viewed the Situation, which proved to their liking, so set off November the Third for Niagara where We arrived the Sixth. It is a very poor rotten old Wooden Fort with Twenty-Five Men in it, they talked of rebuilding it next Summer. We left Fifty Men there to build Battoes for the Army against the Spring, also a Store House for Provisions, Stores, &ca. staid here two Days, then set off for Canada. All Hands being fatigued with rowing all night, ordered to put ashore to Breakfast within a Mile of Oswego Garrison. At which Time the Deponent saith that He with a Frenchman slipped off and got to the Fort, where they were both concealed until the Army passed; from thence he came here. The Deponent further saith that beside the Three Hundred Men with which he went up first under the Command of Monsieur Babeer, and the Five Hundred Men Morang brought up afterwards, there came at different Times with Stores, &ca. Seven Hundred more, which made in all Fifteen Hundred Men, Three Hundred of which remained to Garrison the Two Forts, Fifty at Niagara, the Rest all returned to Canada, and talked of going up again this Winter, so as to be there the beginning of April. They had Two Six Pounders and Seven Four Pounders which they intended to have planted in the Fort at Ganagarahhare, which was to have been called the Governor's Fort, but as that was not built they left the Guns in the Fort La Riviere aux Bœufs, where Morang commands; further the Deponent saith not."

Thus the issue between the French and English was made up. It admitted no compromise, but the arbitrament of the sword. To that, however, neither party desired an immediate appeal, but both sought rather to establish and fortify their interests, and to conciliate the Indian tribes. In the fall of 1750, the Ohio Company sent out Christopher Gist to explore the regions west of the mountains. He was instructed to examine the passes, to trace the courses of the rivers, to mark the falls, to seek for valuable lands, to observe the strength, and to conciliate the friendship of the Indian tribes. He visited Logstown, where he was received with jealousy, passed over to the Muskingum, where he found a village of the Ottawas friendly to the French, and a village of the Wyandots divided in sentiment. There he met Croghan, who had been sent out by Pennsylvania, and in concert they held a council with the chiefs, and received assurance of the friendship of the tribe. Next, they passed to the Shawanee towns on the Scioto, received assurances of friendship from them, and then crossed the Miami valley. "Nothing," said

they, "is wanting but cultivation to make it a most delightful country." They crossed the Great Miami on a raft of logs, and visited Piqua, the chief town of the Pickawillanies, and here they made treaties with the Piquas and representatives of the Weas (Ouias,) and Piankeshaws. While there, a deputation of the Ottawas appeared to solicit an alliance of the Miami confederacy with the French. They were repulsed, however, by the address and promises of the English agents, and the chiefs of the tribe sent back a message with Gist, that their friendship should stand like the mountains. Croghan returned, Gist followed the Miami to its mouth, passed down the Ohio river until within fifteen miles of the falls, then returned by way of the Kentucky river, and over the highlands of Kentucky to Virginia, in May, 1751, having visited the Mingoes, Delawares, Wyandots, Shawanees and Miamis, proposed a union among these tribes, and appointed a general council at Logstown, to form an alliance among themselves and with Virginia.

Meanwhile, some traders had established themselves at Larimie's store, or Pickawillany,* some forty-seven miles north of the site of Dayton, Ohio. A party of French and their Ottawa and Chippewa allies demanded them of the Miamis as unauthorized intruders on French lands. The Miamis refused, a battle ensued, fourteen of them were killed, the traders were taken and carried to Canada, or, as one account says, burned. It is probable those traders were from Pennsylvania, since that province made a gift of condolence to the Twigtwees for those slain in their defense.

Blood had now been shed, and both parties became more deeply interested in the progress of events in the West. The English, on their part, determined to purchase from the Indians a title to the lands they wished to occupy, and, in the spring of 1752, Messrs. Fry, Lomax and Patton, were sent from Virginia to hold a conference with the natives at Logstown, to learn what they objected to in the treaty of Lancaster, of which it was said they complained, and to settle all difficulties. On the 9th of June, the commissioners met the red men at Logstown, a little village, seventeen miles below Pittsburgh, upon the right bank of the Ohio descending. It had long been a trading point, but had been abandoned by the Indians in 1750. Here the Lancaster treaty was produced, and the sales of the western lands insisted upon; but the chiefs said that "they had

* Others affirm that this murder of the English traders was committed at a post on the Maumee, and others on the Allegheny. There is no certainty as to the spot.

not heard of any sale west of the warrior's road, which ran at the foot of the Allegheny ridge." The commissioners then offered goods for a ratification of the Lancaster treaty; spoke of the proposed settlement by the Ohio Company; and used all their persuasions to secure the land wanted. On the 11th of June, the Indians replied: "They recognized the treaty of Lancaster, and the authority of the Six Nations to make it, but denied that they had any knowledge of the western lands being conveyed to the English by that deed, and declined having anything to do with the treaty of 1744." "However," said the savages, "as the French have already struck the Twigtwees, we shall be pleased to have your assistance and protection, and wish you would build a fort at once at the forks of the Ohio." But this permission was not what the Virginians wanted; they took aside Montour, the interpreter, who was a son of the famous Catharine Montour, and a chief among the Six Nations, and persuaded him to use his influence with his fellows. By that means they were induced to treat, and upon the 13th of June, they all united in signing a deed, confirming the Lancaster treaty *in its full extent*, consenting to a settlement south-east of the Ohio, and covenanting that it should not be disturbed by them. By such means was obtained the first treaty with the Indians in the Ohio valley.

All this time the two powers beyond the Atlantic were in a professed state "of profound peace;" and commissioners were at Paris trying to out-maneuver one another with regard to the disputed lands in America, though in the West all looked like war. The English indeed outwitted the Indians, and secured themselves, as they thought, by their politic conduct. But the French proved, that they knew best how to manage the natives; and, though they had to contend with the old hatred felt towards them by the Six Nations, and though they had by no means refrained from strong acts, marching through the midst of the Iroquois country, attacking the Twigtwees, and seizing the English traders, they did succeed, as the British never did, in attaching the Indians to their cause. An old chief of the Six Nations said at Easton, in 1758: "The Indians on the Ohio left you because of your own fault. When we heard the French were coming, we asked you for help and arms, but we did not get them. The French came, they treated us kindly, and gained our affections. The governor of Virginia settled on our lands for his own benefit, and, when we wanted help, forsook us."

So stood matters at the close of 1752. The English had secured

a title to the Indian lands southeast of the Ohio, and Gist was at work laying out a town and fort there, on Chartier's Creek, about two miles below the fork. Eleven families also had crossed the mountains to settle at the point where Gist had fixed his own residence, west of Laurel Hill, and not far from the Youghiogheny. Goods, too, had come from England for the Ohio Company, which, however, they dared not carry beyond Wills' creek, the point where Cumberland now stands, whence they were taken by the traders and Indians; and there were even some prospects of a road across the mountains to the Monongahela.

On the other hand, the French were gathering cannon and stores upon Lake Erie, and, without treaties or deeds for land, were gaining the good will of even inimical tribes, and preparing, when all was ready, to strike the blow. Some of the savages, it is true, remonstrated. They said they did not understand this dispute between the Europeans, as to which of them the western lands belonged, for they did not belong to either. But the French bullied and flattered, when it served their turn, and all the while went on with their preparations, which were in an advanced state early in 1753.

These consisted of a line of forts from Lake Erie to the Ohio. Of these, as has been seen, Presquille on Lake Erie, on the site of the city of Erie, Pennsylvania, was built in the spring of that year. Le Bœuf, on French creek, on the site of Waterford, Erie county, Pennsylvania, and Venango, at the mouth of French creek, on the Allegheny, on the site of Franklin, Venango county, were built later in the same year. Opposite Fort Venango, Henry de Courcy affirms, on the authority of a map preserved in Quebec, Fort Michault was built about the same time.

In May of that year, the governor of Pennsylvania informed the Assembly of the French movements, a knowledge of which was derived, in part, at least, from Montour, who had been present at a conference between the French and Indians relative to the invasion of the West. The Assembly, thereupon, voted six hundred pounds for distribution among the tribes, besides two hundred for the presents of condolence to the Twigtwees. This money was not sent, but Conrad Weiser was dispatched in August, to learn the state of affairs among the Ohio savages. Virginia was moving also. In June, or earlier, a commissioner was sent westward to meet the French, and ask how they dared to invade his Majesty's province. The messenger went to Logstown, but was afraid to go up the Allegheny, as instructed. Trent was also sent with

guns, powder, shot and clothing, for the friendly Indians; and then it was, that he learned the fact, as to the claim of the French, and their burial of medals in proof of it. While these measures were taken, another treaty with the wild men of the debatable land was also in contemplation; and in September, 1753, William Fairfax, met their deputies at Winchester, Virginia, where he concluded a treaty, on which was an endorsement, stating that such was their feeling, that *he had not dared to mention to them either the Lancaster or the Logstown treaty.** In the month following, however, a more satisfactory interview took place at Carlisle, between the representatives of the Iroquois, Delawares, Shawanees, Twigtwees, and Wyandots, and the commissioners of Pennsylvania, Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, and Benjamin Franklin. At this meeting the attack on the Twigtwees and the plans of the French were discussed, and a treaty concluded. The Indians had sent three messages to the French, warning them away; the reply was, that they were coming to build forts at "Wenengo," (Venango,) Mohongiala forks, (Pittsburgh,) Logstown, and Beaver Creek. The red men complained of the traders as too scattered, and killing them with rum; they wished only three trading stations, viz: mouth of "Mohongely," (Pittsburgh,) Logstown, and mouth of Conawa.

These encroachments of the French on what was regarded as English territory, created much agitation in the colonies, and especially in Virginia. The purpose of the French to establish a military corden around the English colonies, and thus prevent their extension over the mountains, was clearly seen, and it was inferred that this purpose was but the first step in a system of measures already planned by the French court to reduce all North America under the dominion of France. Under these circumstances, Governor Dinwiddie determined to send a messenger to the French posts, to demand of the French commandant his designs, and to observe the amount and disposition of his forces. George Washington, then in his twenty-second year, was selected for this undertaking. His knowledge of the Indians, his acquaintance with frontier life, and the marked traits of character he had displayed, were the qualities that recommended him to the notice of the governor, and that fitted him for his dangerous mission. The following instructions will indicate the nature and purposes of his mission.

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* Plain Facts, p. 44.

"Whereas I have received information of a body of French forces being assembled in a hostile manner on the river Ohio, intending by force of arms to erect certain forts on the said river, within this territory, and contrary to the dignity and peace of our sovereign, the King of Great Britain—

"These are therefore to require and direct you, the said George Washington, forthwith to repair to Logstown, on the said river Ohio, and having there informed yourself where the said French forces have posted themselves, thereupon to proceed to such place; and being there arrived, to present your credentials, together with my letter, to the chief commanding officer, and in the name of his Britannic Majesty, to demand an answer thereto.

"On your arrival at Logstown, you are to address yourself to the Half-King, to Monacatoocha, and other sachems of the Six Nations, acquainting them with your orders to visit and deliver my letter to the French commanding officer, and desiring the said chiefs to appoint you a sufficient number of their warriors to be your safeguard, as near the French as you may desire, and await your further directions.

"You are diligently to inquire into the numbers and force of the French on the Ohio, and the adjacent country; how they are likely to be assisted from Canada, and what are the difficulties and conveniences of that communication, and the time required for it.

"You are to take care to be truly informed what forts the French have erected, and where; how they are garrisoned and appointed, and what is their distance from each other, and from Logstown; and from the best intelligence you can procure, you are to learn what gave occasion to this expedition of the French; how they are likely to be supported, and what their pretensions are.

"When the French commandant has given you the necessary and required dispatches, you are to desire of him a proper guard to protect you as far on your return as you may judge for your safety, against any straggling Indians or hunters that may be ignorant of your character and molest you.

"Wishing you good success in your negotiations, and safe and speedy return, I am, &c.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE."

"WILLIAMSBURG, 30th October, 1753."

The journal of Washington on this expedition is inserted, because it furnishes an interesting account of his first public services:

"I was commissioned and appointed by the Honorable Robert Dinwiddie, Esquire, Governor, &c., of Virginia, to visit and deliver a letter to the commandant of the French forces at the Ohio, and set out on the intended journey on the same day: the next I arrived at Fredericksburg, and engaged Mr. Jacob Vanbraam to be my French interpreter, and proceeded with him to Alexandria, where we provided necessaries. From thence we went to Winchester, and got baggage horses, &c., and from thence we pursued the new road to Wills' creek, where we arrived on the 14th November.

"Here I engaged Mr. Gist to pilot us out, and also hired four others as servitors, Barnaby Curran and John McQuire, Indian traders, Henry Steward and William Jenkins; and in company with these persons left the inhabitants the next day.

"The excessive rains and vast quantities of snow which had fallen, prevented our reaching Mr. Frazier's, an Indian trader, at the mouth of Turtle creek, on Monongahela river, till Thursday, the 22d. We were informed here, that expresses had been sent a few days before to the traders down the river, to acquaint them with the French general's death, and the return of the major part of the French army into winter quarters.

"The waters were quite impassable without swimming our horses, which obliged us to get the loan of a canoe from Frazier, and to send Barnaby Curran and Henry Steward down the Monongahela, with our baggage, to meet us at the forks of Ohio, about ten miles below; there to cross the Allegheny.

"As I got down before the canoe, I spent some time in viewing the rivers, and the land in the fork, which I think extremely well situated for a fort, as it has the absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water; and a considerable bottom of flat, well-timbered land all around it, very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile or more across, and run here very nearly at right angles; Allegheny, bearing north-east; and Monongahela, south-east. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift running water, the other deep and still, without any perceptible fall.

"About two miles from this, on the south-east side of the river, at the place where the Ohio company intended to erect a fort, lives Shingiss, king of the Delawares. We called upon him to invite him to a council at Logstown.

"As I had taken a good deal of notice yesterday of the situation at the fork, my curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for defense or

advantages; especially the latter. For a fort at the fork would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water carriage, as it is of a deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the fork might be built at much less expense than at the other place.

"Nature has well contrived this lower place for water defense; but the hill whereon it must stand being about a quarter of a mile in length, and then descending gradually on the land side, will render it difficult and very expensive to make a sufficient fortification there. The whole flat upon the hill must be taken in, the side next the descent made extremely high, or else the hill itself cut away: otherwise, the enemy may raise batteries within that distance without being exposed to a single shot from the fort.

"Shingiss attended us to the Logstown, where we arrived between sunsetting and dark, the twenty-fifth day after I left Williamsburg. We traveled over some extremely good and bad land to get to this place.

"As soon as I came into town I went to Monakatoocha, as the Half-King was out at his hunting cabin, on Little Beaver creek, about fifteen miles off, and informed him by John Davidson, my Indian interpreter, that I was sent a messenger to the French general, and was ordered to call upon the sachems of the Six Nations, to acquaint them with it. I gave him a string of wampum and a twist of tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half-King, which he promised to do, by a runner, in the morning, and for other sachems. I invited him, and the other great men present, to my tent, where they stayed about an hour, and returned.

"According to the best observation I could make, Mr. Gist's new settlement, which we passed by, bears about west north-west seventy miles from Wills' creek; Shanopins, or the forks, north by west, or north, north-west about fifty miles from that; and from thence to the Logstown, the course is nearly west about eighteen or twenty miles: so that the whole distance, as we went and computed it, is at least one hundred and thirty-five, or one hundred and forty, miles from our back inhabitants.

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"30*th*.—Last night, the great men assembled at their council-house, to consult further about this journey, and who were to go; the result of which was, that only three of their chiefs, with one of their best hunters, should be our convoy. The reason they gave for not sending more, after what had been proposed at council the

26th, was, that a greater number might give the French suspicions of some bad design, and cause them to be treated rudely; but I rather think they could not get their hunters in.

"We set out about nine o'clock, with the Half-King, Jeskakake, White Thunder, and the Hunter, and traveled on the road to Venango, where we arrived the 4th of December, without any thing remarkable happening but a continued series of bad weather.

"This is an old Indian town, situated at the mouth of French creek, on Ohio; and lies near north, about sixty miles from the Logstown, but more than seventy the way we were obliged to go.

"We found the French colors hoisted at a house from which they had driven Mr. John Frazier, an English subject. I immediately repaired to it, to know where the commander resided. There were three officers, one of whom, Captain Joncaire, informed me that he had the command of the Ohio; but that there was a general officer at the near fort, where he advised me to apply for an answer. He invited us to sup with them, and treated us with the greatest complaisance.

"The wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which at first appeared in their conversation, and gave a license to their tongues to reveal their sentiments more freely.

"They told me, that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by G—d they would do it; for that, although they were sensible the English could raise two men for their one, yet they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted right to the river, from a discovery made by one La Salle, sixty years ago: and the rise of this expedition is, to prevent our settling on the river or waters of it, as they heard of some families moving out in order thereto. From the best intelligence I could get, there have been fifteen hundred men on this side Ontario lake. But upon the death of the general, all were recalled to about six or seven hundred, who were left to garrison four forts, one hundred and fifty, or thereabouts, in each. The first of them is on French creek, near a small lake, about sixty miles from Venango, near north, north-west; the next lies on Lake Erie, where the greater part of their stores are kept, about fifteen miles from the other: from this it is one hundred and twenty miles to the carrying place, at the falls of Lake Erie, where there is a small fort, at which they should lodge their goods, in bringing them from Montreal, the place from whence all their stores are brought. The next fort lies

about twenty miles from this, on Ontario lake. Between this fort and Montreal, there are three others, the first of which is nearly opposite to the English Fort Oswego. From the fort on Lake Erie to Montreal is about six hundred miles, which, they say, requires no more (if good weather) than four weeks voyage, if they go in barks or large vessels, so that they may cross the lake: but if they come in canoes, it will require five or six weeks, for they are obliged to keep under the shore.

"*December 5th.*—Rained excessively all day, which prevented our traveling. Captain Joncaire sent for the Half-King, as he had but just heard that he came with me. He affected to be much concerned that I did not make free to bring them in before. I excused it in the best manner of which I was capable, and told him I did not think their company agreeable, as I had heard him say a good deal in dispraise of Indians in general; but another motive prevented me from bringing them into his company; I knew that he was an interpreter, and a person of great influence among the Indians, and had lately used all possible means to draw them over to his interest; therefore I was desirous of giving him no opportunity that could be avoided.

"When they came in, there was great pleasure expressed at seeing them. He wondered how they could be so near without coming to visit him, made several trifling presents, and applied liquor so fast, that they were soon rendered incapable of the business they came about, notwithstanding the caution which was given.

"*6th.*—The Half-King came to my tent, quite sober, and insisted very much that I should stay and hear what he had to say to the French. I fain would have prevented him from speaking any thing until he came to the commandant, but could not prevail. He told me that at this place a council-fire was kindled, where all their business with these people was to be transacted, and that the management of the Indian affairs was left solely to Monsieur Joncaire. As I was desirous of knowing the issue of this, I agreed to stay; but sent our horses a little way up French creek, to raft over and encamp; which I knew would make it near night.

"About ten o'clock they met in council. The King spoke much the same as he had done before to the general, and offered the French speech-belt which had before been demanded, with the marks of four towns on it, which Monsieur Joncaire refused to receive, but desired him to carry it to the fort to the commander.

"*7th.*—Monsieur La Force, commissary of the French stores, and three other soldiers, came over to accompany us up. We found it

extremely difficult to get the Indians off to-day, as every stratagem had been used to prevent their going up with me. I had last night left John Davidson, (the Indian interpreter,) whom I brought with me from town, and strictly charged him not to be out of their company, as I could not get them over to my tent, for they had some business with Kustalogo, chiefly to know why he did not deliver up the French speech-belt which he had in keeping; but I was obliged to send Mr. Gist over to-day to fetch them, which he did with great persuasion.

"At twelve o'clock, we set out for the fort, and were prevented arriving there until the 11th, by excessive rains, snows, and bad traveling through many mires and swamps; these we were obliged to pass to avoid crossing the creek, which was impassable, either by fording or rafting, the water was so high and rapid.

"We passed over much good land since we left Venango, and through several very extensive and rich meadows, one of which I believe, was nearly four miles in length, and considerably wide in some places.

"12*th*.—I prepared early to wait upon the commander, and was received and conducted to him by the second officer in command. I acquainted him with my business, and offered my commission and letter, both of which he requested me to keep until the arrival of Monsieur Reparti, Captain at the next fort, who was sent for and expected every hour.

"The commander is a knight of the military order of St. Louis, and named Legardeur de St. Pierre. He is an elderly gentleman, and has much the air of a soldier. He was sent over to take the command immediately upon the death of the late general, and arrived here about seven days before me.

"At two o'clock, the gentleman who was sent for arrived, when I offered the letter, &c., again, which they received, and adjourned into a private apartment for the captain to translate, who understood a little English. After he had done it, the commander desired I would walk in and bring my interpreter to peruse and correct it, which I did.

"13*th*.—The chief officers retired to hold a council of war, which gave me an opportunity of taking the dimensions of the fort, and making what observations I could.

"It is situated on the south or west fork of French creek, near the water, and is almost surrounded by the creek, and a small branch of it, which form a kind of island. Four houses compose the sides. The bastions are made of piles driven into the ground,

standing more than twelve feet above it, and sharp at the top, with port-holes cut for cannon, and loop-holes for the small arms to fire through. There are eight six-pound pieces mounted in each bastion, and one piece of four pounds before the gate. In the bastions are a guard-house, chapel, doctor's lodging, and the commander's private store, round which are laid platforms for the cannon and men to stand on. There are several barracks without the fort, for the soldier's dwellings, covered, some with bark, and some with boards, made chiefly of logs. There are also several other houses, such as stables, smith's shop, &c.

"I could get no certain account of the number of men here; but, according to the best judgment I could form, there are a hundred, exclusive of officers, of whom there are many. I also gave orders to the people who were with me, to take an exact account of the canoes which were hauled up to convey their forces down in the spring. This they did, and told fifty of birch bark, and a hundred and seventy of pine, besides many others, which were blocked out, in readiness for being made.

"14*th*.—As the snow increased very fast, and our horses daily became weaker, I sent them off unloaded, under the care of Barnaby Curran and two others, to make all convenient dispatch to Venango, and there to wait our arrival, if there was a prospect of the river's freezing; if not, then to continue down to Shanapin's town, at the forks of Ohio, and there wait until we came to cross the Allegheny, intending myself to go down by water, as I had the offer of a canoe or two.

"As I found many plots concerted to retard the Indians' business, and prevent their returning with me, I endeavored all that lay in my power to frustrate their schemes, and hurried them on to execute their intended design. They accordingly pressed for admittance this evening, which at length was granted them, privately, to the commander and one or two other officers. The Half-King told me that he offered the wampum to the commander, who evaded taking it, and made many fair promises of love and friendship; said he wanted to live in peace and trade amicably with them, as a proof of which, he would send some goods immediately down to the Logstown for them. But I rather think the design of that is, to bring away all our straggling traders they meet with, as I privately understood they intended to carry an officer, &c., with them. And what rather confirms this opinion, I was inquiring of the commander by what authority he had made prisoners of several of our English subjects. He told me that the country belonged to

them, that no Englishman had a right to trade upon those waters, and that he had orders to make every person prisoner who attempted it on the Ohio, or the waters of it.

"I inquired of Captain Reparti about the boy that was carried by this place, as it was done while the command devolved on him, between the death of the late general, and the arrival of the present. He acknowledged that a boy had been carried past, and that the Indians had two or three white men's scalps, (I was told by some of the Indians at Venango, eight,) but pretended to have forgotten the name of the place where the boy came from, and all the particular facts, though he had questioned him for some hours, as they were carrying past. I likewise inquired what they had done with John Trotter and James M'Clocklan, two Pennsylvania traders, whom they had taken with all their goods. They told me that they had been sent to Canada, but were now returned home.

"This evening I received an answer to his honor, the Governor's letter from the commandant.

"15*th.*—The commandant ordered a plentiful store of liquor, provisions, &c., to be put on board our canoes, and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he was exerting every artifice which he could invent, to setour Indians at variance with us, to prevent them going until after our departure; presents, rewards, and every thing which could be suggested by him or his officers. I cannot say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety, as I did in this affair: I saw that every stratagem which the most fruitful brain could invent was practiced to win the Half-King to their interest; and that leaving him there, was giving them the opportunity they aimed at. I went to the Half-King and pressed him in the strongest terms to go; he told me that the commandant would not discharge him until the morning. I then went to the commandant, and desired him to do their business, and complained of ill-treatment; for keeping them, as they were part of my company, was detaining me. This he promised not to do, but to forward my journey as much as he could. He protested he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the cause of their stay; though I soon found it out. He had promised them a present of guns, &c., if they would wait until the morning. As I was very much pressed by the Indians to wait this day for them, I consented, on a promise that nothing should hinder them, in the morning.

"16*th.*—The French were not slack in their inventions to keep the Indians this day also. But as they were obliged, according to promise, to give the present, they then endeavored to try the power

of liquor, which I doubt not would have prevailed at any other time than this; but I urged and insisted with the King so closely upon his word, that he refrained, and set off with us as he had engaged.

"We had a tedious and very fatiguing passage down the creek. Several times we had like to have been staved against rocks; and many times were obliged, all hands, to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. At one place the ice had lodged, and made it impassable by water; we were, therefore, obliged to carry our canoes across the neck of land, a quarter of a mile over. We did not reach Venango until the 22d, where we met with our horses.

"This creek is extremely crooked. I dare say the distance between the fort and Venango, cannot be less than one hundred and thirty miles, to follow the meanders.

"23*d*.—When I got things ready to set off, I sent for the Half-King to know whether he intended to go with us, or by water. He told me that White Thunder had hurt himself much, and was sick, and unable to walk; therefore, he was obliged to carry him down in a canoe. As I found he intended to stay here a day or two, and knew that Monsieur Joncaire would employ every scheme to set him against the English, as he had before done, I told him I hoped he would guard against his flattery, and let no fine speeches influence him in their favor. He desired I might not be concerned, for he knew the French too well, for anything to engage him in their favor; and that though he could not go down with us, he yet would endeavor to meet at the forks with Joseph Campbell, to deliver a speech for me to carry to his Honor the Governor. He told me he would order the Young Hunter to attend us, and get provisions, &c., if wanted.

"Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy, (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require,) that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore, myself and the others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs to assist along with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walking dress, and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day; the cold increased very fast; and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing: therefore, as I was uneasy to get back, to make report of my proceedings to his Honor the Governor, I determined to

prosecute my journey the nearest way through the woods, on foot.

"Accordingly, I left Mr. Vanbraam in charge of our baggage, with money, and directions to provide necessaries from place to place for themselves and horses, and to make the most convenient dispatch in traveling.

"I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a watch coat. Then, with gun in hand, and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday, the 26th. The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering town, (where we intended to quit the path and steer across the country for Shanapin's town,) we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had laid in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist, or me, not fifteeen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night, then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start, so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light. The next day we continued traveling until quite dark, and got to the river about two miles above Shanapin's. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice I suppose had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

"There was no way for getting over but on a raft; which we set about, with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun setting. This was a whole day's work: we next got it launched, then went on board of it and set off: but before we were half way over we were jammed in the ice, in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting-pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet water; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it.

"The cold was so extremely severe that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice, in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazier's. We met here with twenty warriors, who were going to the southward to war; but

coming to a place on the head of the Great Kenhawa, where they found seven people killed and scalped, (all but one woman with very light hair,) they turned about and ran back, for fear the inhabitants should rise and take them as the authors of the murders. They report that the bodies were lying about the house, and some of them much torn and eaten by the hogs. By the marks which were left, they say they were French Indians, of the Ottoway nation, who did it.

"As we intended to take horses here, and it required some time to find them, I went up about three miles to the mouth of the Youghiogheny, to visit Queen Aliquippa, who had expressed great concern that we passed her in going to the fort. I made her a present of a watch-coat and a bottle of rum, which latter was thought much the better present of the two.

"Tuesday, the 1st of January, we left Mr. Frazier's house, and arrived at Mr. Gist's, at Monongahela, the 2d, where I bought a horse and saddle. The 6th, we met seventeen horses loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the forks of the Ohio, and the day after, some families going out to settle. This day we arrived at Wills' creek, after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad weather. From the first day of December to the fifteenth, there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly; and throughout the whole journey we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings, especially after we had quitted our tent, which was some screen from the inclemency of it.

"On the 11th, I got to Belvoir, where I stopped one day to take necessary rest; and then set out and arrived in Williamsburg the 16th, when I waited upon his Honor the Governor, with the letter I had brought from the French commandant, and to give an account of the success of my proceedings. This I beg leave to do by offering the foregoing narrative, as it contains the most remarkable occurrences which happened in my journey.

"I hope what has been said will be sufficient to make your Honor satisfied with my conduct; for that was my aim in undertaking the journey, and chief study throughout the prosecution of it."

During Washington's absence, steps had been taken to fortify and settle the point formed by the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny; and while upon his return he met "seventeen

horses, loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the forks of the Ohio," and, soon after, "some families going out to settle." These steps were taken by the Ohio Company; but, as soon as Washington returned with the letter of St. Pierre, the commander on French creek, and it was clear that neither he nor his superiors meant to yield the West without a struggle, Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the Board of Trade, stating that the French were building another fort at Venango, and that in March twelve or fifteen hundred men would be ready to descend the river with their Indian allies, for which purpose three hundred canoes had been collected; and that Logstown was then to be made head-quarters, while forts were built in various other positions, and the whole country occupied. He also sent expresses to the Governors of Pennsylvania and New York, calling upon them for assistance; and with the advice of his council, proceeded to enlist two companies, one of which was to be raised by Washington, the other by Trent, who was a frontier man. This last was to be raised upon the frontiers; and to proceed at once to the forks of the Ohio, there to complete, in the best manner and as soon as possible, the fort begun by the Ohio Company; and in case of attack, or any attempt to resist the settlements, or obstruct the works, those resisting were to be taken, and, if need, were to be killed.*

While Virginia was taking these strong measures, which were fully authorized by the letter of the Earl of Holdernesse, Secretary of State,† written in the previous August, and which directed the Governors of the various provinces, after representing to those who were invading his Majesty's dominions, the injustice of the act, to call out the armed force of the province, and repel force by force, Pennsylvania was discussing the question whether the French were *really* invading his Majesty's dominions,—the governor being on one side, and the Assembly on the other; and New York was preparing to hold a conference with the Six Nations, in obedience to orders from the Board of Trade, communicated in September, 1753. These orders had been sent out in consequence of the report in England, that the natives would side with the French, because dissatisfied with the occupancy of their lands by the English; and simultaneous orders were sent to the other provinces, directing their governors to recommend their Assemblies to send commis-

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* Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. pp. 1, 431, 446.—Sparks' Franklin, vol. iii. p. 254.

† Sparks' Franklin, vol. iii. p. 251, where the letter is given.

sioners to Albany, to attend this treaty. New York, however, was more generous when called on by Virginia, than her neighbor on the south, and voted, for the assistance of the resisting colony, five thousand pounds currency.

The fort at Venango was finished in April, 1754, and all along the line of French creek, troops were gathering; and the wilderness echoed the strange sounds of an European camp, and with these were mingled the shrieks of drunken Indians, won over from their old friendship by rum and soft words. Scouts were abroad, and little groups formed about the tents or huts of the officers, to learn the movements of the British. Canoes were gathering, and cannon were painfully hauled here and there. All was movement and activity among the old forests, and on hill-sides, from Lake Erie to the Allegheny. In Philadelphia, meanwhile, Governor Hamilton, in no amiable mood, had summoned the Assembly, and asked them if they meant to help the King in the defense of his dominions; and had desired them, above all things, to do whatever they meant to perform, quickly. The Assembly debated, and resolved to aid the King with a little money, and then debated again, and voted not to aid him with any money at all, for some would not give less than ten thousand pounds, and others would not give more than five thousand pounds; and so, nothing being practicable, they adjourned upon the 10th of April, until the 13th of May.

In New York, a little, and only a little, better spirit was at work; nor was this strange, as her direct interest was much less than that of Pennsylvania. Five thousand pounds, indeed, were voted to Virginia; but the Assembly questioned the invasion of his majesty's dominions by the French, and it was not till June that the money was sent forward.

The Old Dominion, however, was all alive. As, under the provincial law, the militia could not be called forth to march more than five miles beyond the bounds of the colony, and as it was doubtful if the French were in Virginia, it was determined to rely upon volunteers. Ten thousand pounds had been voted by the Assembly; so the two companies were now increased to six, and Washington was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and made second in command under Joshua Fry. Ten cannon, lately from England, were forwarded from Alexandria; wagons were got ready to carry westward, provisions and stores through the heavy spring roads; and everywhere along the Potomac men were enlisting under the governor's proclamation, which promised to those that

should serve in that war, two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio; or, already enlisted, were gathering into grave knots, or marching forward to the field of action, or helping on the thirty cannon and eighty barrels of gunpowder, which the king had sent out for the western forts. Along the Potomac they were gathering, as far as to Wills' creek, and far beyond Wills' creek, whither Trent had come for assistance; his little band of forty-one men was working away, in hunger and want, to fortify that point at the forks of the Ohio, to which both parties were looking with deep interest. A few Indian scouts were seen, but no enemy seemed near at hand; and all was so quiet that Frazier, an old Indian trader, who had been left by Trent in command of the new fort, ventured to his home at the mouth of Turtle creek, ten miles up the Monongahela. But, though all was so quiet in that wilderness, keen eyes had seen the low entrenchment that was rising at the forks, and swift feet had borne the news of it up the valley; and, upon the 17th of April, Ensign Ward, who then had charge of it, was astonished at the sight of sixty batteaux and three hundred canoes, filled with men, and laden deep with cannon and stores, on the Allegheny. The Commandant, Contrecœur, immediately sent in a summons to surrender the fort. By the advice of the Half-King, Ward sought to evade a reply, by referring him to his superior, Frazier. It was in vain; resistance, by his feeble band behind unfinished works, against a thousand men, was alike useless; and Ensign Ward surrendered his works, and the next day passed up the Monongahela.

The summons of Contrecœur, which was first brought to light by Neville B. Craig, Esq., is an interesting document. Aside from the bold statement of the French claim it sets up, it constituted the first act in the long war that followed. The seven years' war arose at the forks of the Ohio; it was waged in all quarters of the world; it made England a great imperial power; it drove the French from Asia and America, and dissipated the scheme of empire, so brilliant and so extended, they had so long cherished.

"A SUMMONS,

"By order of Monsieur Contrecœur, Captain of one of the Companies of the Detachment of the French Marine, Commander in Chief of his Most Christian Majesty's Troops, now on the Beautiful River, to the commander of those of the King of Great Britain, at the mouth of the river Monongahela.

"Sir—Nothing can surprise me more than to see you attempt a

settlement upon the lands of the king, my master, which obliges me now, sir, to send you this gentleman, Chevalier Le Mercier, Captain of the Artillery of Canada, to know of you, sir, by virtue of what authority you are come to fortify yourself within the dominions of the king, my master. This action seems so contrary to the last Treaty of Peace, at Aix La Chapelle, between his Most Christian Majesty and the King of Great Britain, that I do not know to whom to impute such a usurpation, as it is incontestible that the lands situated along the Beautiful River belong to his Most Christian Majesty.

"I am informed, sir, that your undertaking has been concerted by none else than by a Company, who have more in view the advantage of a trade, than to endeavor to keep the union and harmony which subsists between the two crowns of France and Great Britain, although it is as much the interest, sir, of your nation as ours to preserve it.

"Let it be as it will, sir, if you come out into this place, charged with orders, I summon you in the name of the King, my master, by virtue of orders which I got from my general, to retreat peaceably with your troops from off the lands of the king, and not to return, or else I will find myself obliged to fulfill my duty, and compel you to it. I hope, sir, you will not defer an instant, and that you will not force me to the last extremity. In that case, sir, you may be persuaded that I will give orders that there shall be no damage done by my detachment.

"I prevent you, sir, from asking me one hour of delay, nor to wait for my consent to receive orders from your Governor. He can give none within the dominions of the King, my master. Those I have received of my General are my laws, so that I cannot depart from them.

"On the contrary, sir, if you have not got orders, and only come to trade, I am sorry to tell you, that I can't avoid seizing you, and to confiscate your effects to the use of the Indians, our children, allies, and friends, as you are not allowed to carry on a contraband trade. It is for this reason, sir, that we stopped two Englishmen last year, who were trading upon our lands: moreover, the King, my master, asks nothing but his right; he has not the least intention to trouble the good harmony and friendship which reigns between his Majesty and the King of Great Britain.

"The Governor of Canada can give proof of his having done his utmost endeavors to maintain the perfect union which reigns between two friendly Princes. As he had learned that the Iroquois

and the Nipissingues of the Lake of the Two Mountains had struck and destroyed an English family, towards Carolina, he has barred up the road, and forced them to give him a little boy belonging to that family, and which Mr. Ulerich, a merchant of Montreal, has carried to Boston; and what is more, he has forbid the savages from exercising their accustomed cruelty upon the English, our friends.

"I could complain bitterly, sir, of the means taken all last winter to instigate the Indians to accept the hatchet and to strike us while we were striving to keep the peace. I am well persuaded, sir, of the polite manner in which you will receive M. Le Mercier, as well out of regard to his business as his distinction and personal merit. I expect you will send him back with one of your officers, who will bring me a precise answer. As you have got some Indians with you, sir, I join with M. Le Mercier, an interpreter, that he may inform them of my intentions on the subject.

I am, with great regard, Sir,
Your most humble and most obedient servant,
CONTRECŒUR.

Done at our Camp, April 16, 1754."

Washington was at Wills' creek, with three companies, on his march to Redstone, when the news of the surrender of the Forks reached him. A consultation with his officers was held, expresses were sent to Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, to ask for reinforcements, and it was determined to advance to Redstone, and erect there a fort. On the 9th of May, he reached the Little Meadows, where he learned that Contrecœur had been reinforced by eight hundred men; and French spies and agents were examining the Monongahela valley, and bribing the Indians. On the 27th he arrived at the Great Meadows, where Gist, who then lived at the head of Redstone creek, met him and informed him that a scouting party of French had been at his house the day previous; and in the evening a messenger arrived from Tanacharison, who was then encamped with some of his warriors about six miles off, with information that the French were near his encampment.

Washington immediately started with forty men to join him. The night was dark, the rain fell in torrents, the woods were intricate, the soldiers often lost their way, but at length they arrived at the Indian camp just before sunrise. A council was held; spies were sent out, and discovered the French in an obscure place, surrounded by rocks. A disposition for attack was made, the English on the

right, and the Indians on the left, approached in single file. The French discovering their approach, ran to their arms; a conflict ensued. The firing lasted for about fifteen minutes, when the French surrendered; Jumonville, their commander, and ten of his men, were slain, twenty-two were taken prisoners, one escaped and carried the tidings of the skirmish to Fort Du Quesne. Washington's loss was one man killed and two wounded. The Indians received no loss. The French afterward claimed that this was an unauthorized attack; and that Jumonville was sent in the character of an embassador, to warn the English to depart from lands claimed by them. The circumstances of the case, however, prove the fact that they concealed themselves, and reconnoitred Washington's camp; and the fact that they had instruction from Contrecœur with them to examine the country as far as the Potomac, is appealed to by him as the proof that they were, as he had been informed, not messengers, but spies, and hence enemies, according to the usages of war. Deserters from Fort Du Quesne, who afterward joined Washington, confirmed the fact that Jumonville and his party were sent as spies, and directed to show a summons which they bore, only if they were overpowered.

Washington immediately returned to the Great Meadows; and threw up a fortification, to which he gave the name of Fort Necessity, and then proceeded to cut a road through the wilderness to Gist's plantation.

From the last of May until the 1st of July, preparations were made to meet the French, who were understood to be gathering their forces in the West. On the 28th of June, Washington was at Gist's house, and new reports coming in, that the enemy was approaching in force, a council of war was held, and it was thought best, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, to retreat to Great Meadows, and even further, if possible. When, however, the retiring body of Provincials reached that post, it was deemed impossible to go further in the exhausted state of the troops, who had been eight days without bread. Measures were therefore taken to strengthen the post, which, from the circumstances, was named Fort Necessity. On the 1st of July, the Americans reached their position; on the 3d, alarm was given of an approaching enemy; at eleven o'clock, A. M., nine hundred in number, they commenced the attack in the midst of a hard rain; and from that time until eight in the evening, the assailants ceased not to pour their fire upon the little fortress. About eight, the French

requested some officer to be sent to treat with them; Captain Vanbraam, the only person who pretended to understand the language of the enemy, was ordered to go to the camp of the attacking party, whence he returned, bringing terms of capitulation, which, by a flickering candle, in the dripping quarters of his commander, he translated to Washington, and, as it proved, mis-translated. By this capitulation, the garrison of Fort Necessity were to have leave to retire with everything but their artillery; the prisoners taken May 28th, were to be returned; and the party yielding were to labor on no works west of the mountains, for one year; for the observance of these conditions, Captain Vanbraam, the negotiator, and Captain Stobo, were to be retained by the French, as hostages. These provisions having been agreed to, Washington and his men, hard pressed by famine, hastened to the nearest depot, which was at Wills' creek. At this point, immediately afterward, Fort Cumberland was erected, under the charge of Colonel Innes, of North Carolina, who, since the death of Colonel Fry, had been commander-in-chief. At that time there were in service, the Virginia militia, the Independent Companies of Virginia, South Carolina, and New York, all of whom were paid by the King; troops raised in North Carolina, and paid by the colony, and recruits from Maryland; of these, the Virginia and South Carolina troops alone had been beyond the mountains.

The course pursued by Washington in regard to his Indian allies, gave them much offense, and was severely censured by his friend, the Half-King:

"The Colonel," said he,* "was a good natured young man, but had no experience; he took upon him to command the Indians as his slaves, and would have them every day upon the scout, and to attack the enemy themselves, but would by no means take advice from the Indians. He lay in one place, from one full moon to the other, without making any fortification, except that little thing on the Meadow; whereas, had he taken advice, and built such fortification as he (Tanacharison) had advised him, he might easily have beat off the French. But the French in the engagement acted like cowards, and the English like fools."

From August to October, little appears to have been done; but in the latter month, the Governor of Virginia, Dinwiddie, so changed the military organization of the colony as to leave no

* Thomson's inquiry into the causes of the Alienation of the Delawares and Shawanees, p. 80.

American in the army with a rank above that of captain. This was done in order to avoid all contests as to precedence among the American officers, it being clear that troops from various provinces would be called into the field, and that the different commissions from the crown, and the colonies, would give large openings for rivalry and conflict; but among the results of the measures, was the resignation of Washington, who for a time retired to Mount Vernon.

The next year opened with professions, on both sides, of the most peaceful intentions, and preparations on both sides to push the war vigorously. France, in January, proposed to restore everything to the state it was in, before the last war, and to refer all claims to the commissioners at Paris; to which Britain, on the 22d, replied, that the west of North America must be left as it was at the treaty of Utrecht. On the 6th of February, France made answer, that the old English claims in America, were untenable; and offered a new ground of compromise, that the English should retire east of the Alleghenies, and the French, west of the Ohio. This offer was long considered, and at length *was agreed to by England*, on the 7th of March, *provided* the French would destroy all their forts on the Ohio and its branches; which the French government refused to do. While all this negotiation was going on, other things had also been in motion. General Braddock, with his gallant troops, crossed the Atlantic, and, on the 20th of February, landed in Virginia, commander-in-chief of all the land forces in America; and in the north, preparation was made for an attack on Crown Point and Niagara. In France, too, other work had been done than negotiation; at Brest and Rochelle, ships were fitting out, and troops and stores being collected. England had not been asleep, and Boscawen had been busy at Plymouth, hurrying on the workmen, and gathering the sailors. In March, the two European neighbors were seeking to quiet all troubles; in April the fleets of both were crowding sail across the Atlantic, and, in Alexandria, Braddock, Shirley, and their fellow officers were taking counsel as to the summer's campaign.

In America, four points were to be attacked; Fort Du Quesne, Crown Point, Niagara, and the French posts in Nova Scotia. On the 20th of April, Braddock left Alexandria to march upon Du Quesne, whither he was expressly ordered, though the officers in America thought New York should be the main point for regular operations. The expedition for Nova Scotia, consisting of three

thousand Massachusetts men, left Boston on the 20th of May; while the troops which General Shirley was to lead against Niagara, and the provincials which William Johnson was to head in the attack upon Crown Point, slowly collected at Albany.

The fearful and desponding colonists waited till midsummer anxiously for news; and, when the news came that Nova Scotia had been conquered, and that Boscawen had taken two of the French men of war, and lay before Louisburg, hope and joy spread everywhere. In July, the report spread through the colonies how slowly and painfully Braddock made progress through the wilderness, how his contractors deceived him, and the colonies gave little help, and neither horses nor wagons could be had, and only one, Benjamin Franklin, sent any aid;* and then reports came that he had been forced to leave many of his troops, and much of his baggage and artillery, behind him; and then, about the middle of the month, through Virginia there went a whisper, that the great general had been defeated and wholly cut off; and, as man after man rode down the Potomac confirming it, the planters hastily mounted and were off to consult with their neighbors; the country turned out; companies were formed to march to the frontiers; sermons were preached, and every heart and mouth was full.

In Pennsylvania the Assembly were called together to hear the shocking news, and in New York it struck terror into those who were there gathered to attack the northern posts. Soldiers deserted; the batteaux men dispersed; and when at length Shirley, since Braddock's death, the commander-in-chief, managed with infinite labor to reach Oswego, on Lake Ontario, it was too late and stormy, and his force too feeble to allow him to more than garrison that point, and march back to Albany. Johnson, however, met and defeated the Baron Dieskau, but Crown Point was not taken, or even attacked.

The defeat of Braddock was, however, the most prominent event of the campaign, and the most terrible reverse the British arms had suffered in America. A detailed description of it is given in the language of Mr. Sparks:

"The defeat of General Braddock, on the banks of the Monongahela, is one of the most remarkable events in American history. Great preparations had been made for the expedition, under that

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* Sparks' Washington, vol. ii., p. 77, &c.—Sparks' Franklin, vol. vii., p. 94, &c.

experienced officer, and there was the most sanguine anticipation, both in England and America, of its entire success. Such was the confidence in the prowess of Braddock's army, according to Dr. Franklin, that, while he was on his march to Fort Du Quesne, a subscription paper was handed about in Philadelphia, to raise money to celebrate his victory by bonfires and illuminations, as soon as the intelligence should arrive.

"General Braddock landed in Virginia on the 20th of February, 1755, with two regiments of the British army from Ireland, the forty-fourth and forty-eighth, each consisting of five hundred men, one of them commanded by Sir Peter Halket, and the other by Colonel Dunbar. To these were joined a suitable train of artillery, with military supplies and provisions. The General's first head-quarters were at Alexandria, and the troops were stationed in that place and its vicinity, till they marched for Wills' creek.

"One division of the army, consisting of the provincials and a part of the forty-fourth, set out on the 8th and 9th of April, under Sir Peter Halket, for Winchester, Virginia, whence a new road had been opened, and was nearly completed, to Cumberland, and arrived by that route at Wills' creek, on the 10th of May. On the 18th of April, Colonel Dunbar, with the remainder of the army, bringing the artillery and stores, set out for Frederick, Maryland. Arriving there, it was found that there was no road to Wills' creek, and Dunbar was compelled to cross the Potomac at the mouth of the Conococheague, passed over the Little Cacapon, and again ferried the Potomac at Ferry Fields. Thence on the river side, through Shawanee Old Town, or Skipton, the army passed the narrows, and on the 20th of May arrived at Cumberland.

"In letters written at Wills' creek, General Braddock, with much severity of censure, complained of the lukewarmness of the colonial governments and tardiness of the people, in facilitating his enterprise, the dishonesty of agents and the faithlessness of contractors. The forces which he brought together at Wills' creek, however, amounted to somewhat more than two thousand effective men, of whom about one thousand belonged to the royal regiments, and the remainder were furnished by the colonies. In this number were embraced the fragments of two independent companies from New York, one of which was commanded by Captain Gates, afterward a Major-General in the Revolutionary war. Thirty sailors had also been granted for the expedition by Admiral Keppel, who commanded the squadron that brought over the two regiments.

"At this post the army was detained three weeks, nor could it

it then have moved, had it not been for the energetic personal services of Franklin, among the Pennsylvania farmers, in procuring horses and wagons to transport the artillery, provisions and baggage.

"The details of the march were well described in Colonel Washington's letters. The army was separated into two divisions. The advanced division, under General Braddock, consisted of twelve hundred men, besides officers. The other, under Colonel Dunbar, was left in the rear, to proceed by slower marches. On the 8th of July, the general arrived with his division, all in excellent health and spirits, at the junction of the Youghiogheny and Monongahela rivers. At this place Colonel Washington joined the advance division, being but partially recovered from a severe attack of fever, which had been the cause of his remaining behind. The officers and soldiers were now in the highest spirits, and firm in the conviction that they should, within a few hours, victoriously enter the walls of Fort Du Quesne.

"The steep and rugged grounds on the north side of the Monongahela prevented the army from marching in that direction, and it was necessary in approaching the fort, now about fifteen miles distant, to ford the river twice, and march part of the way on the south side. Early on the morning of the 9th, all things were in readiness, and the whole train passed through the river, a little below the mouth of the Youghiogheny, and proceeded in perfect order along the southern margin of the Monongahela.

"Washington was often heard to say during his lifetime, that the most beautiful spectacle that he ever beheld was the display of the British troops on this eventful morning. Every man was neatly dressed in full uniform, the soldiers were arranged in columns and marched in exact order, the sun gleamed from their burnished arms, the river flowed tranquilly on their right, and the deep forest overshadowed them with solemn grandeur on their left. Officers and men were equally inspired with cheering hopes and confident anticipations.

"In this manner they marched forward till about noon, when they arrived at the second crossing place, ten miles from Fort Du Quesne. They halted but a little time, and then began to ford the river and regain its northern bank. As soon as they had crossed, they came upon a level plain, elevated but a few feet above the surface of the river, and extending northward nearly half a mile from its margin. Then commenced a gradual ascent, at an angle

of about three degrees, which terminated in hills of a considerable height, at no great distance beyond. The road from the fording place to Fort Du Quesne, led across the plain and up this ascent, and thence proceeded through an uneven country, at that time covered with woods.

"By the order of march a body of three hundred men, under Colonel Gage, afterward General Gage, of Boston memory, made the advanced party, which was immediately followed by another of two hundred. Next came the general with the columns of artillery, the main body of the army, and the baggage. At one o'clock the whole had passed the river, and almost at this moment a sharp firing was heard upon the advance parties, who were now ascending the hill, and had got forward about a hundred yards from the termination of the plain. A heavy discharge of musketry was poured in upon their front, which was the first intelligence they had of the proximity of an enemy, and this was suddenly followed by another on their right flank. They were filled with great consternation, as no enemy was in sight, and the firing seemed to proceed from an invisible foe. They fired in their turn, however, but quite at random, and obviously without effect, as the enemy kept up a discharge in quick, continued succession.

"The general advanced speedily to the relief of these detachments; but before he could reach the spot which they occupied, they gave way and fell back upon the artillery and the other columns of the army, causing extreme confusion, and striking the whole mass with such a panic, that no order could afterward be restored. The general and the officers behaved with the utmost courage, and used every effort to rally the men, and bring them to order, but all in vain. In this state they continued nearly three hours, huddling together in confused bodies, firing irregularly, shooting down their own officers and men, and doing no perceptible harm to the enemy. The Virginia provincials were the only troops who seemed to retain their senses, and they behaved with a bravery and resolution worthy of a better fate. They adopted the Indian mode, and fought each man for himself behind a tree. This was prohibited by the general, who endeavored to form his men into platoons and columns, as if they had been maneuvering on the plains of Flanders. Meantime the French and Indians, concealed in the ravines and behind trees, kept up a deadly and unceasing discharge of musketry, singling out their objects, taking deliberate aim, and producing a carnage almost unparalleled in the annals of modern warfare. More than half of the whole army, which had

crossed the river in so proud an array, only three hours before, were killed or wounded; the general himself had received a mortal wound, and many of his best officers had fallen by his side.

"In describing the action a few days afterward, Colonel Orme wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania: 'The men were so extremely deaf to the exhortations of the General and the officers, that they fired away in the most irregular manner all their ammunition, and then ran off, leaving to the enemy the artillery, ammunition, provisions and baggage; nor could they be persuaded to stop till they had got as far as Gist's plantation, nor there only in part, many of them proceeding as far as Colonel Dunbar's party, who lay six miles on this side. The officers were absolutely sacrificed by their good behavior, advancing sometimes in bodies, sometimes separately, hoping by such example to engage the soldiers to follow them, but to no purpose. The General had five horses shot under him, and at last received a wound through his right arm into his lungs, of which he died the 13th instant. Secretary Shirley was shot through the head; Captain Morris, wounded; Colonel Washington had two horses shot from under him, and his clothes shot through in several places, behaving the whole time with the greatest courage and resolution. Sir Peter Halket was killed upon the spot. Colonel Burton and Sir John St. Clair were wounded.' In addition to these, the other field officers wounded were Lieutenant-Colonel Gage, (afterward so well known as the commander of the British forces in Boston, at the beginning of the Revolution, Colonel Orme, Major Sparks, and Brigade Major Halket. Ten Captains were killed, and twenty-two wounded; the whole number of officers in the engagement was eighty-six, of whom twenty-six were killed, and thirty-seven wounded. The killed and wounded of the privates amounted to seven hundred and fourteen. Of these, at least one-half were supposed to be killed. Their bodies left on the field of action were stripped and scalped by the Indians. All the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and baggage, everything in the train of the army, fell into the enemy's hands, and were given up to be pillaged by the savages. General Braddock's papers were also taken, among which were his instructions and correspondence with the ministry after his arrival in Virginia. The same fate befell the papers of Colonel Washington, including a private journal and his official correspondence, during his campaign of the preceding year.

"M. de Contrecœur, the commandant of Fort Du Quesne, received early intelligence of the arrival of General Braddock and

the British regiments in Virginia. After his removal from Wills' creek, French and Indian scouts were constantly abroad, who watched his motions, reported the progress of his march, and the route he was pursuing. His army was represented to consist of three thousand men. M. de Contrecœur was hesitating what measures to take, believing his small force wholly inadequate to encounter so formidable an enemy, when M. de Beaujeu, a Captain in the French service, proposed to head a detachment of French and Indians, and meet the enemy in their march. The consent of the Indians was first obtained. A large body of them was then encamped in the vicinity of the fort, and M. de Beaujeu opened to them his plan, and requested their aid. This they at first declined, giving as a reason, the superior force of the enemy, and the impossibility of success. But at the pressing solicitation of M. de Beaujeu, they agreed to hold a council on the subject, and talk with him again the next morning. They still adhered to their first decision, and when M. de Beaujeu went out among them to inquire the result of their deliberations, they told him a second time they could not go. This was a severe disappointment to M. de Beaujeu, who had set his heart upon the enterprise, and was resolved to prosecute it. Being a man of great good nature, affability, and ardor, and much beloved by the savages, he said to them, "I am determined to go out and meet the enemy. What! will you suffer your father to go out alone? I am sure we shall conquer." With this spirited harangue, delivered in a manner that pleased the Indians, and won upon their confidence, he subdued their unwillingness, and they agreed to accompany him.

"It was now on the 7th of July, and news came that the English were within six leagues of the fort. This day and the next were spent in making preparations and reconnoitering the ground for attack. Two other captains, Dumas and Liquery, were joined with M. de Beaujeu, and also four lieutenants, six ensigns, and two cadets. On the morning of the 9th they were all in readiness, and began their march at an early hour. It seems to have been their first intention to make a stand at the ford, and annoy the English while crossing the river, and then retreat to the ambuscade on the side of the hill, where the contest actually commenced. The trees on the bank of the river afforded a good opportunity to effect this measure, and the Indian mode of warfare, since the artillery could be of little avail against an enemy, where every man was protected by a tree, and at the same time the English would be exposed to a point blank musket shot in fording the river. As it happened,

however, M. de Beaujeu and his party did not arrive in time to execute this part of the plan.

"The English were preparing to cross the river, when the French and Indians reached the defiles on the rising ground, where they posted themselves, and waited until Braddock's advanced columns came up. This was the signal for the attack, which was made at first in front, and repelled by so heavy a discharge from the British, that the Indians believed it proceeded from artillery, and showed symptoms of wavering and retreat. At this moment M. de Beaujeu was killed, and the command devolving upon M. Dumas, he showed great presence of mind in rallying the Indians, and ordered his officers to lead them to the wings and attack the enemy in the flank, while he with the French troops would maintain the position in front. This order was promptly obeyed, and the attack became general. The action was warm and severely contested for a short time; but the English fought in the European method, firing at random, which had little effect in the woods, while the Indians fired from concealed places, took aim, and almost every shot brought down a man. The English columns soon got into confusion; the yell of the savages, with which the woods resounded, struck terror into the hearts of the soldiers, till at length they took to flight, and resisted all the endeavors of their officers to restore any degree of order in their escape. The route was complete, and the field of battle was left covered with the dead and wounded, and all the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and baggage of the British army. The Indians gave themselves up to pillage, which prevented them from pursuing the English in their flight.

"Such is the substance of the accounts written at the time by the French officers, and sent home to their government. In regard to the numbers engaged there are some slight variations in the three statements. The largest number reported is two hundred and fifty French and Canadians, and six hundred Indians. If we take a medium, it will make the whole number led out by M. de Beaujeu, at least eight hundred and fifty. In an imperfect return, three officers were stated to be killed, and four wounded; about thirty soldiers and Indians killed, and as many wounded. When these facts are taken into view, the result of the action will appear much less wonderful, than has generally been supposed. And this wonder will still be diminished, when another circumstance is recurred to, worthy of particular consideration, and that is, the shape of the ground upon which the battle was fought. This part of the description, so essential to the understanding of military operations,

and above all in the present instance, has never been touched upon, it is believed, by any writer. We have seen that Braddock's advanced columns, after crossing the valley, extending nearly half a mile from the margin of the river, began to move up a hill, so uniform in its ascent, that it was little else than an inclined plane of a somewhat crowning form. Down this inclined surface extended two ravines, beginning near together, at about one hundred and fifty yards from the bottom of the hill, and proceeding in different directions, till they terminated in the valley below. In these ravines the French and Indians were concealed and protected. At this day they are from eight to ten feet deep, and sufficient in extent to contain at least ten thousand men. At the time of the battle, the ground was covered with trees and long grass, so that the ravines were entirely hidden from view till they were approached within a few feet. Indeed, at the present day, although the place is cleared from trees, and converted into pasture, they are perceptible only at a very short distance. By this knowledge of the local peculiarities of the battle ground, the mystery that the British conceived themselves to be contending with an invisible foe, is solved. Such was literally the fact. They were so paraded between the ravines, that their whole front and right flank were exposed to the incessant fire of the enemy, who discharged their muskets over the edge of the ravines, concealed during the operation by the grass and bushes, and protected by an invisible barrier below the surface of the earth. William Butler, a veteran soldier, who was in this action, and afterward at the plains of Abraham, said, 'We could only tell where the enemy was by the smoke of their muskets.' A few scattering Indians were behind trees, and some were killed venturing out to take scalps, but much the larger portion fought wholly in the ravines.

"It is not probable that either General Braddock, or any one of his officers, suspected the actual situation of the enemy during the whole bloody contest. It was a fault with the general, for which no apology can be offered, that he did not keep scouts and guards in advance, and on the wings of the army, who would have made all proper discoveries before the whole had been brought into a snare. This neglect was the primary cause of his defeat; which might have been avoided. Had he charged with the bayonet, the ravine would have been cleared instantly; or had he brought his artillery to the points where the ravines terminated in the valley, and scoured them with grape-shot, the same consequence would have followed.

"But the total insubordination of his troops would have prevented both these movements, even if he had become acquainted with the ground in the early part of the action. The disasters of this day, and the fate of the commander, brave and resolute as he undoubtedly was, are to be ascribed to his contempt of Indian warfare, his overweening confidence in the prowess of veteran troops, his obstinate self-complacency, his disregard of prudent counsel, and his negligence in leaving his army exposed to a surprise on their march. He freely consulted Colonel Washington, whose experience and judgment, notwithstanding his youth, claimed the highest respect for his opinions; but the general gave little heed to his advice. While on his march, George Croghan, the Indian interpreter, joined him with one hundred friendly Indians, who offered their services. These were accepted in so cold a manner, and the Indians themselves treated with so much neglect, that they deserted him one after another. Washington pressed upon him the importance of these men, and the necessity of conciliating and retaining them, but without effect.

"When the battle was over, and the remnant of Braddock's army had gained, in their flight, the opposite bank of the river, Colonel Washington was dispatched by the general to meet Colonel Dunbar, and order forward wagons for the wounded with all possible speed. But it was not till the 11th, after they had reached Gist's plantation, with great difficulty and much suffering from hunger, that any arrived. The general was first brought off in a tumbrel; he was next put on horseback, but being unable to ride, was obliged to be carried by the soldiers. They all reached Dunbar's camp, to which the panic had already extended, and a day was passed there in great confusion. The artillery was destroyed, and the public stores and heavy baggage were burnt; by whose order was never known. They moved forward on the 13th, and that night General Braddock died, and was buried in the road, for the purpose of concealing his body from the Indians. The spot is still pointed out, within a few yards of the present national road, and about a mile west of the site of Fort Necessity, at the great meadows. Captain Stewart, of the Virginia forces, had taken particular charge of him from the time he was wounded till his death. On the 17th, the sick and wounded arrived at Fort Cumberland, and were soon after joined by Colonel Dunbar, with the remaining fragments of the army."

The French sent out a party as far as Dunbar's camp, and de-

stroyed every thing that was left. Colonel Washington, being in very feeble health, proceeded in a few days to Mount Vernon.

Although the doings of 1755 could not be looked on as of a very amicable character, war was not declared by either France or England until May, the following year; and even then France was the last to proclaim the contest which she had been so long carrying on, though more than three hundred of her merchant vessels had been taken by British privateers. The causes of this proceeding are not very clear. France thought, beyond doubt, that George would fear to declare war, because Hanover was so exposed to attack; but why the British movements, upon the sea particularly, did not lead to the declaration on the part of France, is not easily suggested. Early in 1756, however, both kingdoms formed alliances in Europe. France with Austria, Russia, and Sweden; England with the great Frederic. And then commenced the Seven Years' War, wherein most of Europe, North America, and the East and West Indies partook and suffered.

The defeat of Braddock, and the failure of the expedition, left the whole western frontier of the English colonies exposed to the hostile excursions of the French and Indians. At that time the western settlements extended only to the head waters of the Susquehanna, the Potomac, the Shenandoah, James, and Roanoke rivers. Settlements, indeed, had been made between 1745 and 1750, near the sources of the Cumberland, Clinch, and Holston rivers. These were broken up, and the settlers compelled to retire beyond the mountains, by the Cherokees. The valley of the Blue ridge was desolated by the Shawanees, and to avenge their inroads in Virginia, Governor Dinwiddie, in January, 1756, dispatched Col. Lewis to destroy their towns on the Scioto, and to build a fort at the mouth of the Great Sandy, as a barrier against their incursions.

Col. Lewis organized his expedition, and proceeded from Salem, across New River, to the Great Sandy, but with supplies inadequate for so long a march through an uninhabited country. Before the troops reached the Ohio, their provisions were exhausted, and they were compelled to depend upon the chase for their subsistence. When within ten miles of the Ohio, a message was received from the governor, commanding Col. Lewis to abandon the enterprise, and return. His men consented with great reluctance to abandon their hope of meeting the enemy, and obey orders dictated with a regard to their safety. Great suffering ensued. The lateness of the season cut off their supply of game, and they were compelled

to subsist on nuts found in the woods. Soon the deep snows cut off this resource, and they were obliged to kill their pack horses for food. And when this supply failed, it is said, they sought and devoured all the skins and leather within their reach. At length, after such sufferings as rendered them almost incapable of pursuing their march, they reached the settlement in safety.*

At the same time the frontiers of Pennsylvania were continually harassed by the Delawares. To guard against these incursions, a chain of forts was erected along the whole border of that province. On the east side of the Susquehanna, Fort Henry was built, at the pass of the Swatara; Fort Lebanon, at the forks of the Schuylkill; and Fort Allen, at Gnadenhutten. On the west of that river were Fort Lowther, at Carlisle; Fort Morris, at Shippensburg; Fort Granville and Fort Shirley, on Augwick branch; Fort Littleton and Fort Loudon, near Conococheague creek. These forts along the west side of the Susquehanna were garrisoned by eight companies, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong. Notwithstanding these precautions, the Indians continued their devastations, and penetrated beyond the line of the English forts. These incursions were made from Kittanning, an Indian village on the Allegheny river, where the noted Captain Jacobs, and occasionally Shinghis, lived. To break up this rendezvous, and thus to relieve the border settlements from the horrors of Indian war, Col. Armstrong planned and executed an expedition against it. His official report is a sufficient history of the expedition.

"Fort Littleton,† Sept. 14th, 1756.

"Agreeable to mine of the 29th ult., we marched from Fort Shirley the day following, and on Wednesday, the 3d instant, joined our advanced party at the Beaver Dams, a few miles from Franks-town, on the north branch of the Juniata. We were there informed that some of our men having been out on a scout, had discovered the tracks of two Indians on this side of the Allegheny mountain, and but a few miles from the camp. From the freshness of the tracks, their killing of a cub bear, and the marks of their fires, it seemed evident that they were not twenty-four hours before us, which might be looked upon as a particular Providence in our favor, that we were not discovered. Next morning we decamped, and in two

* Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, vol. i. p. 312.

† In Bedford county, on the way from Kittanning to Carlisle.

days came within fifty miles of Kittanning. It was there adjudged necessary to send some persons to reconnoitre the town, and to get the best intelligence they could concerning the situation and position of the enemy. Whereupon an officer, with one of the pilots, and two soldiers, were sent off for that purpose.

"The day following we met them on their return, and they informed us that the roads were entirely clear of the enemy, and that they had the greatest reason to believe they were not discovered; but from the rest of the intelligence they gave it appeared they had not been nigh enough the town, either to perceive the situation of it, the number of the enemy, or what way it might be most advantageously attacked.

"We continued our march, intending to get as near the town as possible that night, so as to be able to attack it the next morning about daylight, but to our great dissatisfaction, about nine or ten o'clock at night, one of our guides came and told us that he perceived a fire by the roadside, at which he saw two or three Indians, a few perches distant from our front. Whereupon, with all possible silence, I ordered the rear to retreat about one hundred perches, in order to make way for the front, that we might consult how we could best proceed without being discovered by the enemy.

"Some time after, the pilot returned a second time, and assured us, from the best observations he could make, there were not above three or four Indians at the fire. On which it was proposed that we should immediately surround, and cut them off; but this was thought to be too hazardous, for, if but one of the enemy had escaped, it would have been the means of discovering the whole design, and the light of the moon, on which depended our advantageously posting our men, and attacking the town, would not admit of our staying till the Indians fell asleep. On which it was agreed to have Lieut. Hogg go with twelve men and the person who first discovered the fire, with orders to watch the enemy, but not to attack them till break of day, and then, if possible, to cut them off. It was also agreed, (we believing ourselves to be but about six miles from the town,) to leave the horses, many of them being tired, with what blankets and other baggage we then had, and take a circuit off of the road, which was very rough and incommodious, on account of the stones and fallen timber, in order to prevent our being heard by the enemy at the fire-place. This interruption much retarded our march, but a still greater loss arose from the ignorance of our pilots, who neither knew the true situation of the town, nor the best paths that lead thereto; by which means, after cross-

a number of hills and valleys, our front reached the river Allegheny, about one hundred perches below the main body of the town, a little before the setting of the moon, to which place, rather than by pilots, we were guided by the beating of the drum, and the whooping of the warriors, at their dances.

"It then became us to make the best use of the remaining moonlight; but ere we were aware, an Indian whistled in a very singular manner, about thirty perches from our front, in the foot of a cornfield, upon which we immediately sat down, and after passing silence to the rear, I asked one Baker, a soldier, who was our best assistant, whether that was not a signal to the warriors, of our approach. He answered, no; and said it was the manner of a young fellow calling a squaw, after he had done his dance, who, accordingly kindled a fire, cleaned his gun, and shot it off before he went to sleep.

"All this time we were obliged to lay quiet, and hush till the moon was fairly set. Immediately after, a number of fires appeared in different parts of the cornfield, by which, Baker said the Indians lay, the night being warm, and that these fires would immediately be out, as they were designed only to disperse the gnats.

"By this time it was break of day, and the men having marched thirty miles, were mostly asleep; the line being long, the three companies of the rear were not yet brought over the last precipice. For these, some proper hands were immediately dispatched, and the weary soldiers being roused to their feet, a proper number under sundry officers, were ordered to take the end of the hill, at which we then lay, and march along the top of the said hill, at least one hundred perches, and so much further, it being then daylight, as would carry them opposite the upper part, or at least the body of the town; for the lower part thereof, and the cornfield, presuming the warriors were there, I kept rather the larger number of the men, promising to postpone the attack on that part, for eighteen or twenty minutes, until the detachment along the hill should have time to advance to the place assigned them. In doing of which, they were a little unfortunate.

"The time being elapsed, the attack was made in the cornfield, and the men with all expedition possible, dispatched through the several parts thereof. A party being also dispatched to the houses, which were then discovered by the light of day. Captain Jacobs, immediately then gave the war whoop, and with sundry other Indians, as the English prisoners afterward told us, cried, "the white

men were at last come, they would have scalps enough," but at the same time, ordered their squaws and children to flee to the woods.

"Our men with great eagerness passed through and fired in the cornfield, where they had several returns from the enemy, as they also had from the opposite side of the river. Presently after, a brisk fire began among the houses, which from the house of Captain Jacobs, was returned with a great deal of resolution; to which place I immediately repaired, and found, that from the advantages of the house, and port-holes, sundry of our people were wounded, and some killed; and finding that returning the fire upon the house was ineffectual, ordered the contiguous houses to be set on fire, which was performed with a great deal of activity—the Indians always firing whenever an object presented itself, and seldom missing of wounding or killing some of our people; from which house, I received, in moving about and giving the necessary orders, a wound with a large musket ball in the shoulder. Sundry persons during the action, were ordered to tell the Indians to surrender themselves prisoners, but one of the Indians, in particular, answered and said, "he was a man, and would not be a prisoner." Upon which he was told, in Indian, he would be burnt. To this he replied, he did not care, for he would kill four or five before he died; and had we not desisted from exposing ourselves, they would have killed a great many more; they having a number of loaded guns there. As the fire began to approach, and the smoke grow thick, one of the Indian fellows to show his manhood, began to sing. A squaw in the same house, and at the same time, was heard to cry and to make a noise, but for so doing, was severely rebuked by the men; but, by and by, the fire being too hot for them, two Indian fellows and a squaw, sprung out, and made for the cornfield, who were immediately shot down by our people; then surrounding the houses, it was thought Captain Jacobs tumbled himself out at the garret or cockloft window, at which he was shot—our prisoners offering to be qualified to the powder horn and pouch, there taken off him, which they say he had lately got from a French officer, in exchange for Lieutenant Armstrong's boots, which he carried from Fort Greenville, where the lieutenant was killed. The same prisoners say they are perfectly assured of his scalp, as no other Indians there wore their hair in the same manner. They also say they know his squaw's scalp, by a particular bob, and also know the scalp of a young Indian called the King's son. Before this time, Captain Hugh Mercer, who early in

the action was wounded in the arm, had been taken to the top of the hill above the town, to where a number of the men and some of the officers were gathered; from whence they had discovered some Indians cross the river and take the hill, with an intention, they thought, to surround us, and cut us off from our retreat, from whom I had sundry pressing messages to leave the house, and retreat to the hill, or we should all be cut off; but to this I could by no means consent, till all the houses were set on fire; though our spreading on the hill appeared very necessary, yet, it did prevent our researches of the cornfield and river side, by which means sundry scalps were left behind, and doubtless some squaws, children, and English prisoners, that otherwise might have been got.

"During the burning of the houses, which were nearly thirty in number, we were agreeably entertained with a quick succession of charged guns gradually firing off, as they were reached by the fire; but more so with the vast explosion of sundry bags and large kegs of gunpowder, wherewith almost every house abounded. The prisoners afterward informing us that the Indians had frequently said they had a sufficient stock of ammunition for ten years, to war with the English. With the roof of Captain Jacob's house, where the powder blew up, was thrown the leg and thigh of an Indian, with a child of three or four years old, such a height that they appeared as nothing, and fell into the adjacent cornfield. There was also a great quantity of goods burnt, which the Indians had received but ten days before from the French.

"By this time, I had proceeded to the hill, to have my wound tied up and the blood stopped, when the prisoners, who, in the morning had come to our people, informed me that that very day, two batteaux of Frenchmen, with a large party of Delaware and French Indians were to join Captain Jacobs at Kittanning, and to set out early next morning to take Fort Shirley, or, as they called it, George Groghan's fort, and that twenty-four warriors who had lately come to town, were sent before them the evening before, for what purpose they did not know, whether to prepare meat, to spy the fort, or to make an attack on some of our back settlements.

"Soon after, upon a little reflection, we were convinced these warriors were all at the fire we had discovered, but the night before, and began to doubt the fate of Lieutenant Hogg and his party. From this intelligence of the prisoners, our provisions being scaffolded some thirty miles back, except what were in the men's haversacks, which were left with the horses and blankets with Lieuten-

ent Hogg and his party, and a number of wounded people then on hand, by the advice of the officers it was thought imprudent then to wait for the cutting down of the cornfield which was before designed, but immediately to collect our wounded and force our march back in the best manner we could, which we did by collecting a few Indian horses to carry off our wounded.

"From the apprehension of being waylaid and surrounded, especially by some of the woodsmen, it was difficult to keep the men together; our march for sundry miles not exceeding two miles an hour—which apprehensions were heightened by the attempt of a few Indians, who, for some time after the march, fired on each wing and immediately ran off, from whom we received no other damage but one of our men being wounded through both legs. Captain Mercer being wounded was induced, as we have reason to believe, by some of his men, to leave the main body with his ensign, John Scott, and ten or twelve men, they being heard tell him that we were in great danger, and that they could take him into the road a nigh way, is probably lost, there being yet no account of him, and most of the men have come in. A detachment was sent to bring him in, but could not find him, and, upon the return of the detachment, it was generally reported he was seen with the above number of men take a different road.

"Upon our return to the place where the Indian fire had been discovered the night before, we met with a sergeant of Captain Mercer's company and two or three others of his men, who had deserted us that morning, immediately after the action at the Kittanning. These men in running away had met Lieutenant Hogg, who lay wounded in two different parts of his body, by the roadside. He then told them of the fatal mistake of the pilot, who had assured us that there were but three Indians at the most, at the fire-place; but when they came to attack them that morning, according to orders, he found a number considerably superior to his, and believes they killed or mortally wounded three of them at the first fire, after which a warm engagement began, and continued for about an hour, when three of his best men were killed and himself twice wounded; the residue fleeing off, he was obliged to squat in a thicket where he might have lain securely, if this cowardly sergeant and others that fled with him, had not taken him away.

"They had marched but a short space when four Indians appeared, on which these deserters began to flee. The lieutenant then, notwithstanding his wounds, as a brave soldier, urging and commanding them to stand and fight, which they all refused.

"The Indians pursued, killing one man, and wounding the lieutenant a third time in the belly, of which he died in a few hours; but he, having some time before been put on horseback, rode some miles from the place of action. But this last attack of the Indians upon Lieutenant Hogg and the deserters was, by the before-mentioned sergeant, represented to us in a very different light; he telling us that there was a far larger number of the Indians there than appeared to them, and that they fought five rounds. That he had there seen the lieutenant and sundry others killed and scalped, and had also discovered a number of Indians throwing themselves before us, and insinuated a great deal such stuff, as threw us into much confusion. So that the officers had a great deal to do to keep the men together, but could not prevail on them to collect what horses and other baggage the Indians had left, after their conquest of Lieutenant Hogg, and the party under his command, in the morning, except a few of the horses, which some of the bravest of the men were prevailed on to collect. So that from the mistake of the pilot, who spied the Indians at the fire, and the cowardice of the said sergeant, and other deserters, we have sustained a considerable loss of our horses and baggage.

"It is impossible to ascertain the exact loss of the enemy killed in the action, as some were destroyed by fire, and others in different parts of the cornfield; but, on a moderate computation, it is generally believed there cannot be less than thirty or forty killed, or mortally wounded, as much blood was found in sundry parts of the cornfield, and Indians seen in several parts crawl into the woods, on hands and feet, whom the soldiers, in pursuit of others, then overlooked, expecting to find and scalp them afterward, and also several killed and wounded in crossing the river.

"On beginning our march back, we had about a dozen of scalps, and eleven English prisoners, but now find that four or five of the scalps are missing; part of which were lost on the road, and part in possession of the men with Captain Mercer, separated from the main body, with whom also went four prisoners, the other seven being now at this place, where we arrived on Sunday night; not being attacked through our whole march by the enemy, though we expected it every day. Upon the whole, had our pilots understood the situation of the town, and the paths leading to it, so as to have posted us at a convenient place, where the disposition of the men, and the duty assigned them could have been performed with greater advantage, we had, by divine assistance, destroyed a much greater number of the enemy, recovered more prisoners, and sustained

less damage than what we have at present. But the advantage gained over these our common enemies is far from being satisfactory to us, yet we must not despise the smallest degree of success that God is pleased to give, especially at a time when the attempts of our enemies have been so prevalent and successful. I am sure there was the greatest inclination to do more, had it been in our power, as the officers, and most of the soldiers, throughout the whole action, exerted themselves with as much activity and resolution as could possibly be expected.

"Our prisoners inform us the Indians have for some time past talked of fortifying at the Kittanning, and other towns. That the number of French at Du Quesne is about four hundred. That the principal part of their provisions came up the river, from the Mississippi; and that in the three other forts, which the French have on the Ohio, there are not more men, taken together, than what there are at Fort Du Quesne.

"I hope as soon as possible to receive your Honor's instructions, with regard to the distribution or stationing of the sundry companies in this battalion; and, as a number of men are now wanting in each of the companies, whether or no they should be immediately recruited; and if the sundry officers are to recruit, that money be speedily sent for that purpose.

"I beg the favor of your Honor, as soon as possible, to furnish Governor Morris with a copy of this letter, and the gentlemen commissioners for the province another, as my present indisposition neither admits me to write or dictate any more at this time.

"In case a quantity of ammunition is not already sent to Carlisle, it should be sent as soon as possible; and also if the companies are to be recruited and completed, there must be an immediate supply of about three hundred blankets, as there have been a great many lost in the present expedition. Enclosed is a list of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the several companies. I expect to get to Carlisle in about four days.

JOHN ARMSTRONG."

The progress of the war in the next year was unfavorable to the colonies. The indecision of the British cabinet, the incapacity of the British officers in America, the want of harmony in the colonial governments, conspired to paralyze all effort. A project indeed was set on foot to reduce Louisburg, but on the information of that post being reinforced by a French fleet, it was abandoned. Taking advantage of the absence of the provincial

army which was collected at Halifax to aid in the attack on Louisburg, Montcalm laid siege to Fort William Henry. After a spirited resistance, Colonel Monroe surrendered. It was stipulated that the garrison should be allowed the honors of war, and protected to Fort Edward. But no sooner had the soldiers left the place, than they were attacked by the Indians in the French army, and all who could not escape were massacred. The British fleet, too, while cruising off Louisbourg, was dispersed, and many of the vessels driven ashore and destroyed. In Europe, too, England suffered; the great Frederic was borne down, the navy of England was defeated in the Mediterranean, and the British colonies in the East were menaced by the activity of the French.

But on the 29th of June, 1757, the great Pitt was made Prime Minister. An immediate re-organization of the military forces of the kingdom was made; measures were taken to prosecute the war with vigor, and the year 1758 opened under better auspices. On sea and land, in Asia, Europe and America, Britain regained what had been lost. The Austrians, Russians and Swedes, all gave way before the great captain of Prussia, and Pitt sent his own strong, hopeful, and energetic spirit into his subalterns. In North America, Louisburg yielded to Boscawen, Fort Frontenac was taken by Bradstreet, and Du Quesne was abandoned upon the approach of Forbes through Pennsylvania.

The history of this last capture, was more particularly connected with the West. The details of the march may be seen in the letters of Washington, who, in opposition to Colonel Bouquet, was in favor of crossing the mountains by Braddock's road, whereas, Bouquet wished to cut a new one through Pennsylvania. In this division, Bouquet was listened to by the general; and late in the season a new route was undertaken, by which such delays and troubles were produced, that the whole expedition came near proving a failure. Braddock's road had, in early times, been selected by the most experienced Indians and frontier men as the most favorable whereby to cross the mountains, being nearly the route by which the national road has been since carried over them. In 1753, it was opened by the Ohio Company. It was afterward improved by the provincial troops under Washington, and was finished by Braddock's engineers; and this route was now to be given up, and a wholly new one opened, probably, as Washington suggested, through Pennsylvania influence, that her frontier might thereby be protected, and a way opened for her traders. The

hardships and dangers of the march from Raystown to Fort Du Quesne, where the British van arrived upon the 25th of November, may be seen slightly pictured by the letters of Washington, and the journal of Post, and may be more vividly conceived by those who have passed through the valley of the upper Juniata.

But the position of things in the West, during the autumn of 1758, was very unfavorable. The French did their utmost to alienate the Six Nations and Delawares from their old connection with the British; and so politic were their movements, so accurate their knowledge of Indian character, that they fully succeeded. The English had made some attempts to get a claim to the western lands, and had even obtained grants of those lands; but the wild men saw they had been deceived, and listened to the French professions of friendship, backed as they were by presents and politeness, and accompanied by no attempts to buy or wheedle lands from them. Early, therefore, many of the old allies of England joined her enemies; and the treaties of Albany, Johnson Hall, and Easton, did little or nothing towards stopping the desolation of the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The Quakers always believed that this state of enmity between the Delawares and themselves, or their rulers, might be prevented by a little friendly communion; but the persuasions of the French, the renegade English traders, and others who had gone to the West, were great obstacles to any friendly intercourse on the one side, and the common feeling among the whites was an equal difficulty on the other.

The depraved character of the English traders among the Indian s doubtless had much to do in exciting and keeping alive their resentment. They are thus described in a message of the Governor of Pennsylvania to the Assembly, immediately after the Lancaster Treaty of 1744.* "I cannot," says he, "but be apprehensive that the Indian trade, as it is now carried on, will involve us in some fatal Quarrel with the Indians. Our Traders, in Defiance of the Law, carry spirituous Liquors among them, and take the Advantage of their inordinate Appetite for it, to cheat them of their Skins and their Wampum, which is their Money, and often to debauch their Wives into the Bargain. Is it to be wondered at then, if, when they recover from their drunken Fit, if they should take some

* Thompson's Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians. London, 1759, pp. 55 and 76.

severe Revenges. If I am rightly informed, the like abuses of the Traders in New England were the principal Causes of the Indian Wars there, and at length obliged the Government to take the Trade into their own Hands. This is a Matter that well deserves your attention, and perhaps will soon require your Imitation."

The Assembly of Pennsylvania, too, in an address to the Governor, in 1754, "bewail the miserable condition of our Indian Trade carried on, some few excepted, by the vilest of our own Inhabitants and Convicts imported from Great Britain and Ireland, by which Means the English Nation is unhappily represented among our Indian Allies in the most disagreeable manner. These trade without Control, either beyond the limits, or at least beyond the power of our Laws, debauching the Indians and themselves with spirituous Liquors, which they now make, in a great Measure, the principal Article of their Trade in direct Violation of our Laws, supplied, as we are informed, by some Magistrates, who hold a Commission under this Government, and other Inhabitants of our back Counties."

The character of the traders here complained of, is fully borne out by the speech of an Indian chief, to the Commissioners at Carlisle, in 1753.

"Your Traders," says he, "bring scarce anything but Rum and Flour. They bring little Powder and Lead, or other valuable Goods. The Rum ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in such Quantities by regulating the Traders. We never understood the trade was to be for Whisky and Flour. We desire it may be forbidden, and none sold in the Indian Country; but that, if the Indians will have any, they may go among the Inhabitants and deal with them for it. When these Whisky Traders come, they bring thirty or forty Cags, and put them down before us, and make us drink, and get all the Skins that should go to pay the Debts we have contracted for Goods bought of the fair Traders, and by this Means we not only ruin ourselves, but them too. These wicked Whisky Sellers, when they have got the Indians in Liquor, make them sell the very Clothes from their Backs. In short, if this Practice be continued, we must be inevitably ruined. We most earnestly, therefore, beseech you to remedy it."

In the autumn of 1756, a treaty was held at Easton with the Pennsylvania Delawares, and peace agreed to. But this did not bind the Ohio Indians even of the same nation, much less the Shawanese and Mingoes; and though the Sachem of the Pennsylvania savages, Teedyuscung, promised to call his western relatives

with a loud voice, they did not or would not hear him; the tomahawk was still brandished among the rocky mountain fastnesses of the interior. Nor can any heart but pity the red men. They knew not whom to believe, nor where to look for a true friend. The French said they came to defend them from the English; the English said they came to defend them from the French; and between the two powers they were wasting away, and their homes disappearing before them. "The kings of France and England," said Teedyuscung, "have settled this land so as to coop us up as if in a pen. This very ground that is under me was my land and inheritance, and is taken from me by fraud." Such being the feeling of the natives, and success being of late nearly balanced between the two European powers, no wonder that they hung doubting, and knew not which way to turn. The French wished the eastern Delawares to move west, so as to bring them within their influence, and the British tried to persuade them to prevail on their western brethren to leave their new allies and be at peace.

In 1758, the condition of affairs being as stated, and Forbes' army on the eve of starting for Fort Du Quesne, and the French being also disheartened by the British success elsewhere, and their force at Du Quesne weak, it was determined to make an effort to draw the western Indians over, and thereby still further to weaken the force that would oppose General Forbes. It was no easy matter, however, to find a true and trustworthy man, whose courage, skill, ability, knowledge, and physical power, would fit him for such a mission. He was to pass through a wilderness filled with doubtful friends, into a country filled with open enemies. The whole French interest would be against him, and the Indians of the Ohio were little to be trusted. Every stream on his way had been dyed with blood, every hill-side had rung with the death-yell, and grown red in the light of burning huts. The man who was at last chosen was a Moravian, who had lived among the savages seventeen years, and married among them; his name, Christian Frederic Post. Of his journey, sufferings, and doings, his own journal is the evidence, though Heckewelder says that those parts which redound most to his own credit he omitted when printing it. He left Philadelphia upon the 15th of July, 1758; and, against the protestations of Teedyuscung, who said he would surely lose his life, proceeded up the Susquehanna, passing "many plantations deserted and laid waste." Upon the 7th of August, he came to the Allegheny, opposite French creek, and was forced to pass under the

very eyes of the garrison of Fort Venango, but was not molested. From Venango he went to "Kushkushkee," which was on or near Big Beaver creek. "This place," he says, "contained ninety houses and two hundred able warriors." At this place Post had much talk with the chiefs, who seemed well disposed, but somewhat afraid of the French. The great conference, however, it was determined, should be held opposite Fort Du Quesne, where there were Indians of eight nations. The messenger was at first unwilling to go thither, fearing the French would seize him; but the savages said, "they would carry him in their bosom, he need fear nothing," and they well redeemed this promise. On the 24th of August, Post, with his Indian friends, reached the point opposite the fort; and there immediately followed a series of speeches, explanations, and agreements, which are found in his journal. At first he was received rather hardly by an old and deaf Onondago, who claimed the land whereon they stood as belonging to the Six Nations; but a Delaware rebuked him in no very polite terms. "That man speaks not as a man," he said, "he endeavors to frighten us by saying this ground is his; he dreams; he and his father (the French) have certainly drank too much liquor; they are drunk; pray let them go to sleep till they are sober. You do not know what your own nation does at home, how much they have to say to the English. You do nothing but smoke your pipe here. Go to sleep with your father, and when you are sober we will speak to you."

It was clear that the Delawares, and indeed all the western Indians, were wavering in their affection for the French; and, though some opposition was made to a union with the colonists, the general feeling produced by the prospect of a quick approach of Forbes' army, and by the truth and kindness of Post himself, was in favor of England. The Indians, however, complained bitterly of the disposition which the whites showed in claiming and seizing their lands. "Why did you not fight your battles at home or on the sea, instead of coming into our country to fight them?" they asked again and again, and were mournful when they thought of the future. "*Your* heart is good," they said to Post, "*you* speak sincerely; but we know there is always a great number who wish to get rich; they have enough; look! we do not want to be rich, and take away what others have. The white people think we have no brains in our heads; that they are big, and we a little handful; but remember, when you hunt for a rattlesnake you cannot find it, and perhaps it will bite you before you see it." When the war of Pontiac came, this saying might have been justly remembered.

At length, having concluded a peace, Post turned toward Philadelphia, setting out on the 9th of September; and, after the greatest sufferings and perils from French scouts and Indians, reached the settlements uninjured.

While Post was engaged upon his dangerous mission, the van of Forbes' army was pressing forward under the heats of August, from Raystown, (Bedford,) toward Loyalhanna, hewing their way as they went. Early in September, the general reached Raystown, whither he had also ordered Washington, who had till then been kept inactive among his sick troops at Fort Cumberland. Meantime two officers of the first Virginia regiment had gone separately, each with his party, to reconnoitre Fort Du Quesne, and had brought accounts of its condition up to the 13th of August. It being deemed desirable, however, to have fuller statements than they were able to give, a party of eight hundred men under Major Grant, with whom went Major Andrew Lewis, of Virginia, was sent forward on the 11th of September, to gain the desired information.

"The third day after their march, they arrived within eleven miles of Fort Du Quesne, and halted till three o'clock in the afternoon, then marched within two miles of the fort, and left their baggage there under a guard, and arrived, at eleven o'clock at night, upon a hill a quarter of a mile distant from it. Major Grant sent two officers and fifty men to attack all the Indians they could find lying out of the fort; they saw none, nor were they challenged by the sentries. As they returned, they set fire to a large store-house, which was put out as soon as they left it. At break of day, Major Lewis was sent, with four hundred men, to lie in ambush, a mile and a half from the main body, on the path on which they left their baggage, imagining the French would send a force to attack the baggage-guard and seize it. Four hundred men were posted along the hill facing the fort, to cover the retreat of Captain M'Donald's company, who marched with drums beating toward the fort, in order to draw a party out of it, as Major Grant had some reason to believe there were not more than two hundred men there, including Indians; but, as soon as they heard the drums, they sallied out in great numbers, both French and Indians, and fell upon Captain M'Donald, and two columns that were posted lower on the hill to receive them. The Highlanders exposed themselves without any covers, and were shot down in great numbers, and soon forced to retreat. The Carolinians, Marylanders, and

Lower Country men, concealing themselves behind trees and the brush, made a good defense, but were overpowered by numbers; and, not being supported, were obliged to follow the rest. Major Grant exposed himself in the thickest of the fire, and endeavored to rally his men, but all to no purpose, as they were by this time flanked on all sides. Major Lewis and his party came up and engaged, but were soon obliged to give way, the enemy having the hill of him, and flanking him every way. A number were driven into the river, most of whom were drowned. Major Grant retreated to the baggage, where Captain Bullet was posted with fifty men, and again endeavored to rally the flying soldiers, by entreating them in the most pathetic manner to stand by him, but all in vain, as the enemy were close at their heels. As soon as the enemy came up to Captain Bullet, he attacked them very furiously for some time, but not being supported, and most of his men killed, was obliged to give way. However, his attacking them stopped the pursuit, so as to give many an opportunity of escaping. The enemy followed Major Grant, and at last Captain Bullet was obliged to make off. He imagined the major must be taken, as he was surrounded on all sides, but the enemy would not kill him, and often called to him to surrender. The French gave quarter to all that would accept it."* The loss sustained in this engagement was two hundred and seventy killed, forty-two wounded, and several, including Major Grant, taken prisoners.† "It was," says Washington, "a very ill-concerted, or a very ill-executed plan, perhaps both, but it seems to be generally acknowledged that Major Grant exceeded his orders, and that no disposition was made for engaging."

The French and Indians, emboldened by their victory over Grant, made an attack, on the 14th of October, on the advance-guard of the army, at Loyalhanna. The attacking party consisted of twelve hundred French and two hundred Indians, and the attack was continued for four hours, and afterward renewed at night. But the assailants gained no advantage, and retired to Fort Du Quesne. The returns of the army show a loss in this engagement of twelve killed, seventeen wounded, and thirty-one prisoners.

On the 18th of November, the army marched from Loyalhanna, and, on the evening of the 24th, arrived at Turtle creek. "Here," says Mr. Ormsby, a commissary in the army, "a council of war

* Craig's History of Pittsburgh, p. 74. † Early History of Pennsylvania, p. 138.

was held, the result of which was, that it was impracticable to proceed; all the provisions and forage being exhausted. On the general's being told of this, he swore a furious oath that he would sleep in the fort, or in a worse place, the next night. It was a matter of indifference to the emaciated general where he died, as he was carried the whole distance from Philadelphia and back on a litter. About midnight a tremendous explosion was heard from the westward, on which Forbes swore that the French magazine was blown up, by design or accident, which revived our spirits. This conjecture of the 'head of iron' was soon confirmed by a deserter from Fort Du Quesne, who said that the Indians, who had watched the English army, reported that they were as numerous as the trees in the woods. This so terrified the French, that they set fire to their magazines, barracks, &c., and pushed off in their boats, some up, and some down the Ohio, so that the next morning we took peaceable possession of the remains of the fort. The place had a most desolate appearance, as all the improvements made by the French had been burnt to the ground."

Thus the forks of the Ohio, the occupation of which had been the cause of the war, came again into the possession of the English. It was necessary to make immediate provision for securing the possession of that point, which had cost so much blood and treasure to acquire, and a small fortification was thrown up on the bank of the Monongahela, and named, in honor of the great minister, Fort Pitt. Colonel Hugh Mercer, of Virginia, was left in command, with two hundred men, and the main army marched back to the settlements. It reached Philadelphia on the 17th of January, 1759, and, on the 11th of March, Gen. Forbes died, and was buried in the chancel of Christ church.

Christian Frederic Post, meanwhile, had been sent westward with the chiefs of the Six Nations, with a report of the treaty of Easton. He followed after General Forbes, from whom he received messages to the various tribes, with which he once more sought their chiefs; and was again instrumental in preventing any junction of the Indians with the French. Indeed, but for Post's mission, there would in all probability have been gathered a strong force of western savages to waylay Forbes and defend Fort Du Quesne; in which case, so adverse was the season and the way, so wearied the men, and so badly managed the whole business, that there would have been great danger of a second "Braddock's field;" so that the humble Moravian played no unimportant part in securing again to his British Majesty the key to western America.

The French garrison of Fort Du Quesne, consisting of about four hundred men, separated after leaving the ruins. A part of them passed down the Ohio, and, according to some accounts, established Fort Massac, thirty-six miles above its mouth. Of this there may, however, be a doubt; but it is certain that the fort was built between the years 1755 and 1758. One hundred of them retired to Presqu' Isle by land; and the remainder, about two hundred, with M. De Lignery, the commandant, passed up the Allegheny to Venango, where he told the Indians he intended to stay during the winter, and dislodge the British from the forks of the Ohio in the spring. A small post, too, was occupied by the French at Kushkushkee, a Delaware village located on an elevated plateau of rich bottom land, on the south-west side of the Mahoning river, four miles above its junction with the Shenango, where they constitute the Big Beaver river. At these points the French were busied in preparing stores and arms, and in securing the aid of the Indian tribes for an attack in the spring on Fort Pitt, then imperfectly fortified, and garrisoned by only two hundred and eighty men.*

The success of the campaign of 1758 opened the way for the execution of the great scheme of Pitt—the complete reduction of Canada. Accordingly, in 1759, three expeditions were planned, by which Canada, already suffering and exhausted by the pressure of the war, was to be invaded on all sides. On the west, Prideaux was to attack Niagara; in the centre, Amherst was to advance on Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and on the east, Wolfe was to besiege Quebec; and all these points gained, the three armies were to unite their forces in the heart of Canada.

Amherst appeared on the 22d of July, before Ticonderoga. The French blew up their works, and retired to Crown Point. Driven from there by the British army, they retired to Isle Aux Nois, and entrenched themselves; but the lateness of the season prevented further operations, and Amherst went into winter quarters at Crown Point.

Early in June, General Wolfe, with eight thousand men, appeared before Quebec. On the night of the 12th of September, Wolfe, with five thousand men, silently passed up the river, climbed the Heights of Abraham, and formed in order of battle. Montcalm, who had trusted to his defenses, was compelled to offer battle. The British columns, flushed with success, attacked his

* Craig's Olden Time, vol. 1. 194.

half-formed lines, charged with the bayonet, and dispersed the French with a loss of fifteen hundred. Both Montcalm and Wolfe fell in the engagement; but, on the 18th of September, Quebec, the key of all Canada, was surrendered to the British.

Meanwhile, General Prideaux moved up Lake Ontario, and, on the 6th of July, invested Niagara. Its capture was of great importance, since its possession would cut off the French of Canada from the West; and, accordingly, every effort was made by the French and Indians to raise the siege. That necessity saved Fort Pitt. A letter written by Colonel Mercer, at that post, on July 17th, 1759, says:

"Again, on the 15th instant, we had the following accounts from two Six Nation Indians, sent to spy at Venango, who left this place on the 7th. They found at Venango seven hundred French and four hundred Indians. The commanding officer told them he expected six hundred more Indians; that as soon as they arrived he would come and drive us from this place. Next day two hundred Indians came to Venango, and the same number the next day, and the third day; they were all fitted off for the expedition by the 11th at night, and three pieces of cannon brought from Le Bœuf, the others expected every hour, with a great many batteaux loaded with provisions. In the morning, the 12th, a grand council was held, in which the commandant thanked the Indians for attending him, threw down the war belt, and told them he would set off the next day. The Indians consented, but were somewhat disconcerted by one of the Six Nations, who gave them wampum, telling them to consider what they did, and not to be in too great a hurry; soon after, messengers arrived, with a packet for the officer who held the council, at which he and the other officers appeared much concerned, and at length he told the Indians—'Children, I have received bad news; the English are gone against Niagara. We must give over thoughts of going down the river, till we have cleared that place of the enemy. If it should be taken, our road to you is stopped, and you must become poor. Orders were immediately given to proceed with the artillery, provisions, &c., up French creek, which the spies saw set off, and the Indians making up their bundles to follow. They reckon there were upward of one thousand Indians, collected from twelve different nations, at Venango."*

* Craig's Olden Time, vol. i., p. 194.

The French and Indians who were collected to attack Fort Pitt, the garrison and defenses of which were little able to withstand them, were thus withdrawn to the defense of Niagara. It was, indeed, a great effort they had planned to retake the forks of the Ohio, and thus to recover all that they had lost in the preceding year. And to that all the French in the valley had contributed. M. d'Aubry, commandant at the Illinois, brought to join the enterprise four hundred men, and two hundred thousand pounds of flour, from Kaskaskia to Venango. Cut off, by the abandonment of Fort Du Quesne, from the route of the Ohio, he proceeded with his force down the Mississippi, and up the Ohio to the Wabash, thence up that river to the portage at Fort Miami, or Fort Wayne, and carried his stores over to the Maumee, passed down that river, and along the shore of Lake Erie to Presqu' Isle, and carried again his stores over the portage, to Le Bœuf; thence descended French creek to Venango.*

D'Aubry was chosen to lead the expedition, and embarked again at Presqu' Isle, with seventeen hundred men, collected from the Illinois, Detroit, and the Allegheny, and from the Indian allies of the French, and hastened to raise the siege of Niagara. Prideaux had been killed by the bursting of a cohorn; Sir William Johnson, who had succeeded to the command, advanced to meet D'Aubry and his reinforcement, defeated them, and pursued them for five miles through the woods. On the next day, Niagara, cut off from succor, surrendered.

General John Stanwix was appointed to the command, immediately after the death of General Forbes, and proceeded, in July, to the forks of the Ohio, to carry out the orders of William Pitt in regard to that important point. Mr. Pitt was strongly impressed with the importance of securing the forks as a military position, to protect the colonial frontiers, and to overawe the Indians; so much so indeed, that, immediately upon hearing of the abandonment of Fort Du Quesne, under date of January 23d, 1759, he wrote:

"Sir,—I am now to acquaint you that the king has been pleased, immediately upon receiving the news of the success of his arms on the river Ohio, to direct the commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces, in North America, and General Forbes, to lose no time in concerting the properest and speediest means for completely re-

* An account of Bouquet's Expedition, in 1764. London, 1766. App. II.

storing, if possible, the ruined Fort Du Quesne, to a defensible and respectable state, or for erecting another in the room of it, of sufficient strength, and every way adequate to the great importance of the several objects of maintaining his majesty's subjects in the undisputed possession of the Ohio; of effectually cutting off all trade and communication this way, between Canada and the western and south-western Indians; of protecting the British colonies from the incursions to which they have been exposed since the French built the above fort, and thereby made themselves masters of the navigation of the Ohio; and of fixing again the several Indian nations in their alliance with and dependence upon his majesty's government."*

General Stanwix, immediately upon his arrival, perhaps early in August, commenced the building of Fort Pitt. It was of five sides; the two facing the country were supported by a revetment, a brick work, nearly perpendicular, supporting the rampart on the outside; the other three were protected by a line of pickets, fixed on the outside of the foot of the slope of the rampart. Around the whole work was a wide ditch, which would be filled with water when the river was at a moderate stage. Great anticipations were entertained at the time of the security and permanence that would accrue to the British government from the position of Fort Pitt. A letter from that post, dated September 24th, 1759, says:

"It is now near a month since the army has been employed in erecting a most *formidable fortification*, such a one as will, to latest posterity, secure the British empire on the Ohio. There is no need to enumerate the abilities of the chief engineer, nor the spirit shown by the troops, in executing the important task; the fort will soon be a *lasting monument* of both."†

Fifteen years later it was abandoned, by order of the British government, and now nothing of Fort Pitt is left, no memorial even of the British possession of the Mississippi valley remains, but a single redoubt, built in 1764 by Col. Bouquet, outside the fort, and now used as a dwelling.

With the fall of Fort Du Quesne, and the capture of Niagara, all direct contest between the British and French in the West was closed. With the defeat of the French, the hostility of the Indians

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* Craig's Olden Time, vol. i., p. 310.

† Craig's Olden Time, vol. i., p. 194.

abated, and peace was restored to the border of the English colonies.

Along the frontiers of Pennsylvania and northern Virginia, the old plantations had been, one by one, re-occupied since 1758, and settlers were slowly pushing further into the Indian country, and traders were once more bearing their burdens over the mountains, and finding a way into the wigwams of the natives, who rested, watching silently, but narrowly, the course of their English defenders and allies. For it was, professedly, in the character of defenders, that Braddock and Forbes had come into the West; and, while every British finger itched for the lands as well as the furs of the wild men, with mistaken hypocrisy they would have persuaded them that the treasure and the life of England had been given to preserve her old allies, the Six Nations, and their dependents, the Delawares and Shawanese, from French aggression. But the savages knew whom they had to deal with, and looked at every step of the cultivator with jealousy and hate.

In 1760, the Ohio Company once more prepared to pursue their old plan, and sent to England for such orders and instructions to the Virginia government as would enable them to do so.* During the summer of that year, also, General Monkton, by a treaty at Fort Pitt, obtained leave to build posts within the wild lands, each post having ground enough about it to raise corn and vegetables for the use of the garrison. Nor were the settlements of the Ohio Company, and the forts, the only inroads upon the hunting-grounds of the savages. In 1757, by the books of the Secretary of Virginia, three millions of acres had been granted west of the mountains. Indeed, in 1758, that State attempted by law to encourage settlements in the West; and the report of John Blair, Clerk of the Virginia Council, in 1768 or 1769, states that most of the grants beyond the mountains were made before August, 1754.

The fall of Quebec did not immediately produce the submission of Canada. M. de Levi, on whom the command devolved, retired with the French army to Montreal. In the spring of 1760, he besieged Quebec. But the arrival of an English fleet raised the siege, and De Levi retired to Montreal. Amherst and Johnson meanwhile effected a junction of their forces, and advanced against

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* Plain Facts, p. 120, where a letter from the Company, dated September 9th, 1761, is given.

him. The combination of these two armies convinced the French that resistance would be useless; and, accordingly, on the 8th of September, M. de Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, surrendered Montreal, Detroit, Mackinaw, and all the other posts within the goverment of Canada, to the English commander-in-chief, General Amherst, on condition that the French inhabitants should, during the war, be "protected in the free exercise of their religion, and the full enjoyment of their civil rights, leaving their future destinies to be decided by the treaty of peace."

Negotiations for peace followed immediately after the surrender of Canada. They were not successful, and "the family compact" was entered into between France and Spain, in which both parties were bound to share and balance all losses, in the war which it was declared was to be waged to oppose the growing power of England. The continuance of the war only contributed to the successes of England, and accordingly negotiations were re-opened, and on the 3d of November, 1762, preliminaries were agreed to and signed, and afterward ratified at Paris, in February, 1763. To secure the restoration of Havana, Spain was obliged to cede to Great Britian East and West Florida. To compensate Spain, under the terms of the family compact, France ceded, by a secret article, all Louisiana west of the Mississippi, to Spain. The following articles comprise the most essential provisions of that treaty, in regard to the original subject of dispute.

"His most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Arcadia, in all its parts, and guarantees the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain: moreover, his most Christian Majesty cedes and guarantees to his said Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence; and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian King and crown of France have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants; so that the most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guarantee, under any pretense, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned.

"In order to establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove forever all subjects of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America, it is agreed that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty and those of his most Christian Majesty in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose the most Christian King cedes, in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess on the left side of the river Mississippi, with the exception of the town of New Orleans, and of the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; it being well understood that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea; and expressly, that part which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nations shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever."

The war was over.* Canada, with all its dependencies, was surrendered to the victorious English; and it remained only to take possession of the western outposts of the French. It was not an easy task. All the Indian tribes of the valley were in alliance with the French. Accustomed as they were to regard Englishmen as their natural foes, they felt no obligation to submit to them because they had conquered the French. The surrender of Quebec, and the capitulation of Montreal, were events they could little comprehend, and it did not occur to them that they were in any way bound to respect the acts of Bougainville or Vaudreuil. The West, too, was then overrun by the traders and emissaries of the discomfited French, who possessed the implicit confidence of the Indians; whose ruling passion was hatred of the English, and whose interest conspired with their feelings to arouse the fears and

* The authorities in relation to this subject are, mainly, Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac, an Account of Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians, and Butler's History of Kentucky.

inflame the passions of their savage allies. It was obviously a difficult and delicate task to extend the authority of England over the uncivilized regions of the West, to allay the hostility and conciliate the friendship of its barbarous inhabitants, and thus to secure what they had so hardly earned—the blessings of peace to the exhausted colonies, and the fruits of its great conquest to the English Crown. The great importance of the work was overlooked by those to whom its execution was intrusted.

On the 12th of September, 1760, Major Robert Rogers, received orders from General Amherst to ascend the lakes, and take possession of the French fort in the north-west. Rogers was well fitted for the task. On the borders of New Hampshire, with Putnam and Stark, he had earned a great reputation as a partisan officer; and Rogers' Rangers, armed with rifle, tomahawk, and knife, had rendered much service, and won a great name. Later, that reputation was tarnished by greater crimes. Tried for an attempt to betray Mackinaw to the Spaniards, he abandoned the country, and entered the service of the Dey of Algiers. At the war of Independence, he entered the American service, was detected as a spy, passed over to the British, and was banished by an act of his native state. Such was the man who was sent to plant the British flag in the great valley. Immediately upon receiving his orders, he set out to ascend the St. Lawrence, with two hundred men in fifteen boats.

On the 7th of November they landed at the mouth of Cuyahoga creek. Here they were met by a party of Indians, who were deputed to them to say that Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas, was near, and to demand that they should advance no further till they should receive his permission. During the day the great chief appeared, and imperiously demanded why the army was there without his consent. Rogers replied that Canada had been conquered, and that he was on his way to occupy the French posts, and to restore peace to the Indians. Pontiac only replied that he would stand in his path till morning. On the next day he delivered a formal reply to the English officer, that he consented to live at peace with the English as long as they treated him with due deference. The calumet was smoked, and an alliance made. Pontiac accompanied his new friends to Detroit. On the way a band of Indians, sent out by the governor of Detroit, were waiting to destroy them. The influence of Pontiac was interposed, and the hostile Indians were induced to ally themselves with the English. A messenger was dispatched to Beletre, the governor, to demand the surrender of Detroit. He refused, avowed his intention to defend the post, and sought to

arouse the Indians. It was in vain. Rogers arrived below the village. Captain Campbell was dispatched with an order from Vaudreuil, commanding the surrender, and Beletre was compelled to obey. On the 29th of November, 1760, the colors of France were taken down, and the royal standard of England planted within the fort; and the garrison and inhabitants, amidst the shouts of the Indians, who looked on the strange scene with mingled awe of the English power, and astonishment at their forbearance. The lateness of the season prevented further operations, but early in the next year, Mackinaw, Green Bay, Ste Marie, St. Josephs, and Ouiatenon were surrendered, and nothing remained to the French but the settlements of the Illinois.

A great change had been wrought over the Indians of the valley, by the occupation of the French. It was their characteristic policy to render the savages dependent on themselves, and to that end they sedulously cultivated among them a taste for European goods, and in this way, from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi, all the tribes were dependent on the French posts for their arms and clothing. It was their interest to secure peace, under the protection of France, to all the tribes, and thus to familiarize their minds. Artfully, too, the pride of the natives had been fed by the agents of France; they were the children of the great king who had sent his people among them only to protect them from their implacable enemies, the English. And while the long contest between the rival nations lasted, they held the balance of power between them, and, in consequence, were free from the rapacity of either. All this was changed now. The accustomed presents which French policy bestowed on them were withheld. English traders robbed, bullied, and cheated them. English officers treated them with rudeness and contempt. Especially, the steady advance of the population over the mountains, occupying their lands, and driving away their game. The wrongs and neglect the Indians felt were inflamed by the French. They had every motive to excite the tribes against the English; their old national rancor, their religious antipathies, the fear of losing their trade, and the hope of revenging the loss of an empire, all conspired to make them treacherous and dangerous. Accordingly, they used all the influence they possessed, to precipitate the Indians on the English garrisons. Scattered through the country, they held secret councils with the savages, and artfully appealed to their fears and their hopes. The English, they averred, designed to destroy the whole Indian race.

They had hemmed them in on the east by their settlements, they were occupying the country on the north by their forts, and they were instigating the Cherokees to attack them on the south. But there was hope. Their father, the great king, had been asleep, and the English had stolen Canada, but he was now awake, and he was coming with a great army, to drive away his enemies and protect his people.

Discontent, under such circumstances, was natural, and soon all the tribes from the mountains to the Mississippi were in a ferment. In the summer of 1761, a plot for the surprise of the western posts was discovered, and arrested. In the next summer another was detected, and suppressed. The officers in command failed to realize the extent of the disaffection, and to provide for the coming danger. They thought this discontent only the ebullition of the restless spirit of the Indians, and despised rather than feared their hostility. And indeed the hostility of barbarous tribes, united by no common purpose, but divided by nameless quarrels, seemed little to be dreaded by those who had just wrested an empire from France. But they were mistaken—the crisis only needed a leader to direct it.

Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas, was then about fifty years old. No chief of the American Indians, known in the historic times, has been so richly endowed with those peculiar qualities that give to a barbarian warrior power over the minds of men. He shared indeed all the passions and prejudices of his people. He possessed all their vindictive spirit and treacherous dissimulation. He was profoundly ignorant of the great world in which he was an actor. Yet he had a most commanding intellect; he was capable of the noblest magnanimity; he was imbued with the loftiest ambition; and he possessed a power of combination and of adaptation that was shared by none of his race.

He alone saw the full force of the crisis in the affairs of his people. He had been the fast friend of the French, and led the warriors of the wilderness on the ill-fated day of Braddock's field. He had met, first of the chiefs, the English at Cuyahoga, and protected their perilous march to Detroit. He had shown himself as ready to ally himself to the English, as he had proved himself faithful to the French. He had, nevertheless, shared all the resentment the presence of the English inspired among his people. But, amid the general discontent, he only saw the true danger, and he only could see the true means of averting it. The English were relieved, by the surrender of Canada, from the rivalry of the

French, and would inevitably crush the red man in their resistless advance. And to save his race, it was necessary to restore the French power, as a balance to the English. It was the plan of a statesman. It only failed because the emissaries of the French were false.

His plans were matured, and, late in 1762, his messengers carried the black wampum and the red tomahawk, and delivered the message of the great Pontiac to the villages of the Ottawas, Ojibwas, Pottawattamies, Sacs, Foxes, Menomonies, Illinois, Miamis, Shawanees, Delawares, Wyandots, Senecas, and the tribes of the South. On a certain day, in the next year, said the messengers, all the tribes are to rise, sieze all the English posts, and then immediately attack the whole English border.

On the 27th of April, 1763, the council of all the tribes was held at the river Ecorces. There, to the assembled chiefs, Pontiac delivered a speech, full of eloquence and art. He recounted all the injuries of the Indians, and all the encroachments of the English. He portrayed all the rapacity and insolence of the hated race. He unfolded the great danger of their supremacy. He presented a belt from their great father the king. He indeed had been asleep, but now he was awake, and was coming with his large war canoes, to win back Canada and destroy his enemies. Yet further, he appealed to their faith. An Indian, warned in a dream, had gone to the dwelling of the Master of Life, on a high mountain of dazzling brightness. There the Great Spirit chid him for the degeneracy of his race, and sent to them his commands to drive the "red dogs" from the face of the earth. The spirit of his wild hearers was stirred. The chiefs eagerly accepted the war belt, and then separated to prepare for the coming strife. Later, under the pretense of dancing the calumet with the unsuspecting garrison, the position and defenses of the fort were narrowly scanned, and the plan of attack laid. It was not well kept.

In the village lived an Ojibwa girl of great beauty, who was attached to the commandant, Major Gladwin. On the 6th of May, she came to the fort to bring a pair of elk skin moccasins she had made for him. Her face was sad, and she lingered long in the street. Her demeanor attracted notice, and she was brought to Gladwin. She was long silent, but at length she revealed the plan of the morrow.

Early on the next day a great concourse of Indians thronged around the fort. Soon Pontiac, with sixty of his warriors, each carrying his gun, shortened for the purpose, under the folds of his

blanket, appeared at the gate, and asked to hold a council with his father the commandant. The gate was thrown open and they were admitted. When Pontiac entered, he involuntarily started back, and uttered an exclamation of surprise. He saw at a glance the ruin of his plan. All the garrison were under arms, and so posted as to enclose the band. They passed on to the council house, and there were all the officers ready to receive them, armed and too plainly prepared for the conflict. The chiefs were seated. Pontiac arose to speak with the wampum belt in his hand. He professed that he had come to smoke the pipe of peace, and brighten the chain of friendship with his English brothers, and, though conscious that he was detected, he raised the belt and was about to give the fatal signal. At that instant Gladwin waived his hand; the drums beat, the officers drew their swords, the soldiers presented their arms, and Pontiac sat down overwhelmed with astonishment. Gladwin briefly and sternly replied that he should enjoy his friendship as long as he merited it, and should be punished as soon as he deserved it; and the chiefs, enraged and mortified, were allowed to withdraw. The next morning Pontiac returned with three only of his chiefs; they were admitted, smoked the peace pipe, and renewed their hollow pledges of friendship. On the next again, Pontiac, with a great multitude of his warriors, appeared at the gate and demanded admittance. He was told that he only might come in. He replied that all his warriors wished to smoke the pipe of peace. Gladwin replied that none of his rabble should enter the fort, and Pontiac turned away. At once the Indians fell upon and murdered the few English who were without the fort.

Immediate preparations were made for a siege, and the next day the attack began. Convinced, however, that the affair was only a sudden impulse of passion, Gladwin, through a Canadian, proposed to redress any grievances the Indians had. Pontiac dissembled, and asked that a deputation of officers might be sent to treat with him. Major Campbell and Lieutenant McDougal, were sent, but were detained as prisoners. The Indians, foiled in their efforts to obtain possession of the fort, sat down before it, and commenced a regular siege. All Pontiac's skill and talent were employed in governing and directing the motley bands around him. The Canadian inhabitants complained that his Indians were robbing them of their provisions. Pontiac claimed that he was fighting their battles, and that therefore they ought to contribute to the support of his army, but forbade all depredations upon their property. To provide for his bands, he levied a fixed

contribution on the Canadians, organized a commissariat, and issued promissory notes, drawn on bark of the papyrus birch and signed with the figure of an otter, for the payment of supplies, all of which were faithfully redeemed.

Meanwhile, a recruit of ninety-six men with ammunition and provisions was advancing under Lieutenant Cuyler for the relief of the garrison, though in ignorance of the danger to which they were exposed; and one of the two schooners was sent to meet it. Passing down the river they were attacked by a crowd of canoes, with the unfortunate Campbell exposed to the fire of the vessel. The wind sprang up and soon bore it beyond their reach. On the twenty-fourth day of the siege, the fleet of boats was seen by the garrison ascending the river. On a near approach they were seen filled with Indians. One of the crew when near the fort escaped and related the fate of the convoy. They had landed below on the river bank, were attacked on shore, and driven to their boats; three of these were taken with their crews; two escaped with Cuyler, the commander, on board, who returned to Niagara. The prisoners were taken above the fort and burned.

Soon after, intelligence reached the garrison of the fate of the posts around the lakes. A scalping party came into the camp, bringing with them Ensign Paully, the commandant at Fort Sandusky. On the 16th of May, seven Indians appeared at the gate of that post and asked to speak with Paully. They were admitted; immediately siezed him, and the garrison was massacred. Paully was brought to Detroit to be burned; but was saved by being adopted by an Indian woman, and afterward escaped.

Soon after, a party of Pottawattamies arrived with Ensign Schlosser, the commandant at St. Josephs, and three men. They were exchanged, and the fate of that garrison revealed. A large party of Indians collected at St. Josephs on the 25th of May, on pretense of friendship, crowded within the barracks, and then suddenly massacred the garrison, and carried their prisoners to Detroit.

The news soon arrived that Ouiatenon was taken. Ensign Jenkins and several of his men were taken prisoners by stratagem, on the 1st of June; the garrison surrendered on promise of protection, and were sent to Fort Chartres, in the Illinois.

Soon after it was reported that Fort Miami had fallen. Ensign Holmes was decoyed away from his post on the 27th of May, by an Indian girl, on the pretense of visiting a sick woman, and shot. The sergeant came out to learn the cause of the firing, and was taken; the garrison surrendered and were made prisoners.

A scalping party came in soon after from Presqu' Isle, and reported the fate of that post. On the 15th of June an attack was made by two hundred Indians, on that fort. The garrison retreated to a block house, on which the Indians began an immediate and furious assault. A breastwork was thrown up, from which they then poured a constant fire upon the block house. Repeatedly it was on fire, and the indefatigable garrison, cut off from water, dug a well within it to obtain a supply sufficient to subdue the flames. Next the Indians began to mine the block house. Against this there was no defense, and after forty-eight hours of desperate fighting, the garrison surrendered, and were carried prisoners to Detroit, where Ensign Christie, the commandant, escaped.

The news of the capture of Mackinaw was brought to the garrison by Father Junois, a Jesuit priest. A large band of Ottawas, and another of Sacs, were encamped near the fort. On the morning of the 4th of June, a delegation came to the gate to ask the officers and soldiers to come out and see a game of baggattaway played on the plain by the rival tribes. The gates were thrown open, the soldiers clustered around the outside of the walls, mingled with a large number of Canadians, and among them a multitude of Indian women, closely wrapped in blankets. At each end of the ground a post was erected; hundreds of players with bats thronged the plain, each apparently intent only on driving the ball to the post. Once and again, as if in the heat of the game, the ball was driven near the pickets, and the players crowded after it. Suddenly the ball rose high in the air, and fell within the fort, and the whole multitude thronged after it through the gates. Instantly the war whoop was raised, the warriors snatched their tomahawks from the women, who carried them under their blankets. In a moment the garrison were overpowered, the greater part of them were slain. Captain Etherington and the remaining men were carried away prisoners, some of whom perished at the hands of their captors, a few of them were ransomed.

One only of the forest garrisons escaped, by the good conduct and address of its commandant. Lieutenant Gorell, in command of Green Bay, devoted himself to the task of conciliating the neighboring savages. The Menomonies were sharers in the conspiracy, but they were attached to Gorell, and delayed the execution of the work assigned them. On hearing of the fall of Mackinaw, Gorell called a council of their chiefs, told them he was going thither to punish the enemies of his king, and offered to leave the fort in the meantime in their care. The chiefs were divided. The warriors

were waiting to strike the meditated blow, but providentially at this juncture, a deputation of the Dacatohs appeared, to denounce the vengeance of that powerful confederacy against the enemies of the English. The Menomonies laid aside their hostile designs. Gorell and his garrison passed down the bay, and along the lake to Mackinaw, under their escort, ransomed Etherington and twelve of his men, and passed by way of the Lake Huron and the Ottawa river, to Montreal.

The beleaguered garrison at Detroit meanwhile maintained their stubborn defense, and Pontiac pressed the siege with a boldness and address far beyond the habit of Indian warfare. One of the vessels had been sent to hasten on Cuyler's ill-fated detachment. With him and the remains of his crew on board, it was now returning, and was passing by night up the river. The force on board was concealed, and every disposition was made to invite an attack from the Indians. Late at night she was surrounded by a multitude of canoes. The men were arranged in silence for the attack. At the tap of a hammer on the mast, a volley of grape and musketry was poured upon the assailants, and they were dispersed and driven ashore. The vessel landed safely, brought a reinforcement of men, and a supply of arms, and the welcome intelligence that the Peace of Paris was signed, and all Canada was surrendered to the British crown.

The Canadians, craven, treacherous and malignant, who, all the while under pretense of neutrality, were inciting the Indians to massacre, and amusing them with fables of the coming of the great king, were now the subjects of Great Britain. Now again they redoubled their falsehoods. The armies of the great king were even then ascending the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi to take vengeance on the insolent English. Pontiac, weary of their neutrality, called a council of their principal men and demanded their aid. He had been fighting their battles; they were doing nothing to serve their king. He had served their cause faithfully; they had been unfaithful to him. They had professed to be his friends; yet they sought to make a profit to themselves by secretly aiding the English. This must end. If they were English, he was their enemy. If they were French, here was the war belt and hatchet. The Canadians only deepened their dissimulation. Hating the English garrison, they still sought to incite the Indians to destroy it. Afraid of the English vengeance, they sought to avoid any share in the work of blood. And concealing the treaty of Paris, they produced again the capitulation of Montreal. The

great king said they had here commanded them to be quiet till he came, for he designed to punish his enemies himself. If they disobeyed him in this, they would be punished. If the Indians made war on them for their obedience, they too would be punished. Pontiac was not thus to be put off. They must be his enemies or the enemies of the English; and accordingly a band of trappers and voyagers took up the hatchet and joined the hostile tribes. Reinforced with these, the Indians made an assault, and their allies sought to entrench themselves near the walls. They were dislodged and repulsed, and in their rage at the defeat, the Indians seized and murdered the unfortunate Campbell. The two schooners that lay near the fort meanwhile annoyed the Indians, and they determined to burn them. Going up the river, they constructed a raft filled with bark and sent it burning down the current, but it passed the vessels. Another was built, but it too passed without effect. Another, so large as to sweep the river, was begun, but a guard of boats, moored above the vessels, was provided for their defense, and the scheme was abandoned.

In July, the garrison was reinforced by a detachment of two hundred and eighty men under Captain Dalzell, who, on his arrival, insisted on making an immediate attack on the camp of Pontiac, to disperse the Indians and raise the siege. Gladwin was opposed to the measure, but yielded, contrary to his judgment, to the solicitations of Dalzell. Preparations were made for an attack on the next night, but the plan was revealed to Pontiac by the treachery of the Canadians. On the night of the 30th of July, a detachment of two hundred and fifty men, with two barges accompanying them, under the command of Dalzell, marched to the attack. Their route was along the river bank, between the water's edge and a row of Canadian houses and gardens. A mile and a half above the fort, a creek, known since that night as Bloody run, passed down to the river through a deep ravine. Over it was a narrow bridge, on the ridge beyond it were the entrenchments of the old camp of the Indians, piles of wood, fences and houses. Behind these the whole force of the Indians was posted. As the advance filed over the bridge, they were assailed by a volley from the Indians, and recoiled. Again they charged over the bridge and up the hill, but the Indians gave way and escaped in the darkness. Suddenly they appeared in the rear with an intent to cut the detachment off from the fort; a retreat was immediately ordered. The Indians occupied a row of houses and fences along the line of their march, and from these they poured a continual and destructive fire upon the centre and

rear of the army. They were thus thrown into disorder and retreated in confusion along the river bank, until Major Rogers, with a party of provincials, took possession of a Canadian house, from which he attacked the pursuers and checked the pursuit. Captain Grant then secured another position below, a line of communication with the fort was formed, and the retreat of the detachment thus protected. Rogers and his party were brought off under a fire from the boats, and at length, after six hours fighting, the whole party reached the fort. The loss of the English on this disastrous night was fifty-nine, including the commander Dalzell; the loss of the Indians was supposed to be about fifteen or twenty.

The Indians were greatly elated by their victory; messages were sent out, fresh warriors came in, and the siege was pressed with renewed vigor. One of the schooners meanwhile had gone to Niagara. On her return, some Iroquois were landed at the mouth of the river, and conveyed to the Indians the information that she was manned by only ten men. A large band of Indians in canoes collected and surrounded the vessel. They had approached close to the vessel in the darkness before they were discovered, and climbing up the vessel's side, made a furious attack upon the crew, in disregard of the musketry that was poured upon them. The captain was killed, and several of the men were wounded, and the assailants began to crowd the deck, when Lieutenant Jacobs ordered the men to fire the magazine and blow up the ship. The Indians heard the order and instantly leaped overboard and swam in every direction to escape the threatened explosion, and the vessel sailed up the river to Detroit.

Thus the siege wore on from May to October, pressed with a pertinacity and vigor unknown to the wars of the Indians. At length the news reached the Indians that a great reinforcement was coming up the lake, under Major Wilkins, to relieve the garrison, and some of the bands, in despair and in fear, abandoned the camp and returned home. Pontiac and his band remained and kept up the siege. At length, on the 30th of October, he received a letter from Neyon, commandant at the Illinois. That officer had been compelled to reveal the truth to the confiding savage. France —it ran—had been conquered, and Canada was in the possession of the English. There was no truth in any rumors of French assistance to him, or of French efforts to retake New France. He ought, therefore, to make peace with the English, the true masters of the country, to secure himself against their vengeance. The great chieftain was confounded. His grand scheme was at an end;

he had been most cruelly deceived by the faithless French, for whom he had risked all, and suffered so much, and the whole weight of the English vengeance would fall on him and his scattered bands. Sullenly and sadly, he broke up his camp, and, with a menace to the English that he would return in the spring, he passed down the river to the Maumee, to prepare for a new campaign.

Along the borders, meanwhile, the war was raging with most savage brutality. The plan of the year was there faithfully carried out. Suddenly the English traders, among all the tribes, were massacred; and all the forts were attacked.

Le Bœuf was surrounded, on the 18th of May, by a great multitude of Indians. After a furious attack, the block house was fired by ,ht, and while they were waiting to murder the inmates, as they ,caped from the flames, Ensign Price, and his seven remaining men, ,scaped unperceived to the forest, and, after enduring great hardships, reached Fort Pitt. Passing by Venango, they found that place in ruins, and the garrison slaughtered. Long after, its fate ,s revealed to Sir William Johnson. A large party of Senecas ...ned entrance, on pretense of friendship, massacred the garrison, and tortured the commandant, Lieut. Gordon, for several nights, over a slow fire, and then burned the fort.

On the 27th of May, bands of Indians, flushed with their victories, appeared before Fort Pitt, and after prowling around, scalping stragglers, and firing on the garrison, a delegation of their chiefs appeared and demanded the surrender of the fort. They were friends of the English, and they wanted to give them good advice. Six great nations had taken up the hatchet against the English; numerous bands were now coming to scalp them. They ought to leave the post and go to the settlements, where they would be safe. If they went now they would protect them. If they waited till their enemies came, nothing could save them. Captain Ecuyer was not to be so easily outdone in politeness by his tawny friends. He was very well off in his fort, and meant to stay there. But they ought to take care of their women and children. There was a great army of six thousand coming to Fort Pitt. There was an army of three thousand going up the lakes. There was another, with a great multitude of Cherokees, coming from the south. He wished them to hide, for he did not want them to get hurt. But he hoped they would not tell the hostile Indians, lest they might escape. The chiefs were beaten at their own game, the shadows of Ecuyer's

three armies frightened them, they abandoned the fort and fled down the river.

On the 26th of July, the Indians again appeared in considerable force around Fort Pitt. Shinghis, Turtle's Heart, and some other chiefs appeared, and were admitted to a conference. They bitterly recounted the wrongs the English had inflicted upon their people. They recited a message they had received from the great Pontiac. His bands were coming to strike the English at the forks of the Ohio. If they would go home to their wives and children they would be safe. If they would not they would be in danger. Ecuyer told them he had warriors and arms enough to defend himself three years against all the Indians in the woods. That was his home, and if they came about it, he would fire bagfulls of bullets at them. They had better go home, for he did not want to hurt them.

The Indians then, disappointed in obtaining possession of the fort by stratagem, commenced a general attack. On the next night, they crawled along the banks of the rivers, and dug holes with their knives in the bank, to shelter themselves from the fire of the garrison. From these a constant fire for many days was poured upon the fort, and it was often on fire from their arrows. A striking picture of the siege is furnished in the statement of one who was present.

"I tell you we had awful times when Fort Pitt was closely besieged by the Indians. You see the yellow skins lay so close along the bank of the Allegheny river, that we could not get a shot at them, and we dare not venture outside. Any one who showed himself upon the rampart was sure to be a mark for an arrow or bullet. Yet even then they did not get off always scot free. Some of our fellows were more than a match for them in every way. One day 'Brown Bill' procured some old clothes and straw, and stuffed a paddy with the greatest care. None of us could tell what was in the wind, and his only answer was that he was reinforcing the garrison. At night he told one of us to lift it up slowly above the stockade and pull it down quickly whenever it was fired at. He then took his station a few feet from it, and when his eye became accustomed to the darkness, directed us to raise it up. We raised it slowly, and a bullet passed through it, but instantly Bill, who could fire at a flash, put a bullet through the Indian's head. We all laughed at the result, which made Bill tremendously angry. 'If you had held your jaw,' said he, 'the paddy might have done some time again; now it is of no use, they will smell the rat.' At

last we became weary of being cooped up, and the officers began to fear that Bill, and some other kindred spirits, would carry out some mad scheme, to their own undoing. Who first planned what I am going to tell you of I do not know, but the following plan relieved us from our close blockade, and chased the Indians from the bank of the river, the position which most annoyed us. We built upon rollers a large flat boat, with high sides; the rowers were secured, and port-holes bored all around. When finished and ready, we rolled it into the Monongahela, and anchored it in such a position that we could fire up the Allegheny. The Indians were astonished; they were afraid to attack either the boat or the fort, which would have placed them between two fires. We raked them from the boat along the river bank; they set up the most diabolical yell I ever heard, retired up stream, and never again ventured so close to us in daylight."

About the 1st of August, a rumor reached them that an army was coming to relieve the fort; the assailants abandoned the siege, to the great relief of the garrison, and penetrated further to the east. Meanwhile the most terrible border war known to our history, was raging along the whole line of the western frontier. The western frontier was then the Blue Ridge and the Susquehanna. Cabins, clearings, hamlets, even villages, were scattered through the forest west of that border, but a fixed population had not passed beyond it. Along that whole line from Albany to Carolina, the border was attacked about the beginning of harvest. Everywhere were experienced the same horrible cruelties of savage warfare; the sudden surprise, the massacre, the scalping, the burning; everywhere were the ashes of cabins, mingled with the charred bones of their tenants; everywhere the ripe harvest stood without a reaper. Twenty thousand people in Virginia were driven from their homes. The borders of that province were protected by a line of stockade forts, and to these the inhabitants fled for protection. A thousand men were raised and put under the command of Major Lewis and Col. Stephen. That force was greatly augmented by the borderers who volunteered to protect their homes. The tide of savage war was stayed; the Indians could not stand their ground against the border riflemen, and security for the Virginia frontier was at length obtained by the prompt measures of her government, and the bravery of her citizen soldiery. The people of the Pennsylvania frontier were unprotected, and they were compelled to crowd into the towns in the interior for safety, and, stripped of everything they possessed, were obliged to subsist as they best could in huts

and tents on the charities of the people. The colonial government was divided by faction; its leaders were inimical to the borderers, and, to its everlasting dishonor, refused to furnish the many adequate protection, and left the defense of the frontier to those who had lost all by its desolation.

General Amherst was employed in the meantime in providing measures of defense. The colonial establishment had been exhausted by the French war, and further weakened by the removal of a great part of the troops on the conclusion of peace. Of the regiments that remained, reduced in numbers and weakened by disease, a small force was with difficulty collected and equipped for the service. All that could be immediately done was to provide for the defense of the posts. The fort of Niagara had been besieged by a band of Senecas, and the first step was to send sufficient reinforcements to that important post. The next was to send a reinforcement under Dalzell to Detroit.

The garrison at Fort Pitt consisted of three hundred and thirty men, beside more than two hundred women and children who had taken refuge within it. The supply of provisions was too small to sustain a long siege, and it was necessary to afford it immediate relief. Orders were, therefore, sent to Col. Bouquet, at Philadelphia, to organize an expedition without delay, for the relief of that important post.

Col. Henry Bouquet was a native of Switzerland, of the canton of Berne. He first held a commission in the army of Sardinia, and afterward entered the service of the states of Holland. When the corps of Royal Americans was organized in the French war, he entered the English service as lieutenant-colonel of that regiment. In the provinces, great confidence was reposed in his bravery and skill. As a military man he was distinguished for activity of mind, a great facility of resource, and an unusual power of adaptation to the circumstances with which he was surrounded. And these qualities fitted him in an eminent degree for the practice of the new and often perplexing tactics of Indian warfare.

With much difficulty, Colonel Bouquet collected of the remains of the forty-second and seventy-seventh regiments, a force of about five hundred men; brave, indeed, but enfeebled by disease, and unused to savage warfare. Sixty of these were so weak, that they were conveyed in baggage wagons, only for the relief of the garrison. Orders were dispatched to collect stores and provisions on the frontier, but when Bouquet reached Carlisle, on the 1st of July,

no provisions had been collected. The whole settlement was in a panic. The country was deserted, and the wretched and famishing people had crowded into the town for protection. Instead of receiving supplies from them, Bouquet was obliged to share with them his own scanty stores. Eighteen days were spent in collecting stores and means of transportation, and the army commenced its perilous march with the worst forebodings of the people, through the wilderness. The route lay through an unbroken forest for two hundred miles, infested with savages far more numerous and more determined than those that destroyed the ill-fated army of Braddock. The army of Bouquet was less than those that fell on that bloody day, and the people of the border, without hope of success, only waited for the defeat of the army to desert the country and fly beyond the Susquehanna.

The army pursued the route opened by General Forbes, five years before, and on their march, relieved Forts Bedford and Ligonier, both beleaguered by the Indians. Less than a day's march west of Ligonier, by the dangerous defile of Turtle creek, Bouquet determined to march to Bushy run, and rest there until night, and then pass Turtle creek under cover of the darkness. When within half a mile of Bushy run, the army was suddenly attacked in front; a charge was made and the enemy dispersed. Instantly the attack was renewed in the rear, and again the assailants were beaten off. Again and again the attack was made, and the Indians were driven back, only to renew their assault. Sheltered behind trees, the Indians poured a constant fire upon the army on all sides, and were so disposed as to assault the line the moment it wavered. To receive them, the troops were disposed in a circle around their baggage, exposed indeed to the constant fire of an invisible foe, but maintained their position with the steady valor of disciplined troops. Thus the contest raged for seven hours, darkness suspended hostilities, and the troops maintained their position and lay on their arms during the night. At the dawn of day, the attack was renewed with great fury, and continued without intermission until nearly noon. It was impossible for the army to move, and equally impossible to make any impression on the enemy, and there seemed to be no other prospect before the troops, than that of gradually melting away under the fire of an invisible foe. The genius of Bouquet was equal to the emergency. Two companies were ordered to fall within the circle and march backward, as if commencing the retreat; two other companies were detailed to lie in ambuscade in advance of the army. The thin line of troops took possession of

the deserted space, and were drawn nearer to the centre. These movements were mistaken by the Indians for a retreat, and made a furious assault on the line. The two companies that had been ordered to the rear, suddenly wheeled and poured a volley on them in flank, and then charged them with the bayonet. The Indians were completely surprised and fled in disorder before them. Suddenly the ambuscade arose and poured their fire upon the crowd of savages, and joined the pursuit. The route was complete, and the remaining savages abandoned their positions and fled. About sixty Indians were slain. One hundred and sixteen privates and eight officers of the army were killed, and a great number wounded.

After the battle, the army marched without interruption twenty-five miles to Fort Pitt, relieved the garrison and supplied the post with arms, ammunition, and provision, and thus secured it against the danger of a siege, or of falling into the hands of the savages.

The campaign had been disastrous to the English, but it was fatal to the plans of Pontiac. Detroit had resisted his utmost efforts to surprise or reduce it, and was now in a posture for successful defense. All hope of any co-operation was at an end. The battle of Bushy run and the relief of Fort Pitt closed the campaign, with the exception of a few scalping parties, on the frontier and so disheartened the Indians that they abandoned their towns to escape the vengeance of the white men, and retired to the Muskingum. All these circumstances co-operated to break the hostile confederacy and dispose the tribes to peace; and this disposition was furthered by a proclamation, authorized by the government and issued for the purpose, quieting the fears and suspicions of the Indians. It contained the following prohibitions and restrictions:

"And, whereas, it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest and the security of our colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their hunting grounds; we do, therefore, with the advice of our privy council, declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no Governor or Commander-in-chief, in any of our colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretense whatever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in

their commissions; as, also, that no Governor or Commander-in-chief of our other colonies or plantations in America, do presume for the present, and until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrants of survey, or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean from the west or north-west; or upon any lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians or any of them.

"And we do further declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, for the present, as aforesaid, to reserve under our sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the land and territories not included within the limits of our said three new governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company; as also all the lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and north-west as aforesaid; and we do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without our special leave and license for that purpose first obtained.

"And we do further strictly enjoin and require all persons whatever, who have either willfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any lands within the countries above described, or upon any other lands, which, not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, are still reserved to the said Indians, as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements.

"And, whereas, great frauds and abuses have been committed in purchasing lands from the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests, and the great dissatisfaction of the Indians; in order, therefore, to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent, we do, with the advice of our privy council, strictly enjoin and require that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians, of any lands reserved to the said Indians, within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlement; but that, if at any time, any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose, by the Governor or Commander-in-chief of our colony, respectively, within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the limits of any propri-

etaries, conformable to such directions and instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose: and we do, by the advice of our privy council, declare and enjoin, that the trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our subjects whatever: *Provided*, That every person who may incline to trade with the said Indians, do take out a license, for carrying on such trade, from the Governor or Commander-in-chief of any of our colonies, respectively, where such person shall reside; and also give security to observe such regulations as we shall at any time think fit, by ourselves or commissaries to be appointed for this purpose, to direct and appoint for the benefit of the said trade; and we do hereby authorize, enjoin, and require the Governors and Commanders-in-chief of all our colonies, respectively, as well those under our immediate government as those under the government and direction of proprietaries, to grant such licenses without fee or reward, taking especial care to insert therein a condition that such license shall be void, and the security forfeited, in case the person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such regulations as we shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid."

The war was nevertheless resumed in the spring of the following year. Pontiac again laid siege to Detroit, and the English border was again attacked with great fury. To protect the settlements, and to chastise the Indians, General Gage, now in command of the army in the colonies, resolved to carry the war into their own country. For this purpose two expeditions were organized. Col. Bradstreet was ordered to lead an army against the Indians of the lakes, and Col. Bouquet to proceed with an army against the Indians of the Ohio.

Col. Bradstreet collected a force of twelve hundred men, and arrived at Niagara early in July. There he met a great concourse of the Indians of the lakes, who had come to treat for peace. Sir William Johnson had availed himself of his influence over the Indians, to dispose them for peace. In the past year he had succeeded, by conferences, promises, and presents, in preventing the greater portion of the Iroquois from joining the confederacy, and thus secured the frontiers of New York from the horrors of savage war. During the winter his messengers had visited all the tribes, warned them of their danger, and invited them to come to Niagara, and treat with him for peace. The representatives of the Menomonies, Ottawas, Ojibwas, Mississaguas, Canawagas, Wyan-

dots, Iroquois, Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagoes, Osages, and other tribes were present, and with them, after much delay, treaties were made, and a peace concluded. This done, Bradstreet embarked his army at Fort Schlosser, on the 8th of August, and landed on the 12th at Presqu' Isle. There he met a band of Shawanees and Delawares, who pretended they had come to treat for peace. In spite of the remonstrances of his officers, and of the wrath of his Indian allies, Bradstreet allowed himself to be duped by their professions, concluded a peace with them on condition that they would deliver up their prisoners at Sandusky within twenty-five days, and dispatched a message to Bouquet to direct him to abandon his expedition, on the ground that the war was closed. Thence the army proceeded along the lake to Sandusky. There again a deputation of Ottawas, Wyandots, and Miamis met them to ask a suspension of hostilities, on the promise that they would meet them at Detroit and conclude a peace. The easy credulity of Bradstreet was again imposed on, and they were dismissed with the assurance that they should not be molested.

On the 26th of August, the army reached Detroit, relieved the garrison, that had been confined to their ramparts for more than fifteen months, and dispersed the Indians that yet lay around the fort. Pontiac was gone, and the tribes of that region were invited to treat for peace. The chiefs of the Ottawas, Ojibwas, Pottawattamies, Miamis, Sacs, and Wyandots, appeared at the council. A treaty was made. The Indians pledged themselves to give up their prisoners; to relinquish the title to the English posts and the territory around them for the distance of a cannon shot; to give up all the murderers of white men, to be tried by English law; to acknowledge the sovereignty of the English government, and to give hostages for the performance of the terms of the treaty. Peace with the tribes of the north-west being thus secured, Bradstreet returned to Sandusky, to meet the Delawares and Shawanees, with their prisoners. At length he discovered he was duped. No delegations appeared. He learned that the war had still raged along the frontier, regardless of their promises to him. A message was received from Gage, annulling his treaties with the Ohio Indians, and ordering him immediately to attack their towns. Greatly exasperated and mortified at the deception that had been practiced upon him, and at the rebuke his misconduct had merited, and embarrassed by the lateness of the season, the want of provisions, and the discontent of his troops, he broke up his camp, abandoned his expedition, and returned to Niagara.

Col. Bouquet marched from Carlisle on the 5th of August, with five hundred regulars, the most of whom had fought at Bushy run, in the preceding year, and about a thousand volunteers from Pennsylvania and Virginia. At Fort Loudon he was met by a dispatch from Bradstreet, advising him that peace was concluded with the Indians, and that his advance was unnecessary. Bouquet saw through the deception that had been practiced on Bradstreet, and continued his march to Fort Pitt, where he arrived on the 17th of September. There a delegation of chiefs met him with the same pretenses that had so completely deceived Bradstreet. Bouquet promptly arrested them as spies, and sent one of them back with a message to the tribes, charging them with their faithlessness, and threatening to put to death their chiefs, unless they would abandon their hostility, and allow his messengers to pass safely through their country to Detroit. The message was carried to the tribes on the Muskingum, and its decisive tone convinced them that it was their best policy to seek peace to avert their ruin. On the 3d of October the army left Fort Pitt, and marched down the Ohio, and across to the Tuscarawas, and arrived at the vicinity of Frederic Post's late missionary station on the 15th. There preparations were made for a council. The representatives of the Delawares, Senecas, and Shawanees appeared on the 17th. A conference was held. The chiefs laid the blame of the war on their young men, and the western tribes asked for peace, and promised to surrender their prisoners. Bouquet replied sternly, that it was their duty to restrain their young men; that they had treacherously murdered the traders that had gone among them, and the messengers that had been sent to them; that they had violated their engagements to Bradstreet; that they had been false to every promise they had made, and now he would trust them no longer. All the other tribes had made peace; they stood alone, and it was easy to destroy them. If they delivered up all the prisoners in their hands within twelve days, they might hope for peace; if not, they might expect no mercy. This reply completely humbled the savages. They judged of the temper of the whites from the haughty tone of their demands, and in fear of their vengeance, they separated, and hastened to collect their captives.

On the 25th the army proceeded down the river to the junction of the Tuscarawas, and the White Woman, and there made preparations for the reception of the prisoners. There they remained until the 18th of November; from day to day prisoners—men, women, and children—were brought in, and delivered up to their

friends. Strong attachments in many cases had grown up between the savages and their captives; they surrendered them with great reluctance, some even with tears. Every attention they could desire was paid to them; presents were bestowed upon them, and some of the Indians followed the objects of their attachment to Fort Pitt, and even to the settlements. Two hundred and six prisoners were recovered. One hundred more remained, who were given up by the Shawanees in the next year. After the Indians had complied with his requisitions, Bouquet relaxed his reserve, held a council with the chiefs, received from them assurance that they would give up all prisoners that could be found, and that they would meet Sir William Johnson in council in the spring, to make a definite treaty of peace, and took from them six hostages for the due performance of their agreement.

Every thing being then arranged with the Indians, the army broke up its encampment on the 18th of November, and reached Fort Pitt on the 28th. From that place the volunteers returned to their homes, and Col. Bouquet with his troops marched to Philadelphia, where he arrived about the beginning of the next year.

The promise the Indians made to Bouquet was faithfully kept. The representatives of all the tribes of the west met Sir William Johnson early in the next spring, at the German Flats, and made a treaty of peace. A tract of land within the Indian territory was ceded for the benefit of the traders who had suffered by the breaking out of the war, and the Indians proposed to fix a definite boundary along the Allegheny river, beyond which the white men should not be allowed to go. But Johnson excused himself on the ground of a want of power from acceding to the demand, and thus the great subject of controversy remained unsettled.

With the returning representatives of the Delawares and Shawanees, George Croghan, the commissioner of Sir William Johnson, went to the west to learn the disposition of the French inhabitants, to secure if possible their adhesion to the English interest, and thus to prevent the recurrence of Indian war. On the 15th of May, Croghan left Fort Pitt, and on the 8th of June was taken prisoner by a party of Indians, and carried to Vincennes. His journal gives much information in regard to the disposition of the French and Indians of the Illinois at that period.

"On my arrival there, I found a village of about eighty or ninety French families settled on the east side of this river, being one of the finest situations that can be found. The country is

level and clear and the soil very rich, producing wheat and tobacco. I think the latter preferable to that of Maryland or Virginia. The French inhabitants hereabouts, are an idle, lazy people, a parcel of renegadoes from Canada, and are much worse than the Indians. They took a secret pleasure at our misfortunes, and the moment we arrived, they came to the Indians, exchanging trifles for their valuable plunder. As the savages took from me a considerable quantity of gold and silver in specie, the French traders extorted ten half johannes from them for one pound of vermilion. Here is likewise an Indian village of the Pyankeshaws, who were much displeased with the party that took me, telling them that 'our chiefs and your chiefs are gone to make peace, and you have begun a war, for which our women and children will have reason to cry.' From this post the Indians permitted me to write to the commander, at Fort Chartres, but would not suffer me to write to any body else, (this I apprehend was a precaution of the French, lest their villany should be perceived too soon,) although the Indians had given me permission to write to Sir Wm. Johnson, and Fort Pitt, on our march, before we arrived at this place. But immediately after our arrival they had a private council with the French, in which the Indians urged, (as they afterward informed me,) that as the French had engaged them in so bad an affair, which was likely to bring a war on their nation, they now expected a proof of their promise and assistance. They delivered the French a scalp and part of the plunder, and wanted to deliver some presents to the Pyankeshaws; but they refused to accept of any, and declared they would not be concerned in the affair. This last information I got from the Pyankeshaws, as I had been well acquainted with them several years before this time.

"Post Vincent is a place of great consequence for trade, being a fine hunting country all along the Ouabache, and too far for the Indians, which reside hereabouts, to go either to the Illinois, or elsewhere, to fetch their necessaries.

"*June* 23*d.* Early in the morning we set out through a fine meadow, then some clear woods; in the afternoon came into a very large bottom on the Ouabache, within six miles of Ouicatanon; here I met several chiefs of the Kickapoos and Musquattimes, who spoke to their young men who had taken us, and reprimanded them severely for what they had done to me, after which they returned with us to their village, and delivered us all to their chiefs.

"The distance from Post Vincent to Ouicatanon is two hundred and ten miles. This place is situated on the Ouabache. About fourteen French families are living in the fort, which stands on the north side of the river. The Kickapoos and Musquattimes whose warriors had taken us, live nigh the fort, on the same side of the river, where they have two villages; and the Ouicatanons have a village on the south side of the river. At our arrival at this post, several of the Wawcottonans, (or Ouicatanons) with whom I had been formerly acquainted, came to visit me, and seemed greatly concerned at what had happened. They went immediately to the Kickapoos and Musquattimes, and charged them to take the greatest care of us, till their chiefs should arrive from the Illinois, where they were gone to meet me some time ago, and who were entirely ignorant of this affair, and said the French had spirited up this party to go and strike us.

"The French have a great influence over these Indians, and never fail in telling them many lies to the prejudice of his majesty's interest, by making the English nation odious and hateful to them. I had the greatest difficulties in removing these prejudices. As these Indians are a weak, foolish, and credulous people, they are easily imposed on by a designing people, who have led them hitherto as they pleased. The French told them that as the southern Indians had for two years past made war on them, it must have been at the instigation of the English, who are a bad people. However I have been fortunate enough to remove their prejudice, and in a great measure, their suspicions against the English. The country hereabouts is exceedingly pleasant, being open and clear for many miles; the soil very rich and well watered; all plants have a quick vegetation, and the climate very temperate through the winter. This post has always been a very considerable trading place. The great plenty of furs taken in this country, induced the French to establish this post, which was the first on the Ouabache, and by a very advantageous trade they have been richly recompensed for their labor.

"*August* 1*st*. The Twigtwee village is situated on both sides of a river, called St. Joseph. This river where it falls into the Miame river, about a quarter of a mile from this place, is one hundred yards wide, on the east side of which stands a stockade fort, somewhat ruinous.

"The Indian village consists of about forty or fifty cabins, besides nine or ten French houses, a runaway colony from Detroit, during the late Indian war; they were concerned in it, and being afraid

of punishment, came to this post, where ever since they have spirited up the Indians against the English. All the French residing here are a lazy, indolent people, fond of breeding mischief, and spiriting up the Indians against the English, and should by no means be suffered to remain here. The country is pleasant, the soil rich and well watered. After several conferences with these Indians, and their delivering me up all the English prisoners they had,——

"On the 6th of August we set out for Detroit, down the Miames river in a canoe.

"*August* 17*th.* In the morning we arrived at the fort, which is a large stockade, inclosing about eighty houses; it stands close on the north side of the river, on a high bank, commands a very pleasant prospect for nine miles above, and nine miles below the fort; the country is thick settled with French, their plantations are generally laid out about three or four acres in breadth on the river, and eighty acres in depth; the soil is good, producing plenty of grain. All the people here are generally poor wretches, and consist of three or four hundred French families, a lazy, idle people, depending chiefly on the savages for their subsistence; though the land, with little labor, produces plenty of grain, they scarcely raise as much as will supply their wants, in imitation of the Indians, whose manners and customs they have entirely adopted, and cannot subsist without them. The men, women, and children speak the Indian tongue perfectly well. In the last Indian war the most part of the French were concerned in it, (although the whole settlement had taken the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty) they have, therefore, great reason to be thankful to the English clemency in not bringing them to deserved punishment. Before the late Indian war there resided three nations of Indians at this place: the Putawatimes, whose village was on the west side of the river, about one mile below the fort; the Ottawas, on the east side, about three miles above the fort; and the Wyandotts, whose village lies on the east side, about two miles below the fort. The former two nations have removed to a considerable distance, and the latter still remain where they were, and are remarkable for their good sense and hospitality. They have a particular attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, the French, by their priests, having taken uncommon pains to instruct them."

There were six settlements of the French on the east of the Mississippi, in what was called the Illinois, which, though not

included in the capitulation of Montreal, were ceded by the treaty of Paris to Great Britain. They were, Cahokia, at the mouth of Cahokia creek, less than four miles below the site of St. Louis; St. Philip, forty-five miles below Cahokia, on the Mississippi; Kaskaskia, on Kaskaskia river, six miles from its mouth; Fort Chartres, about fifteen miles north-west from Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi; Prairie du Rocher, near Fort Chartres; and Vincennes, on the Wabash. All these settlements were under the government of St. Ange de Belle Rive, commandant at Fort Chartres, subordinate to M. D'Abadie, at New Orleans, who was director-general and civil and military commandant of the province of Louisiana, under the king. It was known that Louisiana east of the Mississippi had been surrendered to the English; it was not known that Louisiana west of the Mississippi had been ceded to Spain, and accordingly, immediately after the capitulation of Canada was known in Louisiana, movements were set on foot to extend the settlements and power of France beyond the Mississippi.

The most important of these, was the settlement of St. Louis. On the 16th of March, 1763, after the cession of Western Louisiana to Spain, D'Abadie was appointed governor of Louisiana. Shortly after his arrival, on the 29th of June, at New Orleans, he granted to Pierre Ligeuste Laclede, and his associates, under the name of "The Louisiana Fur Company," a charter containing "the necessary powers to trade with the Indians of Missouri, and those west of the Mississippi, above the Missouri, as far north as the river St. Peters," with authority to establish such posts as they might think fit in furtherance of their enterprise. Accordingly, on the 3d of August, Laclede with his party, including Auguste and Pierre Chouteau in his family, both then very young, left New Orleans, and on the 3d of November, reached St. Genevieve.

At that period there were only two settlements of the French west of the Mississippi, above the post of Arkansas. On the present site of New Madrid, a trading post was established as early, according to tradition, as 1740. The early inhabitants, were chiefly hunters and traders; and, from the great number of bears in that region, their principal occupation was the chase of that animal, and the preparation and sale of bear's oil, which they collected and shipped, by the Kaskaskia traders, to New Orleans. From this circumstance, and from the fact that it was situated on a bend of the river, it was named, in keeping with French Creole humor, "L'Anse d' la Gresse," (greasy bend.) On a beautiful

plateau of alluvion, consisting of some five thousand acres, and extending some three miles below the present town of that name, the old village of St. Genevieve was located. It was settled as an agricultural hamlet about 1755, but, in addition to its agricultural advantages, its proximity to the mines, and its beautiful situation on the Mississippi, invited settlers; and a considerable accession to its population was afterward made by the French, who retired beyond the Mississippi immediately after the treaty of Paris, to avoid the rule of the British.

Laclede found the position of St. Genevieve too far from the mouth of the Missouri to serve his purposes; no house, indeed, in it was found large enough to accommodate his stores. Having been offered by the commandant the use of the store at Fort Chartres for that purpose, he proceeded to that place, where his party spent the winter. In the meantime, he explored the western side of the Mississippi, and chose a site on its western bank, eighteen miles below the mouth of the Missouri. It was a grove of heavy timber skirting the river bank, and behind it, at an elevation of some thirty feet, there extended a beautiful expanse of undulating prairie. Returning to Fort Chartres, he collected his party, increased by some families from Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and the other French villages, and, on the 15th of February, 1764, landed at the site he had chosen, took formal possession of it in the name of France, and laid off the lines of a town which he named St. Louis, in honor of Louis XV.*

The position of the new town was inviting; the French of the Illinois were deeply dissatisfied with the cession of the treaty of Paris, and, to avoid living under the government of their hereditary enemies, and, as they hoped, to remain under the protection of their mother country, many of them crossed the river and located themselves at, or near St. Louis. The hamlets of Vide Poche, or Carondelet, established by De Tergette, in 1767, six miles below St. Louis; Les Petites Cotes, now St. Charles, established by Blanchette, in 1769; Florisant, established by Demegant, between St. Louis and St. Charles, in 1776, and the Portage des Sioux, established about the same time, eight miles above the mouth of

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*St. Louis was long familiarly known to the French on the Mississippi, in accordance with their habits of humorous carricature, by the name of "Pain Court," (Short Bread,) in allusion to the neglect of agriculture by its citizens, who were generally employed in the fur trade.

the Missouri, were also points around which the French population, dissatisfied with the English rule, collected.

Early in February, 1764, Captain George Johnston arrived at Pensacola, with a regiment of troops, to take possession of Louisiana; and, on the 27th of that month, dispatched Major Loftus, to occupy Fort Chartres. Loftus proceeded with his detachment up the Mississippi, until he reached a point ten miles above Red river, where he was attacked by a strong force of Tunica Indians; was slain, with a large number of his men, and the detachment returned. After this reverse, the attempt to occupy the Illinois, was abandoned until after the general peace with the Indians in the next year.

Early in 1765, Captain Stirling, of the British army, was dispatched by Gen. Gage, then commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, by way of Detroit, to the Illinois, to take possession of the posts and settlements of the French east of the Mississippi. On his arrival, St. Ange surrendered Fort Chartres, and retired with the garrison of twenty-one men, and with about one-third of the French inhabitants, to St. Louis, where he exercised the functions of commandant, by the consent of the people, till he was superseded by the Spanish governor Piernas, in 1770. Captain Stirling received the allegiance of the French that remained; and, upon his assuming the government, published the following proclamation from General Gage.

"Whereas, by the peace concluded at Paris, the 10th day of February, 1763, the country of Illinois has been ceded to his Britannic Majesty, and the taking possession of the said country of the Illinois, by the troops of his majesty, though delayed, has been determined upon; we have found it good to make known to the inhabitants—

"That his majesty grants to the inhabitants of the Illinois, the liberty of the Catholic religion, as has already been granted to his subjects in Canada. He has consequently given the most precise and effective orders to the end, that his new Roman Catholic subjects of the Illinois may exercise the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, in the same manner as in Canada.

"That his majesty, moreover, agrees that the French inhabitants or others, who have been subjects of the most Christian king, (the king of France,) may retire in full safety and freedom wherever they please, even to New Orleans, or any part of Louisiana; although

it should happen that the Spaniards take possession of it in the name of his Catholic majesty, (the king of Spain,) and they may sell their estates, provided it be to the subjects of his majesty, and transport their effects as well as their persons, without restraint upon their emigration, under any pretense whatever, except in consequence of debts, or of criminal processes.

"That those who choose to retain their lands, and become subjects of his majesty, shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, the same security for their persons and effects, and the liberty of trades as the old subjects of the king.

"That they are commanded by these presents, to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to his majesty, in presence of Sieur Stirling, captain of the Highland regiment, the bearer hereof, and furnished with our full powers for this purpose.

"That we recommend forcibly to the inhabitants, to conduct themselves like good and faithful subjects, avoiding, by a wise and prudent demeanor, all causes of complaint against them.

"That they act in concert with his majesty's officers, so that his troops may take possession of all the forts, and order be kept in the country. By this means alone they will spare his majesty the necessity of recurring to force of arms, and will find themselves saved from the scourge of a bloody war, and of all the evils which the march of an army into their country would draw after it.

"We direct that these presents be read, published and posted up in the usual places.

"Done and given at head-quarters, New York—signed with our hands—sealed with our seal at arms, and countersigned by our Secretary, this 30th of December, 1764.

"THOMAS GAGE.

"By his Excellency, G. MARTURIN."

Captain Stirling remained but a short time in Illinois. He was succeeded by Major Farmer, of whose administration little is known. Next in office was Colonel Reed, who made himself conspicuous by a series of military oppressions, of which complaints were made without redress. He became odiously unpopular and left the colony. The next in command was Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkins, who arrived at Kaskaskia on the 5th of September, 1768. On the 21st of November following, he issued a proclamation, stating that he had received orders from General Gage to establish a court of justice in Illinois, for settling all disputes and controversies between man and man, and all claims in relation to pro-

perty, both real and personal. As military commandant, Colonel Wilkins appointed seven judges, who met and held their first court at Fort Chartres, December 6th, 1768. Courts were then held once in each month. Even this system, though greatly preferable to a military tribunal, was far from satisfying the claims of the people. They insisted on a trial by jury, which being denied them, the court became unpopular. In 1772, the seat of government was removed to Kaskaskia. It is not known at what period Colonel Wilkins left the country, nor who succeeded him. When it was taken possession of by Colonel Clark, in 1778, M. Rochblave was commandant.

A detailed and interesting description of the French settlements of the Illinois, at the time of their cession to Great Britain, is given in "The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi," by Captain Philip Pitman—a quarto volume published in London, in 1770. Capt. Pitman was military engineer in the British army, and in that capacity was sent to survey the forts, munitions of war and towns in Florida, in 1763, when the British took possession of that country. Having surveyed the fortifications of Pensacola and Mobile, near the gulf, he proceeded to the settlements on the Mississippi, and, after surveying the posts in Louisiana, he reached Illinois about 1766. He describes "the country of Illinois, as bounded by the Mississippi on the west, by the river Illinois on the north, the rivers Ouabache and Miamies on the east, and the Ohio on the south." Of this tract of country he says:

"The air, in general, is pure, and the sky serene, except in the month of March, and the latter end of September, when there are heavy rains and hard gales of wind. The months of May, June, July, and August, are excessively hot, and subject to sudden and violent storms. January and February are extremely cold, the other months in the year are moderate."

Very probably during the seasons Captain Pitman was in Illinois, "heavy rains" occurred in the latter end of September, but in the proportion of five years out of six, the autumnal months are dry, the pastures decay, and the farmers find inconvenience in sowing wheat, from the drouth. During the periodical rise of the rivers in the spring, and especially the annual rise of the Missouri in June, rain falls to a greater or less extent. Captain Pitman, whose accuracy, in general, cannot be questioned, probably drew his comparison of the climate and seasons in Illinois with England, to which he had been accustomed. He continues—

"The principal Indian nations in this country are the Caseas-

quias, Kahoquias, Mitchigamias, and Peoryas; these four tribes are generally called the Illinois Indians. Except in the hunting seasons, they reside near the English settlements in this country. They are a poor, debauched, and detestable people. They count about three hundred and fifty warriors. The Pianquichas, Mascoutins, Miamies, Kickapous, and Pyatonons, though not very numerous, are a brave and war-like people.

"The soil of this country, in general, is very rich and luxuriant; it produces all sorts of European grains, hops, hemp, flax, cotton, and tobacco, and European fruits come to great perfection.

"The inhabitants make wine of the wild grapes, which is very inebriating, and is, in color and taste, very like the red wine of *Provence.*

"In the late wars, New Orleans and the lower parts of Louisiana were supplied with flour, beef, wines, hams, and other provisions, from this country. At present its commerce is mostly confined to the peltry and furs, which are got in traffic from the Indians; for which are received in return, such European commodities as are necessary to carry on that commerce, and the support of the inhabitants."

Of Fort Chartres, which was rebuilt in 1756, under the authority of the French government, in view of the hostilities then existing between England and France, for the possession of the country on the Ohio, Captain Pitman gives the following description:—

"Fort Chartres, when it belonged to France, was the seat of government of the Illinois. The head-quarters of the English commanding officer is now here, who, in fact, is the arbitrary governor of this country. The fort is an irregular quadrangle; the sides of the exterior polygon are 490 feet. It is built of stone, is plastered over, and is only designed as a defense against the Indians. The walls are two feet two inches thick, and are pierced with loop-holes at regular distances, and with two port-holes for cannon in the faces, and two in the flanks of each bastion. The ditch has never been finished. The entrance to the fort is through a very handsome rustic gate. Within the walls is a banquette raised three feet, for the men to stand on when they fire through the loop-holes. The buildings within the fort are, a commandant's and commissary's house, the magazine of stores, corps de garde, and two barracks; these occupy the square. Within the gorges of the bastion are a powder magazine, a bake-house, and a prison, in the lower floor of which are four dungeons, and in the upper, two rooms, and an out-house belonging to commandant. The commandant's house is thirty-two

yards long, and ten broad, and contains a kitchen, a dining-room, a bed-chamber, one small room, five closets for servants, and a cellar. The commissary's house, (now occupied by officers,) is built on the same line as this, and its proportion and the distribution of its apartments are the same. Opposite these are the store-house and the guard-house; they are each thirty yards long, and eight broad. The former consists of two large store-rooms, (under which is a large vaulted cellar,) a large room, a bed-chamber, and a closet for the store-keeper; the latter of a soldiers' and officers' guard-room, a chapel, a bed-chamber, a closet for the chaplain, and an artillery store-room. The lines of barracks have never been finished; they at present consist of two rooms each for officers, and three for soldiers: they are each twenty feet square, and have betwixt them a small passage. There are fine spacious lofts over each building, which reach from end to end; these are made use of to lodge regimental stores, working and entrenching tools, &c. It is generally believed that this is the most convenient and best built fort in North America."

In 1756, the fort stood half a mile from the bank of the river; in 1766, it was eighty yards. In two years after, Captain Pitman states:—

"The bank of the Mississippi, next the fort, is continually falling in, being worn away by the current, which has been turned from its course by a sand-bank, now increased to a considerable island, covered with willows. Many experiments have been tried to stop this growing evil, but to no purpose. Eight years ago the river was fordable to the Island; the channel is now forty feet deep.

"In the year 1764, there were about forty families in the village near the fort, and a parish church, served by a Franciscan friar, dedicated to Ste. Anne. In the following year, when the English took possession of the country, they abandoned their houses, except three or four poor families, and settled in the villages on the west side of the Mississippi, choosing to continue under the French government."

About the year 1770, the river made further encroachments, and in 1772, it inundated portions of the American bottom, and formed a channel so near this fort, that the wall and two bastions on the west side, next the river, were undermined and fell into it. The British garrison abandoned the place, and it has never since been occupied. Those portions of the wall which escaped the flood, have been removed by the inhabitants of Kaskaskia and adjacent settlements for building purposes.

In 1820, Dr. Lewis C. Beck, of New York, while collecting materials for his Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri, visited these ruins, and made a complete and accurate survey, with an engraved plan of the fort as it then appeared. The line of the exterior wall was one thousand four hundred and forty-seven feet. The two houses, formerly occupied by the commandant and commissary, were each ninety-six feet in length and thirty feet in breadth.

The following description, as it then appeared, is from Beck's Gazetteer:

"In front, all that remains is a small stone cellar, which has no doubt been a magazine; some distance above, or north of this, is an excavation in the earth, which has the appearance of having been burned; it may have been a furnace for heating shot, as one of the cannon must have been in this vicinity. Not a vestige of the wall is to be seen on this side, except a few stones, which still remain in the ravine below. At the south-east angle there is a gate, and the wall is perfect. It is about fifteen feet high and three feet thick, and is built of coarse lime-stone, quarried in the hills about two miles distant, and is well cemented. The south side is, with few exceptions, perfect; as is also the south-east bastion. The north-east is generally in ruins. On the east face are two port holes for cannon, which are still perfect; they are about three feet square, formed by solid rocks or clefts worked smooth, and into proper shape; here is also a large gate, eighteen feet wide, the sides of which still remain in a state of tolerable preservation; the cornices and casements, however, which formerly ornamented it, have all been taken away. A considerable portion of the north side of the fort has also been destroyed.

"The houses which make up the square inside are generally in ruins. Sufficient, however, remains to enable the visitor to ascertain exactly their dimensions and relative situations. The well, which is little injured by time, is about twenty-four feet north of the north-east house, which, according to Pitman, was the commandant's house. The banquette is entirely destroyed. The magazine is in a perfect state, and is an uncommon specimen of solidity. Its walls are four feet thick, and it is arched in the inside.

"Over the whole fort there is a considerable growth of trees, and in the hall of the houses there is an oak about eighteen inches in diameter."

There is now a large island in the river where a sand-bar "covered with willows," had commenced at the period of Captain Pitman's survey. A "slough" is next the ruins. Trees more than

three feet in diameter, are within the walls. It is a ruin in the midst of a dense forest, and did we not know its origin and history, it might furnish a fruitful theme of antiquarian speculation.

Captain Pitman gives the following description of *Kaskaskia*, or, according to the French orthography of the period, which he follows, *Cascasquias*.

"The Village of Notre Dame de Cascasquias, is by far the most considerable settlement in the country of Illinois, as well from its number of inhabitants, as from its advantageous situation.

"Mons. Paget was the first who introduced water mills in this country, and he constructed a very fine one on the river Cascasquias, which was both for grinding corn and sawing boards. It lies about one mile from the village. The mill proved fatal to him, being killed as he was working it, with two negroes, by a party of Cherokees, in the year 1764.

"The principal buildings are, the church and Jesuits' house, which has a small chapel adjoining it; these, as well as some other houses in the village, are built of stone, and, considering this part of the world, make a very good appearance. The Jesuits' plantation consisted of two hundred and forty arpents of cultivated land,* a very good stock of cattle, and a brewery; which was sold by the French commandant, after the country was ceded to the English, for the crown, in consequence of the suppression of the order.

"Mons. Beauvais was the purchaser, who is the richest of the English subjects in this country; he keeps eighty slaves; he furnishes eighty-six thousand weight of flour to the king's magazine, which was only a part of the harvest he reaped in one year.

"Sixty-five families reside in this village, besides merchants, other casual people, and slaves. The fort, which was burnt down in October, 1766, stood on the summit of a high rock opposite the village, and on the opposite side of the Kaskaskia river. It was an oblongular quadrangle, of which the exterior polygon measured two hundred and ninety, by two hundred and fifty-one feet. It was built of very thick, squared timber, and dove-tailed at the angles. An officer and twenty soldiers are quartered in the village. The officer governs the inhabitants, under the direction of the commandant at Chartres. Here are also two companies of militia."

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* An *arpent* is 85-100ths of an English acre.

Prairie du Rocher, or "La Prairie de Roches," as Captain Pitman has it, is next described—

"As about seventeen [fourteen] miles from Cascasquias. It is a small village, consisting of twelve dwelling-houses, all of which are inhabited by as many families. Here is a little chapel, formerly a chapel of ease to the church at Fort Chartres. The inhabitants here are very industrious, and raise a great deal of corn, and every kind of stock. The village is two miles from Fort Chartres. It takes its name from its situation, being built under a rock that runs parallel with the river Mississippi, at a league distance, for forty miles up. Here is a company of militia, the captain of which regulates the police of the village."

"Saint Philippe is a small village about five miles from Fort Chartres, on the road to Kaoquias. There are about sixteen houses and a small church standing; all of the inhabitants, except the captain of the militia, deserted it, 1765, and went to the French side [Missouri]. The captain of the militia has about twenty slaves, a good stock of cattle, and a water-mill for corn and planks. This village stands in a very fine meadow, about one mile from the Mississippi."

Next follows a description of Cahokia, or, in the orthography of the time, "Kaoquias." It will be remembered that Captain Pitman was officially employed in surveying all the forts, villages, and improvements, to be found in the English territories on the Mississippi and gulf of Mexico; that he was engaged several years in this work, by personal observation, and that the work from which these extracts are made is an official document of great value, as filling up a chasm in the history of Illinois, for which no other correct sources of information are to be found.

"The village of Saint Famille de Kaoquias," Pitman writes, "is generally reckoned fifteen leagues from Fort Chartres, and six leagues below the mouth of the Missouri. It stands near the side of the Mississippi, and is marked from the river by an island of two leagues long. The village is opposite the centre of this island; it is long and straggling, being three-quarters of a mile from one end to the other. It contains forty-five dwelling-houses, and a church near its centre. The situation is not well chosen; as in the floods it is generally overflowed two or three feet. This was the first settlement on the Mississippi. The land was purchased of the savages by a few Canadians, some of whom married women of the Kaoquias nation, and others brought wives from Canada, and then resided there, leaving their children to succeed them.

"The inhabitants of this place depend more on hunting, and their Indian trade, than on agriculture, as they scarcely raise corn enough for their own consumption; they have a great plenty of poultry, and good stocks of horned cattle.

"The mission of St. Sulpice had a very fine plantation here, and an excellent house built on it. They sold this estate, and a very good mill for corn and planks, to a Frenchman who chose to remain under the English government. They also disposed of thirty negroes and a good stock of cattle, to different people in the country, and returned to France in 1764. What is called the fort, is a small house standing in the centre of the village. It differs nothing from the other houses, except in being one of the poorest. It was formerly inclosed with high palisades, but these were torn down and burnt. Indeed, a fort at this place could be of little use."

The cession of Western Louisiana was made by a secret treaty to Spain, and, in the terms of the cession, it was stipulated that it should remain under the nominal government of France, till the court of Madrid was prepared to receive and occupy it. It was with this view that D'Abadie, who was ignorant that the region he was sent to govern was really the province of a foreign power, was appointed to the government of Louisiana. All his measures, and all the calculations of the people were made on the supposition that Western Louisiana was to remain the permanent colony of France; but, to his great surprise, he received an autograph letter from the king, dated April 21st, 1764, containing an official announcement of the cession of his province to Spain, and enclosing copies of the act of cession and of the act of acceptance.* The letter of the king ran thus:

"Louis XV. to M. D'Abadie.

"Monsieur D'Abadie, by a private act passed at Fontainbleau, on the 3d of November, 1762, having of my own free will, ceded to my very dear and beloved cousin, the king of Spain, and to his successors and heirs, in full property, completely, and without reserve or restriction, all the country known under the name of Louisiana, and, also, New Orleans, with the island in which it is situated; and by another act, passed at the Escurial and signed by the king of Spain, on the 13th of November, of the same year, his

* Gayarre's French Domination in Louisiana, vol. 2.

Catholic Majesty having accepted the cession of Louisiana and of the town of New Orleans, as will appear by copies of said acts hereunto annexed; I write you this letter to inform you that my intention is, that, on the receipt of it, and of the documents thereto annexed, whether they are handed to you by officers of his Catholic Majesty, or in a direct line by the French ships to which they are entrusted, you deliver up into the hands of the Governor, or of the colony of Louisiana, with the settlements or posts thereto appertaining, together with the town and island of New Orleans, such as they may be found on the day of the said delivery, it being my will that, for the future, they belong to his Catholic Majesty, to be administered by his governors and officers as belonging to him, fully, and without reserve and exception.

"I order you, accordingly, as soon as the Governor and the troops of that monarch shall have arrived in the said country and colony, to put them in possession thereof, and to withdraw all the officers, soldiers, or other persons employed under my government, and to send to France, and to my other colonies of America, such of them as will not be disposed to remain under the Spanish dominion.

"I desire, moreover, that, after the entire evacuation of the said post and town of New Orleans, you gather up all the papers relative to the finances and administration of the colony of Louisiana, and that you come to France to account for them.

"My intention is, however, that you deliver up to the said Governor, or other officers duly authorized, all the papers and documents which concern specially the government of that colony, either with regard to the limits of that territory, or with regard to the Indians and the different posts, after having obtained proper receipts for your discharge, and that you give to the said Governor all the information in your power, to enable him to govern the said colony to the mutual satisfaction of both nations.

"My will is, that a duplicate inventory of all the artillery, warehouses, hospitals, vessels, and other effects which belong to me in the said colony, be made and signed by you and the Commissary of his Catholic Majesty, in order that, after your having put the said Commissary in possession of the same, there be drawn up a verbal process of the appraisement of such of said effects as will remain in the colony, and the value of which shall be reimbursed by his Catholic Majesty in conformity with the said appraisement.

"I hope, at the same time, for the advantage and tranquillity of the inhabitants of the colony of Louisiana, and I flatter myself, in consequence of the friendship and affection of his Catholic Majesty,

that he will be pleased so to instruct his Governor or any other of his officers employed by him in said colony, and said town of New Orleans, that all ecclesiastics and religious communities shall continue to perform their functions of curates and missionaries, and to enjoy the rights, privileges, and exemptions granted to them; that all the judges of ordinary jurisdiction, together with the superior council, shall continue to administer justice according to the laws, forms, and usages of the colony, that the titles of the inhabitants to their property shall be confirmed in accordance with the concessions made by the Governors and Ordinary Commissaries of said colony; and that said concessions shall be looked upon and held as confirmed by his Catholic Majesty, although they may not, as yet, have been confirmed by me; hoping, moreover, that his Catholic Majesty will be pleased to give to his subjects of Louisiana the marks of protection and good-will which they have received under my domination, and which would have been more effectual if not counteracted by the calamities of war.

"I order you to have this letter registered by the superior council of New Orleans, in order that the people of the colony, of all ranks and conditions, be informed of its contents, that they may avail themselves of it, if need be; such being my sole object in writing this letter.

"I pray God, Monsieur D'Abadie, to have you in his holy keeping.

Signed, LOUIS."

When D'Abadie published the instructions he had received, the colony of Louisiana was plunged into the deepest consternation. Although partially prepared for the event, by the dismemberment of their country, their fortitude was not steeled to meet this new misfortune. As Frenchmen, their pride was wounded by the mutilation and abandonment of the French empire they had toiled to establish in America. As men, they felt the degradation of being bartered away to alien powers, without their own consent. As property holders and members of society, they dreaded the effect of a change of laws and government. Accordingly, they resolved to petition the government to allow them yet to live under the laws and protection of France. A convention of all the parishes of lower Louisiana, was held at New Orleans, an address to the king was adopted, praying him not to sever them from the mother country, and Jean Milhet was deputed to carry it to the foot of the throne. Arriving at Paris, he waited upon the aged

Bienville, and astonished him with the information, that Louisiana, whose foundation he had laid, and for the good of which he had done so much, was being divided between his old enemies, the English and the Spanairds. Together they sought the Prime Minister, the Duke of Choiseul. Milhet presented the address of the people, and urged all the considerations that ought to influence France to retain her American empire. The Duke only replied, he could not change the course of things. Bienville, on his knees, prayed the minister to reconsider the decree issued against the colony. It was in vain; De Choiseul himself had advised the cession. The burthen of the Louisiana colony was too great to be borne. Crozat had spent many millions of livres in vain to establish it. More than twenty millions had been lost by the India company, with the same result. Forty to fifty millions had been sacrificed by the government, in the attempt to colonize Louisiana. And yet it returned no revenue, yet it languished, yet it demanded more and greater outlays to maintain it. France, exhausted and prostrated by long wars, could do no more; and it was better that Louisiana should be given to the hereditary ally of France, than conquered by its hereditary foe. Thus they were dismissed. Bienville died shortly after, of grief, and Milhet returned to announce to the colonists that there was no relief for them.

On the 4th of February, 1765, D'Abadie died of grief, it is said, at the loss of Louisiana, and Aubry succeeded him in the provisional government. After a long delay, and much anxiety of the people, Antonio de Ulloa arrived, with ninety men, on the 5th of March, 1766, as the representative of the Spanish government, to take possession of the colony, and govern it in the name of his master. De Ulloa, was not well fitted for the post. Almost alone among the Spaniards of his day, he had earned a European reputation for his scientific culture. At the age of nineteen, he was appointed by the Royal Academy, to a commission sent by the Spanish and French governments, to Peru, to determine the configuration of the earth. Returning, he was taken prisoner by the English, and carried to London, and, in this singular way, introduced himself to the savans of the Royal Society. Released, through its interference, he traveled through Europe, at the command of the king, to study for the benefit of Spain, the science of other nations. On the accession of Charles III, he was raised to the rank of commodore of the fleet of the Indies. And now he was appointed to take possession of and organize the new colony

of Louisiana. His instructions were liberal to the colonists; no change was to be made in the laws and administration to which they were accustomed. They were not to be amenable to the ministry of the Indies; but to have a direct appeal to the protection of the king.

De Ulloa was received by the French coldly and sullenly. They had exhausted every means to avoid the execution of the treaty of cession. Even yet, they believed it was not sincerely designed to sever them from their mother country. Accordingly, they threw every obstacle in the way of their new governor. Every arrangement was made to conciliate their feelings, and every act for their benefit was received with scorn. In the face of such discontent, De Ulloa declined to receive the government, and continued to govern through Aubry, under the French name. The spirit of the colonists rose with his indecision. A conspiracy was formed; a decree was passed in the colonial council, to expel him from the colony. To justify this act, the council addressed a memorial to the French court, filled with complaints against De Ulloa, the most frivolous and unfounded. France refused to endorse this act, but De Ulloa, disappointed in the expectation of receiving the Spanish troops promised him, abandoned the country and resigned his office. A profound sensation was created by these events in the Spanish cabinet; and Don Alexandro O'Reilly, inspector and lieutenant-general of the royal armies, was appointed to the post of governor, with orders to put down the insurrection, and punish its leaders.

O'Reilly was born in Ireland about the year 1735, left his country at an early age, on account of the disabilities to which his religion subjected him, and enlisted in the Spanish army. In the war of the succession he served with distinction, in the Hibernian regiment, in Italy. In 1757, he joined the Austrian army, and served against the Prussians. In 1759, he joined, and distinguished himself in the army of France. Later, he returned to Spain, and taught the Spanish troops the tactics of the empire. Gradually his great services, in spite of the Spanish antipathy to foreigners, earned him reputation and promotion, and in 1762 he was raised to the second in command, and intrusted with the important duty of restoring the fortifications of Cuba. Preserving the vivacity and excitability of his race, he yet had acquired the pride and nature of a Spaniard, and the precise inflexibility of a man of the camp. One act only of severity attaches to his memory, and that doubtless is chargeable rather to his instruction than to his spirit. Such was

the man who was now sent to settle the difficulties of the new colony of Louisiana.

He arrived at Balize on the 24th of July, 1769, with a force of two thousand six hundred men. On the 18th of August he landed at New Orleans, and with great ceremony, took possession of Louisiana, in the name of his Catholic Majesty. No resistance was offered by the colonists, and O'Reilly assumed the government, superseded the municipal authorities, introduced the Spanish laws, and received the allegiance of all the people of the colony. Twelve of the chiefs of the revolt were arrested; one of them died of rage and fear, or was killed by his guard, on the day of the arrest. They were tried by a military tribunal, under the unfamiliar forms of Spanish law, demurred to the jurisdiction of the court, and plead that they were amenable only to the laws of France until the act of cession was consummated, by the formal delivery of the country to the Spanish authorities. Their pleas were overruled; they were found guilty of high treason, five of them were shot; the remaining seven were imprisoned in the Moro Castle, at Havana.

O'Reilly assumed the functions of military governor of Louisiana, and ruled the colony for a year with the impartial severity of his character. After having suppressed the insurrection, and settled the government, he surrendered his authority to Don Louis de Unzaga, on the 29th of October, and returned to Spain. Late in that year, Pedro Piernas, the commandant of the detachment of troops first brought into the colony by Ulloa, was sent to St. Louis, superseded St. Ange, and assumed the government of Upper Louisiana.

Thus ended the French domination in America. The English had previously taken possession of all Louisiana east of the Mississippi. Lower Louisiana was reduced to a Spanish province, and the surrender of St. Louis by St. Ange was the last act of the French authority over the land for which they had contended so long, and which they loved so well.

The population of Western Louisiana in 1769, when it passed into the hands of the Spaniards, is estimated by Martin to be thirteen thousand five hundred and thirty-eight, of which eight hundred and ninety-one were located in the Illinois, west of the Mississippi. East of the Mississippi, and before the French crossed the river to avoid the British rule, the population of the several villages and posts was on that side estimated at about three thousand.

The French population of Louisiana had grown up into a com-

munity of peculiar character. Their national spirit, their intercourse with the Indians, and their seclusion from the world, developed among them peculiar characteristics. Especially was this the case among the French of the Illinois. The French officers, indeed, were gentlemen of culture, and refinement, and energy, but the *paysans* were an illiterate, contented, careless, and joyous race, without energy, enterprise, or foresight. They alone of all the European populations of the New World, assimilated themselves with the Indians, adopted their habits, and lived in uninterrupted harmony with them. The traders scattered through the west, conducted the trade with the Indians, supplied to them in exchange for their furs articles of European luxury and convenience, and distributed presents with which French policy purchased the friendship and support of the tribes. The *couriers des bois* roamed over the wilderness, hunted and lived among the Indians, and collected peltries from the remote tribes. The *voyageurs* carried in their birch canoes the goods and furs of the traffic along the rivers and over the portages of the West, to the St. Lawrence and Mississippi.

The settlements were small, compact villages, where the children, in patriarchal style, gathered around the home of their parents. Their houses were simple, plain cottages of wood and clay, generally clustered together for protection and social convenience. The "common field" was always adjoining. It was a large enclosure, surrounded by a common fence, for the use of the villagers. Every family, in proportion to the number of its members, was entitled to a share in it. All the operations of agriculture in the common field were regulated by special enactments.

The "common" was a tract of land unenclosed, near the village, set apart for the joint use of all the villagers for a common pasture, and for the supply of fuel and timber.

By this arrangement, something like a community system existed in their intercourse. If the head of a family was sick, met with any casualty, or was absent as an *engagee*, his family sustained little inconvenience. His plat in the common field was cultivated by his neighbors and the crop gathered. A pleasant custom existed in these French villages not thirty years since, and which had come down from the remotest period. The husbandman on his return at evening, from his daily toil, was always met by his affectionate *femme* with the friendly kiss; and, very commonly with one, perhaps two of the youngest children, to receive the same salutation from *le pere*. This daily interview was at the gate

of the door-yard, and in view of all the villagers. The simple-hearted people were a happy and contented race. A few traits of these ancient characteristics remain, but most of the descendants of the French are fully Americanized.

They were devout Catholics, and under the guidance of their priests attended punctually upon all the holidays and festivals, and performed faithfully all the outward duties and ceremonies of the church. Aside from this, their religion was blended with their social feelings. Sunday, after mass, was the especial occasion for their games and assemblies. In all their meetings the dance was the especial amusement; and all classes, ages, sexes and conditions, united by a common love of enjoyment, were all together participants in the exciting pleasure.

"They made no attempt to acquire land from the Indians, to organize a social system, to introduce municipal regulations, or to establish military defenses, but cheerfully obeyed the priests and the king's officers, and enjoyed the present, without troubling their heads about the future. They seem to have been even careless as to the acquisition of property, and its transmission to their heirs. Finding themselves in a fruitful country, abounding in game, where the necessaries of life could be procured with little labor, where no restraints were imposed by government, and neither tribute and personal service was exacted, they were content to live in unambitious peace and comfortable poverty. They took possession of so much of the vacant land around them as they were disposed to till, and no more. Their agriculture was rude; and, even to this day, some of the implements of husbandry, and modes of cultivation, brought from France a century ago, remain unchanged by the *march of mind* or the hand of innovation. Their houses were comfortable, and they reared fruits and flowers; evincing, in this respect, an attention to comfort and luxury which has not been practiced among the English or American first settlers; but in the accumulation of property, and in all the essentials of industry, they were indolent and improvident, rearing only the bare necessaries of life, and living from generation to generation without change or improvement.

"The only new articles which the French adopted in consequence of their change of residence, were those connected with the fur trade. The few who were engaged in merchandise, turned their attention almost exclusively to the traffic with the Indians, while a large number became hunters and boatmen. The *voyageurs*, *engagees*, and *couriers des bois*, as they are called, form a peculiar

race of men. They are active, sprightly, and remarkably expert in their vocation. With all the vivacity of the French character, they have little of the intemperance and brutal coarseness usually found among the boatmen and mariners. They are patient under fatigue, and endure an astonishing degree of toil and exposure to weather. Accustomed to live in the open air, they pass through every extreme, and all the sudden vicissitudes of climate, with little apparent inconvenience. Their boats are managed with expertness, and even grace, and their toil enlivened by the song. As hunters, they have roved over the whole of the wide plain of the west, to the Rocky Mountains, sharing the hospitality of the Indians, abiding for long periods, and even permanently, with the tribes, and sometimes seeking their alliance by marriage. As boatmen they navigate the birch canoe to the sources of the longest rivers, and pass from one river to another, by laboriously carrying the packages of merchandise, and the boat itself, across mountains, or through swamps or woods; so that no obstacle stops their progress. Like the Indian, they can live on game, without condiment or bread; like him, they sleep in the open air, or plunge into the water at any season, without injury." *

* Hall's Sketches of the West.

So stood matters in the West. All beyond the Alleghenies, 1765.] with the exception of a few forts and the Illinois settlements of the French, on the Wabash, Kaskaskia, Mississippi and Detroit rivers, was a wilderness. The Indians, a few years since undisputed owners of the prairies and broad vales, now held them by sufferance, having been twice conquered by the arms of England. They, of course, felt both hatred and fear; and, while they despaired of holding their lands, and looked forward to unknown evils, the deepest and most abiding spirit of revenge was roused within them. They had seen the British coming to take their hunting grounds upon the strength of a treaty they knew nothing of. They had been forced to admit British troops into their country; and, though now nominally protected from settlers, that promised protection would be but an incentive to passion, in case it was not in good faith extended to them; and this was not done by either individuals or the government. During the year that succeeded the treaty of German Flats, settlers crossed the mountains and took possession of lands in western Virginia, and along the Monongahela. The Indians having received no pay for these lands, murmured, and once more a border war was feared. General Gage, commander of the King's forces, was applied to, probably through Sir William Johnson, and issued his orders for the removal of the settlers; but they defied his commands and his power, and remained where they were.*

Not only were frontier men thus passing the line tacitly agreed on, but Sir William himself was even then meditating a step which would have produced a general Indian war. This was the purchase and settlement of an immense tract south of the Ohio river, where an independent colony was to be formed. How early this plan was conceived is not known; but Franklin's letters affirm that it was in contemplation in the spring of 1766.† At this time, Franklin was in

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* Plain Facts, p. 65. † Spark's Franklin, vol. iv., p. 233, *et seq.*

London, and was written to by his son, Governor Franklin, of New Jersey, with regard to the proposed colony. The plan seems to have been, to buy of the Six Nations the lands south of the Ohio, a purchase which it was not doubted Sir William might make, and then to procure from the king a grant of as much territory as the Company, which it was intended to form, would require. Governor Franklin accordingly forwarded to his father an application for a grant, together with a letter from Sir William, recommending the plan to the ministry; all of which was duly communicated to the proper department. But at that time there were various interests bearing upon this plan of Franklin. The old Ohio Company was still suing, through its agent, Colonel George Mercer, for a perfection of the original grant. The soldiers claiming under Dinwiddie's proclamation had their tale of rights and grievances. Individuals to whom grants had been made by Virginia wished them completed. General Lyman, from Connecticut, was soliciting a new grant similar to that now asked by Franklin; and the ministers themselves were divided as to the policy and propriety of establishing any settlements so far in the interior—Shelburne being in favor of the new colonies—Hillsborough opposed to them.

The Company was organized, however, in the autumn of 1767, and the nominally leading man in it being Mr. Thomas Walpole, a London banker of eminence, it was known as the Walpole Company. Franklin continued privately to make friends among the ministry, and to press upon them the policy of making large settlements in the West; and, as the old way of managing the Indians by superintendents, was just then in bad odor, in consequence of the expense attending it, the cabinet council so far approved the new plan as to present it for examination to the Board of Trade, with members of which Franklin had also been privately conversing.

But, before any conclusion was arrived at, it was necessary to arrange definitely that boundary line, which had been vaguely talked of in 1765, and with respect to which Sir William Johnson had written to the ministry, who had mislaid his letters, and given him no instructions. The necessity of arranging this boundary was also kept in the mind by the continued and growing irritation of the Indians, who found themselves invaded from every side. This irritation became so great during the autumn of 1767, that Gage wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania on the subject. The governor communicated his letter to the Assembly on the 5th of

January, 1768, and representations were at once sent to England, expressing the necessity of having the Indian line fixed. Franklin all this time was urging the same necessity upon the ministers in England; and about Christmas of 1767, Sir William's letters on the subject having been found, orders were sent him to complete the proposed purchase from the Six Nations, and settle all differences. But the project for a colony was for the time dropped, a new administration coming in which was not that way disposed.

Sir William Johnson having received, early in the spring, the orders from England relative to a new treaty with the Indians, at once took steps to secure a full attendance.* Notice was given to the various colonial governments, to the Six Nations, the Delawares, and the Shawanese, and a congress was appointed to meet at Fort Stanwix during the following October, (1768). It met upon the 24th of that month, and was attended by representatives from New Jersey, Virginia, and Pennsylvania; by Sir William and his deputies; by the agents of those traders who had suffered in the war of 1763; and by deputies from all the Six Nations, the Delawares and the Shawanese.

The first point to be settled was the boundary line, which was to determine the Indian lands of the West from that time forward; and this line the Indians, upon the 1st of November, stated should begin on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Cherokee (or Tennessee) river; thence go up the Ohio and Allegheny to Kittanning; thence across to the Susquehanna, &c.; whereby the whole country south of the Ohio and Allegheny, *to which the Six Nations had any claim*, was transferred to the British. One deed for a part of this land was made on the 3d of November, to William Trent, attorney for twenty-two traders, whose goods had been destroyed by the Indians in 1763. The tract conveyed by this was between the Kanawha and Monongahela, and was by the traders named Indiana. Two days afterward a deed for the remaining western lands was made to the king, and the price agreed on paid down. These deeds were made upon the express agreement that no claim should ever be based upon previous treaties, those of Lancaster, Logstown, &c.; and they were signed by the chiefs of the Six Nations, for themselves, their allies and dependents, the Shawanese, Delawares, Mingoes of Ohio, and others; but the Shawanese and Delaware deputies present did not sign them. On this treaty, in a great

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* For an account of this long-lost treaty, see Plain Facts, pp. 65–104.

measure, rests the title by purchase to Kentucky, Western Virginia, and Western Pennsylvania, and the authority of the Six Nations to sell that country rests on their claim by conquest.

But besides the claim of the Iroquois and the north-west Indians to Kentucky, it was also claimed by the Cherokees; and it is worthy of remembrance that the treaty of Lochabar, made in October, 1770, two years after the Stanwix treaty, recognized a title in the southern Indians to all the country west of a line drawn from a point six miles east of Big or Long island, in Holston river, to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, although their rights to all the lands north and east of the Kentucky river was purchased by Colonel Donaldson, either for the king, Virginia, or himself—it is impossible to say which.

But the grant of the great northern confederacy was made. The white man could now quiet his conscience when driving the native from his forest home, and feel sure that an army would back his pretensions. A new company was at once organized in Virginia, called the "Mississippi Company," and a petition sent to the king, for two and a half millions of acres in the West. Among the signers of this were Francis Lightfoot Lee, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, and Authur Lee. The gentleman last named was the agent for the petitioners in England. This application was referred to the Board of Trade on the 9th of March, 1769, and after that nothing is known of it.

The Board of Trade, however, was again called on to report upon the application of the Walpole Company, and Lord Hillsborough, the president, reported against it. This called out Franklin's celebrated "Ohio Settlement," a paper written with so much ability, that the King's Council put by the official report, and granted the petition, a step which mortified the noble lord so much that he resigned his official station. The petition now needed only the royal sanction, which was not given until August 14th, 1772; but in 1770, the Ohio Company was merged into Walpole's and the claims of the soldiers of 1756, being acknowledged both by the new company and by government, all claims were quieted. Nothing was ever done, however, under the grant to Walpole, the Revolution soon coming upon America. After the Revolution, Mr. Walpole and his associates petitioned Congress respecting their lands, called by them "Vandalia," but could get no help from that body. What was finally done by Virginia with the claims of this and other companies is not known, but doubtless their lands were all looked on as forfeited.

During the ten years in which Franklin, Pownall, and their friends were trying to get the great western land company into operation, actual settlers were crossing the mountains all too rapidly; for the Ohio Indians "viewed the settlements with an uneasy and jealous eye," and "did not scruple to say, that they must be compensated for their right, if people settled thereon, notwithstanding the cession by the Six Nations."*

It has been said, also, that Lord Dunmore, then governor of Virginia, authorized surveys and settlements on the western lands, notwithstanding the proclamation of 1763, but Mr. Sparks gives a letter from him, in which this is expressly denied. However, surveys did go down even to the falls of the Ohio, and the whole region south of the Ohio was filling with white men.

Among the foremost speculators in western lands at that time was George Washington. He had always regarded the proclamation of 1763 as a mere temporary expedient, to quiet the savages, and being better acquainted with the value of western lands than most of those who could command means, he early began to buy beyond the mountains. His agent in selecting lands was Col. Crawford, afterward burnt by the Ohio Indians. In September, 1767, Washington wrote to Crawford on this subject, and looking forward to the occupation of the western territory; in 1770 he crossed the mountains, going down the Ohio to the mouth of the great Kanawha; and in 1773, being entitled, under the King's proclamation of 1763, (which gave a bounty to officers and soldiers who had served in the French war,) to ten thousand acres of land, he became deeply interested in the country beyond the mountains, and had some correspondence respecting the importation of settlers from Europe. He had patents for thirty-two thousand three hundred and seventy-three acres—nine thousand one hundred and fifty-seven on the Ohio, between the Kanawhas, with a river front of thirteen and a half miles; twenty-three thousand two hundred and sixteen acres on the great Kanawha, with a river front of forty miles. Besides these lands, he owned, fifteen miles below Wheeling, five hundred and eighty-seven acres, with a front of two and a half miles. He considered the land worth $3.33 per acre. Indeed, had not the revolutionary war been just then on the eve of breaking out, Washington would, in all probability, have become

* Washington's "Journal to the West, in 1770." Spark's Washington, vol. ii. p. 531.

the leading settler of the West, and all our history, perhaps, have been changed.

But while in England, and along the Atlantic, men were talking of peopling the West, south of the river Ohio, a few obscure individuals, unknown to Walpole, to Franklin, and to Washington, were taking those steps which actually resulted in its settlement.

Notwithstanding the fact, that so much attention had been given to the settlement of the West, even before the French war, it does not appear that any Europeans, either French or English, had, at the time the treaty of Fort Stanwix was made, thoroughly examined that most lovely region near the Kentucky river, which is the finest portion, perhaps, of the whole Ohio valley.

This may be accounted for by the non-residence of the Indians in that district; a district which they retained as a hunting ground. Owing to this, the traders, who were the first explorers, were led to direct their steps northward, up the Miami and Scioto valleys, and were quite familiar with the country between the Ohio and the Lakes, at a period when the interior of the territory south of the river, was wholly unknown to them. While, therefore, the impression which many have had, that the entire valley was unknown to English colonists before Boone's time, is clearly erroneous, it is equally clear, that the centre of Kentucky, which he and his comrades explored during their first visit, had not before that time, been examined by the whites to any considerable extent.

About the year 1758, Dr. Thomas Walker, from Albemarle county, Virginia, who had been previously employed as an agent among the Cherokees, on the Holston river, from 1750, was appointed commissioner to take certain Cherokee chiefs to England. Dr. Walker had explored the mountain valleys of South-western Virginia and East Tennessee. While in England, he organized a company to settle the wild lands in Western Virginia and Carolina, of which the Duke of Cumberland was patron. He returned to America in the capacity of general agent. Dr. Walker subsequently explored the country; gave the name of his patron to *Cumberland* river, and the range of mountains that give origin to the head branches. He also explored the upper part of the Kentucky river, and gave to it the name of *Louisa*, in honor of the Duchess of Cumberland, which name it bore for some years. He was at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and had no small influence in the purchase of Western Virginia and Eastern Kentucky from the Six Nations.

The next explorer of Kentucky and Tennessee, was Colonel James Smith. Mr. Smith had been taken prisoner by the Indians, near Bedford, Pennsylvania, in 1755, and was with them four and a half years. In 1764, he was lieutenant in General Bouquet's campaign against the Indians, and a colonel in the continental service in 1778.

During the summer of 1766, with four white men and a mulatto slave, he made an exploration across the mountains to the Cumberland, and then to the Tennessee rivers, to examine the country in view of future settlements.

Stone's river, a branch of the Cumberland, was so named from Mr. Uriah Stone, one of the party. They explored the country on each of the rivers, until they reached the mouth of the Tennessee, where Paducah now stands. Here the party separated; Smith with the slave to return home, and his companions to proceed to the Illinois. A few days afterward, he was stabbed in the foot by a cane, which disabled him. After lying a long time in the woods, attended by the slave, he recovered, and they set out and after many hardships, reached Carolina in October, 1767, having been eleven months in the wilderness. From Carolina he proceeded homeward, and shortly afterward arrived at the Conococheague settlement in Pennsylvania, where he had left his family.*

The next persons who entered this region were traders; coming, not from Virginia and Pennsylvania by the river, but from North Carolina by the Cumberland Gap. These traders probably sought, in the first instance, the Cherokees and other southern Indians, with whom they had dealings from a very early period, but appear afterward to have journeyed northward upon what was called the Warrior's road, an Indian path leading from the Cumberland ford along the broken country, lying upon the eastern branch of the Kentucky river, and so across the Licking toward the mouth of the Scioto. This path formed the line of communication between the northern and southern Indians; and somewhere along its course, John Finley, doubtless in company with others, was engaged, in 1767, in trading with the red men, from the north of the Ohio, who met him there with the skins procured during their hunting expedition in that central and choice region. Upon Finley's return to North Carolina, he met with Daniel Boone, to whom he described the country he had visited.

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*Incidents of Border Life, p. 64.

Daniel Boone was born in Bucks county, Pa., between the years 1733 and 1745,* of English parentage. His father moved to Berks county when Daniel was a small boy, where, in a frontier settlement, he attended school, and where in boyhood he received those impressions that were so fully displayed in after life. From childhood, he delighted to range the woods, watch the wild animals, and contemplate the beauties of uncultivated nature. In woodcraft, his education was complete. No Indian could poise the rifle, find his way through the trackless forest, or hunt the wild game better than Daniel Boone.

Few men ever possessed that combination of boldness, caution, hardihood, strength, patience, perseverance and love of solitude that marked his character. With these qualities he was kind-hearted, humane, good-tempered, and devoid of malice. He never manifested the temper of the misanthrope, or evinced any dissatisfaction with social or domestic life. He had a natural sense of justice and equity between man and man, and felt, through his whole life, repugnance to the technical forms of law, and the conventional regulations of society and of government, unless they were in strict accordance with his instinctive sense of right.

When Daniel Boone was in the 18th year of his age, his father removed from Pennsylvania to North Carolina, and settled on the Yadkin, in the north-western part of that State. Here he married, and for several years, labored on a farm, hunting at the proper season. About 1762, he was leader of a company of hunters from the Yadk, who ranged through the valleys on the waters of the Holston, in the south-western part of Virginia. In 1764 he was with another company of hunters, on the Rock Castle, a branch of Cumberland river, within the present boundaries of Kentucky, employed, as he stated, by a party of land speculators, to ascertain and report concerning the country in that quarter.†

The oppression of the governors of the colony, and the members of the Council and of the Assembly, who were English or Scotch adventurers, produced great dissatisfaction with the laboring classes, and drove many to seek their fortunes in the wilds of the

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* There is a great uncertainty in the date of Boone's birth. It may even be doubted whether he himself could have given it. His pupilage among the Germans in "*Berks county,*" enabled him to acquire their patois language; and it was from the circumstance of his being able to speak "*Pennsylvania German*" that he was supposed by many to be a Dutchman, or of German extraction.

† Haywood's *History of Tennessee,* pp. 32, 35.

West. At the same time, Richard Henderson, the Harts and others, were projecting a purchase of the fertile lands of the West, and encouraged the hunters to explore the country.

On the return of Finley, arrangements were made for an exploring party to examine the rich vales of the Kentucky, of which Boone was the leader; and he alone was in the confidence of the speculators. His companions were John Finley, John Stewart, Joseph Holden, James Moncey, and William Cool. They left the Yadkin settlement, and Boone his family, on the 1st of May, 1769, and after much fatigue and exposure to severe rains, reached the waters of Red river, one of the main branches of the Kentucky, on the 7th of June. In this region, the party reconnoitered the country, and hunted, until December. At that period, the explorers divided themselves into parties, that *they might have a wider range of observation.* Boone had Stewart for his companion. Of Finley, and the rest of the party, nothing more is known.

Boone and Stewart were soon taken by a party of Indians, from whom they made their escape after several days' detention. Early in January, 1770, Squire Boone, a brother of Daniel, and another adventurer, arrived from North Carolina, with supplies of ammunition, and intelligence from his family. Shortly after this event, Stewart, while hunting, was killed by the Indians, and the man who came with Squire Boone got lost in the woods and perished. The two brothers, thus left alone, pursued their hunting along the banks of the main Kentucky river.

When spring opened, Squire Boone returned to the Yadkin for supplies, while Daniel explored the country along Salt and Green rivers. On the last of July, Squire returned, and they engaged in exploring the country on the waters of Cumberland river, and hunting in that region until March, 1771. They then returned by Kentucky river, and the Cumberland Gap, to the settlements on the Yadkin.

During the same period, another exploring and hunting party of about twenty men, left North Carolina and Western Virginia, for the country of Tennessee. They passed through Cumberland Gap into what is now called Wayne county, Kentucky, and, subsequently, moved in a south-western direction, along the waters of the Roaring river and Caney fork, and returned in April, 1770, after an absence of ten months. The same year another party of ten hunters built two boats and two trapping canoes, loaded them with peltry, venison, bear's meat and oil, and made a voyage down

the Cumberland, Ohio and Mississippi rivers, to Natchez, where they disposed of their cargo.

In 1771, Casper Mansco, who had twice visited the valley of the Cumberland, came out again in company with several other persons. They traversed the country along the Cumberland river to the region north of Nashville, and into the "barrens" of Kentucky. From the period of their absence, they were called the "Long-hunters." These several explorations excited the attention of multitudes in the colonies south of the Potomac, and turned their thoughts to a home in the "Far West."

During the same eventful period, (1770,) there came into Western Virginia no less noted a person than George Washington. His attention had been turned to the lands along the Ohio at a very early period; he had himself large claims, as well as far-reaching plans of settlement, and he wished, with his own eyes, to examine the western lands, especially those about the mouth of the Kanawha. The journal of his expedition contains some valuable facts in reference to the position of affairs in the Ohio valley at that time. For instance, that the Virginians were rapidly surveying and settling the lands south of the river as far down as the Kanawhas; and that the Indians, notwithstanding the treaty of Fort Stanwix, were jealous and angry at this constant invasion of their hunting-grounds.

This jealousy and anger were not suffered to cool during the years next succeeding, and when Thomas Bullitt and his party descended the Ohio, in the summer of 1773, he found, as related above, that no settlements would be tolerated south of the river, unless the Indian hunting-grounds were left undisturbed. To leave them undisturbed was, however, no part of the plan of these white men. This very party, which Bullitt led, and in which were the two M'Afees, Hancock, Taylor, Drennon, and others, separated, and while part went up the Kentucky river, explored the banks, and made important surveys, including the valley in which Frankfort stands, the remainder went on to the falls, and laid out, on behalf of John Campbell and John Connolly, the plat of Louisville.

All this took place in the summer of 1773; and in the autumn of that year, or early the next, John Floyd, the deputy of Colonel William Preston, the surveyor of Fincastle county, Virginia, in which it was claimed that Kentucky was comprehended, also crossed the mountains; while General Thomson, of Pennsylvania, made

surveys on the north fork of the Licking. Nor did the projects of the English colonists stop with the settlement of Kentucky. In 1773, General Lyman, with a number of military adventurers, went to Natchez, and laid out several townships in that vicinity; to which point emigration set so strongly, that it is said four hundred families passed down the Ohio, on their way thither, during six weeks of the summer of that year.*

Anxious as was Boone to remove his family to the fertile region of Kentucky, it was not until 1773, that he sold his farm on the Yadkin, and, with five other families, took up the line of march westward. The company started on the 25th of September, and were joined by others in Powell's valley, making the number of forty men, besides women and children. As they approached the last mountain barrier, on the 16th of October, seven young men, who had charge of the cattle, being five or six miles in the rear, were attacked by a party of Indians. Six were slain, amongst whom was Boone's eldest son, James, and the seventh, though wounded, made his escape. The cattle were dispersed in the woods. This calamity so disheartened the emigrants, that they gave up the expedition and returned to Clinch river.

For a time the settlement of Kentucky and the West was delayed; 1774.] for though James Harrod, in the spring or early summer of 1774, penetrated the wilderness, and built his cabin, (the first log hut reared in the valley of the Kentucky,) where the town which bears his name now stands, he could not long stay there; the sounds of coming war reached even his solitude, and forced him to rejoin his companions, and aid in repelling the infuriated savages. Notwithstanding the treaty of Fort Stanwix, the western Indians were in no degree disposed to yield their lands without a struggle. Wide-spread dissatisfaction prevailed among the Shawanese and Mingoes, which was fostered probably by the French traders who still visited the tribes of the north-west. And from that time forward almost every event was calculated still more to excite and embitter the children of the forest.

In 1770, Ebenezer, Silas and Jonathan Zane, settled at Wheeling; during that year the Boones, as has been related, were exploring the interior of Kentucky; and after them came the McAfees, Bullitt, Floyd, Hancock, Taylor, and their companions. The savages saw their best grounds occupied or threatened with occupation;

* Holmes' Annals, vol. ii., p. 183.

but still they remembered the war of 1763, and the terrible power of Britain, and the oldest and wisest of the sufferers were disposed rather to submit to what seemed inevitable than to throw themselves away in a vain effort to withstand the whites. Hopeless hatred toward the invaders filled the breasts of the natives, therefore, at the period immediately preceding the war of 1774; a hatred needing only a few acts of violence to kindle it into rage and thirst for human blood.

And such acts were not wanting; in addition to the murder of several single Indians by the frontier men,—in 1772, five families of the natives on the Little Kanawha were killed, in revenge for the death of a white family on Gauley River, although no evidence existed to prove who had committed the outrage. And when 1774 came, a series of events led to excessive exasperation on both sides. Pennsylvania and Virginia laid equal claim to Pittsburgh and the adjoining country. In the war of 1754, doubt had existed as to which colony the forks of the Ohio was situated in, and the Old Dominion having been forward in the defense of the contested territory, while her northern neighbor had been very backward in doing anything in its favor, the Virginians felt a certain claim upon the "Key of the West." This feeling showed itself before 1763, and by 1773 appears to have attained a very decided character.

Early in 1774, Lord Dunmore, prompted very probably by Col. Croghan, and his nephew, Dr. John Connolly, who had lived at Fort Pitt, and was an intriguing and ambitious man, determined, by strong measures, to assert the claims of Virginia upon Pittsburgh and its vicinity, and dispatched Connolly, with a captain's commission, and with power to take possession of the country upon the Monongahela, in the name of the king. The Doctor issued his proclamation to the people, in the neighborhood of Redstone and Pittsburgh, calling upon them to meet on the 24th or 25th of January, 1774, in order to be embodied as Virginia militia. Arthur St. Clair, who then represented the proprietors of Pennsylvania in the West, was at Pittsburgh at the time, and arrested Connolly before the meeting took place. The people who had seen the proclamation, however, came together, and though they were dispersed without attempting any outbreak in favor of the Virginian side of the dispute, which it was very much feared they would do, —they did not break up without drunkenness and riot, and among other things *fired their guns at the town occupied by friendly Indians* across the river, hurting no one, but exciting the fear and suspicion of the red men.

Connolly was soon after released on bail. He then went to Staunton, and was sworn as a justice of the peace of Augusta county, Virginia. During the latter part of March,* he returned to Pittsburgh, with civil and military authority to execute the laws of Virginia. On the 5th of April, the court assembled at Hannastown, the seat of justice for Westmoreland county, including then all Western Pennsylvania. Soon after, Connolly with about one hundred and fifty men, all armed and with colors flying, appeared there, placed sentinels at the door of the court house, who refused to admit the magistrates, unless with the consent of their commander. A meeting then took place between Connolly and the magistrates. He averred that he had come in fulfillment of his promise to the sheriff, but denied the jurisdiction of the court. They affirmed that they acted under the legislative authority of Pennsylvania, and would continue so to act; but that they would do all they could to preserve the public tranquillity, and the State of Pennsylvania was ready to agree to a temporary boundary, till the true one could be ascertained.

Connolly refused to accede to any terms but in Lord Dunmore's name, and by his authority took and kept possession of Fort Pitt; and as it had been dismantled and nearly destroyed, by royal orders, rebuilt it, and named it Fort Dunmore. Meantime, in a most unjustifiable and tyrannical manner, he arrested both private men and magistrates, and kept some of them in confinement, until Lord Dunmore ordered their release. Knowing that such conduct was calculated to lead to active and violent measures against himself by the Pennsylvanians, he took great precautions, and went to considerable expense to protect his own party from surprise. These expenses, it is not improbable, he feared the Virginia General Assembly would object to, although his noble patron might allow them; and it is not *impossible* that he intentionally fostered, as St. Clair distinctly intimated in his letters to the Pennsylvania authorities, the growing jealousy between the whites and natives, in order to make their quarrels serve as a color to his profuse expenditures. At any rate, it appears that on the 21st of April, Connolly wrote to the settlers along the Ohio, that the Shawanese were not to be trusted, and that they (the whites) ought to be prepared to revenge any wrong done them. This letter came into the hands of Captain Michael Cresap, who was examining the lands near Wheeling, and

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*Craig's History of Pittsburgh, p. 113.

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Connolly died in Detroit.

who appears to have possessed the true frontier Indian hatred. Five days before its date, a canoe belonging to William Butler, a leading Pittsburgh trader, had been attacked by three Cherokees, and one white man had been killed. This happened not far from Wheeling, and became known there of course; while about the same time the report was general that the Indians were stealing the traders' horses. When, therefore, immediately after Connolly's letter had been circulated, the news came to that settlement, that some Indians were coming down the Ohio in a boat, Cresap, in revenge for the murder by the Cherokees, and, as he afterward said, in obedience to the direction of the commandant at Pittsburgh, contained in the letter referred to, determined to attack them. They were, as it chanced, two friendly Indians, who, with two whites, had been dispatched by William Butler, when he heard that his first messengers were stopped, to attend to his peltries down the river, in the Shawanee country.*

"The project of Cresap," says Dr. Doddridge, "was vehemently opposed by Colonel Zane, proprietor of the place. He stated to the captain that the killing of those Indians, would inevitably bring on a war, in which much innocent blood would be shed, and that the act in itself would be an atrocious murder, and a disgrace to his name forever. His good counsel was lost. Cresap and his party went up the river. On being asked, at their return, what had become of the Indians, they coolly answered that 'they had fallen overboard into the river!' Their canoe, on being examined, was found bloody, and pierced with bullets. This was the first blood which was shed in this war, and terrible was the vengeance which followed.

"In the evening of the same day, the party hearing that there was an encampment of Indians at the mouth of Captina, went down the river to the place, attacked the Indians and killed several of them. In this affair one of Cresap's party was severely wounded.

"The massacre at Captina and that which took place at Baker's, about forty miles above Wheeling, a few days after that at Captina, were unquestionably the sole causes of the war of 1774. The last was perpetrated by thirty-two men, under the command of Daniel Greathouse. The whole number killed at this place, and on the river opposite to it, was twelve, besides several wounded. This horrid massacre was effected by a hypocritical stratagem, which

* American Archives, fourth series, i, 252, *et seq.*

reflects the deepest dishonor on the memory of those who were agents in it.

"The report of the murders committed on the Indians near Wheeling, induced a belief that they would immediately commence hostilities, and this apprehension furnished the pretext for the murder above related. The ostensible object for raising the party under Greathouse, was that of defending the family of Baker, whose house was opposite to a large encampment of Indians, at the mouth of Big Yellow creek. The party were concealed in ambuscade, while their commander went over the river, under the mask of friendship, to the Indian camp, to ascertain their number; while there, an Indian woman advised him to return home speedily, saying that the Indians were drinking, and angry on account of the murder of their people down the river, and might do him some mischief. On his return to his party, he reported that the Indians were too strong for an open attack. He went to Baker, and requested him to give any Indians who might come over in the course of the day as much rum as they might call for, and get as many of them drunk as he possibly could. The plan succeeded. Several Indian men, with two women, came over the river to Baker's, who had previously been in the habit of selling rum to the Indians. The men drank freely and became intoxicated. In this state they were all killed by Greathouse and a few of his party. I say a few of his party, for it is but justice to state, that not more than five or six of the whole number had any participation in the slaughter at the house. The rest protested against it, as an atrocious murder. From their number, being by far the majority, they might have prevented the deed; but alas! they did not. A little Indian girl alone was saved from the slaughter, by the humanity of some one of the party, whose name is not now known.

"The Indians in the camps, hearing the firing at the house, sent a canoe with two men in it to inquire what had happened. These two Indians were both shot down, as soon as they landed on the beach. A second and larger canoe was then manned with a number of Indians in arms; but in attempting to reach the shore, some distance below the house, were received by a well-directed fire from the party, which killed the greater number of them, and compelled the survivors to return. A great number of shots were exchanged across the river, but without damage to the whites, not one of whom was even wounded. The Indian men who were murdered were all scalped. The woman who gave the friendly

advice to the commander of the party, when in the Indian camp, was amongst the slain at Baker's house.

"The massacre of the Indians at Captina and Yellow creek, comprehended the whole of the family of the famous, but unfortunate Logan." *

This account of Doddridge is confirmed by the evidence of Colonel Zane; but as it differs somewhat from that of George Rogers Clark, who was also in the vicinity, a part of the letter written by him relative to the matter, dated June 17, 1798, is given:

"This country was explored in 1773. A resolution was formed to make a settlement the spring following, and the mouth of the Little Kanawha appointed the place of general rendezvous, in order to descend the river from thence in a body. Early in the spring the Indians had done some mischief. Reports from their towns were alarming, which deterred many. About eighty or ninety men only arrived at the appointed rendezvous, where we lay some days.

"A small party of hunters, that lay about ten miles below us were fired upon by the Indians, whom the hunters beat back, and returned to camp. This, and many other circumstances, led us to believe that the Indians were determined on war. The whole party was enrolled, and determined to execute their project of forming a settlement in Kentucky, as we had every necessary store that could be thought of. An Indian town called the Horsehead Bottom, on the Scioto, and near its mouth, lay nearly in our way. The determination was to cross the country and surprise it. Who was to command was the question. There were but few among us that had experience in Indian warfare, and they were such as we did not choose to be commanded by. We knew of Capt. Cresap being on the river, about fifteen miles above us, with some hands, settling a plantation; and that he had concluded to follow us to Kentucky as soon as he had fixed there his people. We also knew that he had been experienced in a former war. He was proposed; and it was unanimously agreed to send for him to command the party. Messengers were dispatched, and in half an hour returned with Cresap. He had heard of our resolution by some of his hunters, that had fallen in with ours, and had set out to come to us.

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* Doddridge's Notes.

"We now thought our army, as we called it, complete, and the destruction of the Indians sure. A council was called, and, to our astonishment, our intended commander-in-chief was the person that dissuaded us from the enterprise. He said that appearances were very suspicious, but there was no certainty of a war. That if we made the attempt proposed, he had no doubt of our success, but a war would, at any rate, be the result, and that we should be blamed for it, and perhaps justly. But if we were determined to proceed, he would lay aside all considerations, send to his camp for his people, and share our fortunes.

"He was then asked what he would advise. His answer was, that we should return to Wheeling, as a convenient post, to hear what was going forward. That a few weeks would determine. As it was early in the spring, if we found the Indians were not disposed for war, we should have full time to return and make our establishment in Kentucky. This was adopted; and in two hours the whole were under way. As we ascended the river, we met Kill-buck, an Indian chief, with a small party. We had a long conference with him, but received little satisfaction as to the disposition of the Indians. It was observed that Cresap did not come to this conference, but kept on the opposite side of the river. He said that he was afraid to trust himself with the Indians. That Kill-buck had frequently attempted to waylay his father, to kill him. That if he crossed the river, perhaps his fortitude might fail him, and that he might put Kill-buck to death. On our arrival at Wheeling, (the country being pretty well settled thereabouts,) the whole of the inhabitants appeared to be alarmed. They flocked to our camp from every direction; and all we could say could not keep them from under our wings. We offered to cover their neighborhood with scouts, until further information, if they would return to their plantations; but nothing would prevail. By this time we had got to be a formidable party. All the hunters, men without families, etc., in that quarter, had joined our party.

"Our arrival at Wheeling was soon known at Pittsburgh. The whole of that country, at that time, being under the jurisdiction of Virginia, Dr. Connolly had been appointed by Dunmore, Captain Commandant of the District which was called West Augusta. He, learning of us, sent a message addressed to the party, letting us know that a war was to be apprehended, and requesting that we would keep our position for a few days, as messages had been sent to the Indians, and a few days would determine the doubt. The answer he got was, that we had no inclination to quit our quarters

for some time. That during our stay we should be careful that the enemy did not harass the neighborhood that we lay in. But before this answer could reach Pittsburgh, he sent a second express, addressed to Capt. Cresap, as the most influential man amongst us, informing him that the messengers had returned from the Indians, that war was inevitable, and begging him to use his influence with the party, to get them to cover the country by scouts, until the inhabitants could fortify themselves. The reception of this letter was the epoch of open hostilities with the Indians. A new post was planted, a council was called, and the letter read by Cresap, all the Indian traders being summoned on so important an occasion. Action was had, and war declared in the most solemn manner; and the same evening two scalps were brought into the camp.

"The next day some canoes of Indians were discovered on the river, keeping the advantage of an island to cover themselves from our view. They were chased fifteen miles down the river, and driven ashore. A battle ensued; a few were wounded on both sides; one Indian only taken prisoner. On examining their canoes, we found a considerable quantity of ammunition and other warlike stores. On our return to camp, a resolution was adopted to march the next day, and attack Logan's camp on the Ohio, about thirty miles above us. We did march about five miles, and then halted to take some refreshments. Here the impropriety of executing the projected enterprise was argued. The conversation was brought forward by Cresap himself. It was generally agreed that those Indians had no hostile intentions—as they were hunting, and their party were composed of men, women, and children, with all their stuff with them. This we knew; as I myself and others present had been in their camp about four weeks past, on our descending the river from Pittsburgh. In short, every person seemed to detest the resolution we had set out with. We returned in the evening, decamped, and took the road to Redstone.

"It was two days after this that Logan's family were killed. And from the manner in which it was done, it was viewed as a horrid murder. From Logan's hearing of Cresap being at the head of this party on the river, it is no wonder that he supposed he had a hand in the destruction of his family."

Whatever may then be the facts in regard of Cresap's complicity in the murder of Logan's family, it is certain that the famous speech of that chief to Lord Dunmore, has indelibly fixed the reputation of that outrage upon his memory. It may admit of a doubt whether he was, however, directly or indirectly responsible

for the destruction of the family of Logan. It is difficult to believe that he could be present at the massacres at Captina and Yellow creek on the same day,* but it is certain he was engaged in other Indian murders closely connected with the origin of the war, and deserves condemnation for the murderous intentions he expressed to Col. Zane. Yet perhaps he may not be wholly condemned. He may have been deceived by Connolly's letter, which doubtless was designed to create hostilities between the whites and Indians, with a view to the approaching conflict with the mother country; and may then in all he did have acted under a mistaken idea of patriotism. Of his patriotic spirit there is no reason to doubt. Immediately after the battle of Lexington, in the next year, in obedience to a call of the Maryland delegates in Congress, Cresap was appointed to the command of a company of volunteers, returned to Maryland, and with his company marched to Boston, to join the Continental army under Washington. His health failing, however, he resigned his command, and died on his way home, on the 5th of October, at New York.

In relation to the murders by Greathouse, there is also a variance in the testimony. Henry Jolly, who was near by, and whose statement is published in an article by Dr. Hildreth, in Silliman's journal for January, 1837, makes no mention of the visit of Greathouse to the Indian camp, but says that five men and one woman, with a child, came from the camp across to Baker's; that three of the five were made drunk, and that the whites finding the other two would not drink, persuaded them to fire at a mark, and when their guns were empty, shot them down; this done, they next murdered the woman, and tomahawked the three who were intoxicated. The Indians who had not crossed the Ohio, ascertaining what had taken place, attempted to escape by descending the river, and having passed Wheeling unobserved, landed at Pipe creek, and it was then, according to Jolly, that Cresap's attack took place; he killed only one Indian. But whatever may have been the precise facts in relation to the murder of Logan's family, they were at any rate of such a nature as to make all concerned feel sure of an Indian war; and while those upon the frontier gathered hastily into the fortresses, an express was sent to Williamsburg, to inform the governor of the necessity of instant preparation. The Earl of Dunmore

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* Jacob's Life of Cresap.

at once took the needful steps to organize forces; and meanwhile, in June, sent Daniel Boone and Michael Stoner to conduct into the settlements the surveyors, and others who were lingering upon the banks of the Kentucky and Elkhorn, a duty which was ably and quickly performed. The unfortunate traders among the Indians, however, could not thus be rescued from the dangers which beset them. Some of them fell the first victims to the vengeance of the natives. One near the town of White-Eyes, the Peace Chief of the Delawares, was murdered, cut to pieces, and the fragments of his body hung upon the bushes; the kindly chief gathered them together and buried them; the hatred of the murderers, however, led them to disinter and disperse the remains of their victim anew; but the kindness of the Delaware was as persevering as the hatred of his brethren, and again he collected the scattered limbs, and in a secret place hid them.*

It being, under the circumstances, deemed advisable by the Virginians, to assume the offensive, as soon as it could be done, an army was gathered at Wheeling, which, some time in July, under Col. McDonald, descended the Ohio to the mouth of Captina creek, or, as some say, Fish creek, where it was proposed to march against the Indian town of Wapatomica, on the Muskingum. The march was successfully accomplished, and the Indians having been frustrated in an expected surprise of the invaders, sued for peace, and gave five of their chiefs as hostages. Two of them were set free, however, by Colonel McDonald, for the avowed purpose of calling the heads of the tribes together, to ratify the treaty which was to put an end to warfare; but it being found that the natives were merely attempting to gain time and gather forces, the Virginians proceeded to destroy their towns and crops, and then retreated, carrying three of their chiefs with them, as prisoners to Williamsburg. But this invasion did nothing toward intimidating the red men.

The Delawares were anxious for peace; Sir William Johnson sent out to all his copper-colored flock, orders to keep still; † and even the Shawanese were prevailed on by their wiser leader, Cornstalk, to do all they could to preserve friendly relations; indeed they went so far as to secure some wandering traders from the vengeance of the Mingoes, whose relatives had been slain at

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* Heckewelder's Narrative, 132.

† American Archives, Fourth Series, i, 252 to 258.

Yellow Creek and Captina, and sent them with their property safe to Pittsburgh. But Logan, who had been turned by the murderers on the Ohio from a friend to a deadly foe of the whites, came suddenly upon the Monongahela settlements, and while the other Indians were hesitating as to their course, took his thirteen scalps in retaliation for the murder of his family and friends, and returning home expressed himself satisfied, and ready to listen to the Long-Knives.

But it was not, apparently, the wish of Dunmore or Connolly to meet the friendly spirit of the natives, and when, about the 10th of June, three of the Shawanese conducted the traders, who had been among them, safely to Pittsburgh, Connolly had even the meanness to attempt first to sieze them, and when foiled in this by Colonel Croghan, his uncle, who had been alienated by his tyranny, he sent men to watch, waylay and kill them; and one account says that one of the three was slain. Indeed, the character developed by this man, while commandant at Fort Dunmore, was such as to excite universal detestation, and at last to draw down upon his patron, the reproof of Lord Dartmouth. He seized property, and imprisoned white men without warrant or propriety; and we may be assured, in many cases beside that just mentioned, treated the natives with an utter disregard of justice. It is not then surprising that Indian attacks occurred along the frontiers from June to September; nor, on the other hand, that the Virginians, against whom, in distinction from the people of Pennsylvania, the war was carried on, became more and more excited, and eager to repay the injuries received.

To put a stop to these devastations, two large bodies of troops were gathering in Virginia; the one from the southern and western part of the State, under General Andrew Lewis, met at Camp Union, now Lewisburg, Greenbriar county, near the far-famed White Sulphur Springs;—the other from the northern and eastern counties, was to be under the command of Dunmore himself, and descending the Ohio from Fort Pitt, was to meet Lewis' army at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. The force under Lewis, amounting to eleven hundred men, commenced its march upon the 6th and 12th of September, and upon the 6th of October reached the spot agreed upon. As Lord Dunmore was not there, and as other troops were to follow down the Kanawha under Colonel Christian, General Lewis dispatched runners toward Pittsburgh to inform the commander-in-chief of his arrival, and

proceeded to encamp at the point where the two rivers meet. Here he remained until the 9th of October, when dispatches from the Governor reached him, informing him that the plan of the campaign was altered; that he (Dunmore) meant to proceed directly against the Shawanese towns of the Scioto, and Lewis was ordered at once to cross the Ohio and meet the army before those towns.

But on the very day when this movement should have been executed, (October 10th,) the Indians in force, headed by the able and brave chief of the Shawanese, Cornstalk, appeared before the army of Virginians, determined then and there to avenge past wrongs and cripple vitally the power of the invaders. Delawares, Iroquois, Wyandots and Shawanese, under their most noted chiefs, among whom was Logan, formed the army opposed to that of Lewis, and with both the struggle of that day was one of life or death. Soon after sunrise the presence of the savages was discovered; General Lewis ordered out his brother, Colonel Charles Lewis, and Colonel Fleming, to reconnoiter the ground where they had been seen; this at once brought on the engagement. In a short time Colonel Lewis was killed, and Colonel Fleming disabled; the troops, thus left without commanders, wavered, but Colonel Field with his regiment coming to the rescue, they again stood firm; about noon Colonel Field was killed, and Captain Evan Shelby, (father of Isaac Shelby, afterward Governor of Kentucky, and who was then lieutenant in his father's company,) took the command; and the battle still continued. It was now drawing toward evening, and yet the contest raged without decided success for either party, when General Lewis ordered a body of men to gain the flank of the enemy by means of Crooked creek, a small stream which runs into the Kanawha, about four hundred yards above its mouth. This was successfully done, and the result was the retreat of the Indians across the Ohio.*

The loss on the part of the Virginians in this battle, was seventy-five men killed, and one hundred and forty wounded—about one-fifth of their entire number. The loss of the enemy could not be fully ascertained, as, until they are driven from the field, they carry off their dead. Next morning, Col. Christian explored the battle ground, and found twenty-one Indians lying dead, and subsequently twelve others concealed by brush and logs.

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*Border Warfare, 125. Doddridge, 230. American Pioneer, i, 381. Letters in American Archives, Fourth Series, i, 808–818, &c. Thatcher's Lives of Indians, ii, 168.

Lord Dunmore, meanwhile, had descended the river from Fort Pitt, and was, at the time he sent word to Lewis of his change of plans, at the mouth of the Hocking, where he built a block-house, called Fort Gower, and remained until after the battle at the Point. Thence he marched on toward the Scioto, while Lewis and the remains of the army under his command, strengthened by the troops under Colonel Christian, pressed forward in the same direction, elated by the hope of annihilating the Indian towns, and punishing the inhabitants for all they had done. But before reaching the enemy's country, Dunmore was visited by the chiefs, asking for peace. He listened to their request, and appointing a place where a treaty should be held, sent orders to Lewis to stop his march against the Shawanese towns, which orders, however, that officer did not obey; nor was it till the Governor visited his camp on Congo creek, near Westfall, that he would agree to give up an attempt upon the village of Old Chillicothe, which stood where Westfall now is. After this visit by Dunmore, General Lewis felt himself bound, though unwillingly, to prepare for a bloodless retreat.

The commander-in-chief, however, remained for a time at Camp Charlotte, upon Sippo Creek, about eight miles from the town of Westfall, on the Scioto.* There he met Cornstalk, who, being satisfied of the futility of any further struggle, was determined to make peace, and arranged with the governor the preliminaries of a treaty; and from this point, Crawford was sent against a town of the Mingoes, who still continued hostile, and took several prisoners, who were carried to Virginia, and were still in confinement in February, 1775.†

When Lord Dunmore retired from the West, he left one hundred men at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, a few more at Pittsburgh, and another corps at Wheeling, then called Fort Fincastle. These were dismissed as the prospect of the war ceased. Lord Dunmore agreed to return to Pittsburgh in the spring, meet the Indians and form a definite peace; but the commencement of the revolt of the colonies prevented. The Mingoes were not parties to the treaty at Camp Charlotte. The Shawanese agreed not to hunt south of the Ohio river, nor molest travelers. The frontier men were much incensed against Lord Dunmore for this treaty, but not the inhabitants of Virginia.

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* American Pioneer, p. 331.

† American Archives, Fourth Series, i. 1222. Border Warfare, 137.

About the same time, and most probably after the treaty with the Indians, Lord Dunmore opened several offices for the sale of lands in the West, some of which were in the limits claimed by Pennsylvania. Land warrants were granted on the payment of two shillings and sixpence fees. The purchase money was trifling, being only ten shillings per hundred acres, and even that was not demanded. The proprietary of Pennsylvania had previously purchased the land as far west as the Ohio and Allegheny, and opened an office for the sale of these lands. But the price demanded was much higher than that of the Virginia warrants; and this was an effectual inducement to buyers to prefer the Virginia office, and of consequence to favor the Virginia claim to jurisdiction over the country. Accordingly, Dunmore established three courts, two south of the Monongahela, and one at Redstone, all within the limits of Western Pennsylvania, and thus extended the Virginia laws over that region. His scheme for weakening both colonies, by embroiling them in a contest about their boundaries, however, failed; the breaking out of the war in the next year, suspended the discussion of the question, and drove Dunmore from Virginia.

Among those who had been engaged in Dunmore's war, as 1775.] scouts or soldiers, were Daniel Boone, James Harrod, and others of the early explorers of Kentucky. After the peace, they naturally turned their attention again to the rich valleys they had previously occupied. Boone appears to have been among the first to re-enter them, which he did in the service of a new land company, formed in North Carolina, called the Transylvania Company.* The chief person in this association was Colonel Richard Henderson, of whom little is known, except that he was a man of capacity and ambition. Dr. Smyth, an Englishman, who in 1784 published a work of travels in the United States, gives the following account of him; but as Smyth's work is full of palpable falsehoods, it is impossible to say how much truth there is in his statements respecting the founder of Transylvania.

"He acquired the rudiments of an education after having grown to maturity, then obtained the office of constable, was afterward made sheriff, and then commenced the practice of law. In that profession he distinguished himself so much that he was appointed

* This was one of several such companies; see Patrick Henry's deposition in Hall's Sketches, i. 249.

Associate Chief Justice of North Carolina. But having made several large purchases, and fallen into a train of expense that his circumstances and finances could not support, his extensive genius struck out on a bolder track to fortune and fame than any one had ever attempted before him.

"Under pretense of viewing some back lands, he privately went out to the Cherokee nation of Indians, and, for an insignificant consideration, (only ten wagons loaded with cheap goods, such as coarse woolens, trinkets, fire-arms, and spirituous liquors,) made a purchase from the chiefs of the nation, of a vast tract of territory, equal in extent to a kingdom; and in the excellence of climate and soil, extent of its rivers, and beautiful elegance of situations, inferior to none in the universe. A domain of no less than one hundred miles square, situated on the back or interior part of Virginia, and of North and South Carolina; comprehending the river Kentucky, Cherokee, and Ohio, besides a variety of inferior rivulets, delightful and charming as imagination can conceive.

"This transaction he kept a profound secret, until such time as he obtained the final ratification of the whole nation in form. Then he immediately invited settlers from all the provinces, offering them land on the most advantageous terms, and proposing to them likewise, to form a legislature and government of their own, such as might be most convenient to their particular circumstances of settlement. And he instantly vacated his seat on the bench."*

Colonel Henderson, in company with Colonel Nathaniel Hart, or as Morehead says, Colonel Hart alone, having heard, probably from Boone, of the valuable lands upon the Kentucky river, in the course of 1774 paid a visit to the Cherokees, to ascertain if they would be willing to sell their title to the region which was desired. Finding that a bargain might be made, a meeting was arranged with the chiefs of the nation, to be held at the Sycamore Shoal, on the Wataga branch of the Holston river, in March, 1775.

At this meeting Daniel Boone was, by the desire of the Transylvania proprietors, present, to aid in the negotiation and determining of the bounds of the proposed purchase. This done, he set forth with a party, well armed and equipped, to mark out a road from the settlement, through the wilderness, to the lands which were about to be colonized. Boone does not say when he started,

* Morehead's Address, p. 157.

but as he was within fifteen miles of Boonesborough on the 20th of March, and the grant from the Cherokees is dated the 17th, he must have left the council before the final action of the Indians took place; indeed, Henderson says that Boone did not know of the purchase with certainty. By that action the southern savages, in consideration of the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling, transferred to the company two provinces, defined as follows:

"The first was defined as 'beginning on the Ohio river, at the mouth of the Cantuckey Chenoee, or what, by the English, is called Louisa river; from thence, running up the said river, and the most northwardly fork of the same, to the head spring thereof; thence a south-east course to the top of the ridge of Powell's mountain; thence westwardly along the ridge of the said mountain, unto a point from which a north-west course will hit or strike the head spring of the most southwardly branch of the Cumberland river, thence down said river, including all its waters, to the Ohio river, and up the said river, as it meanders, to the beginning.'"

"The other deed comprised a tract 'beginning on the Holston river, where the course of Powell's mountain strikes the same; thence up the said river, as it meanders, to where the Virginia line crosses the same; thence westwardly along the line run by Donaldson, to a point six English miles eastward of the long island in said Holston river; thence a direct course toward the mouth of the Great Canaway, until it reaches the top ridge of Powell's mountain; thence westwardly along the said ridge to the place of beginning.'"

This transfer, however, was in opposition to the ancient and constant policy, both of England and Virginia, neither of which would recognize any private dealings for land with the natives; and, as much of the region to be occupied by the Transylvania Company was believed to be within the bounds of the Old Dominion, Gov. Dunmore, even before the bargain was completed, prepared his proclamation warning the world against "one Richard Henderson and other disorderly persons, who, under pretense of a purchase from the Indians, do set up a claim to the lands of the crown." This paper is dated but four days later than the treaty of Wataga.* When Colonel Henderson and his "disorderly" associates therefore set forth early in April for their new colony, granted by the first named deed, clouds beset their path. Virginia threatened in

* American Archives, Fourth Series, 174.

their rear, and before them the blood of Boone's pioneers soiled the fresh leaves of the young wood-flowers. Upon the 20th or 25th of March, an attack had been made upon those first invaders of the forests, in which two of their number were killed, and one or two others wounded; repulsed, but not defeated, the savages watched their opportunity, and again attacked the little band; but being satisfied by these attempts, that the leaders of the whites were their equals in forest warfare, the natives offered no further opposition to the march of the hunters, who proceeded to the Kentucky, and upon the 1st of April, 1775, began the erection of a fort upon the banks of that stream, sixty yards south of the river, at a salt-lick. This was Boonesborough. This fort or station was probably, when complete, about two hundred and fifty feet long by one hundred and fifty broad, and consisted of block-houses and pickets, the cabins of the settlers forming part of the defenses; it was, from neglect, not completed until June 14th, and the party, while engaged in its erection, appear to have been but little annoyed by the Indians, although one man was killed on the 4th of April. To this station, while yet but half complete, Henderson and his companions came the 20th of April, following the road marked out by Boone. Of his journey, and the country itself, some parts of a letter, published entire by Judge Hall, will give a distinct picture, and are better than any abstracts.

"Boonesborough, June 12th, 1775.

"No doubt but you have felt great anxiety since the receipt of my letter from Powell's Valley. At that time, things wore a gloomy aspect; indeed it was a serious matter, and became a little more so after the date of the letter than before. That afternoon I wrote the letter in Powell's Valley, in our march this way, we met about forty people returning, and in about four days, the number was little short of one hundred. Arguments and persuasions were needless; they seemed resolved on returning, and traveled with a precipitation that truly bespoke their fears. Eight or ten were all that we could prevail on to proceed with us, or to follow after; and thus, what we before had, counting every boy and lad, amounted to about forty, with which number we pursued our journey with the utmost diligence, for my own part, never under more real anxiety.

"Every group of travelers we saw, or strange bells which were heard in front, was a fresh alarm; afraid to look or inquire, lest Captain Boone or his company was amongst them, or some disastrous account of their defeat. The slow progress we made with

our packs, made it absolutely necessary for some person to go on, and give assurance of our coming, especially as they had no certainty of our being on the road at all; or had even heard whether the Indians had sold to us or not. It was owing to Boone's confidence in us, and the people's in him, that a stand was ever attempted in order to wait for our coming.

"The general panic that had seized the men we were continually meeting, was contagious; it ran like wild-fire; and, notwithstanding every effort against its progress, it was presently discovered in our own camp; some hesitated, and stole back privately; others saw the necessity of returning to convince their friends that they were still alive, in too strong a light to be resisted; whilst many, in truth, who have nothing to thank but the fear of shame, for the credit of intrepidity, came on, though their hearts, for some hours, made part of the deserting company. In this situation of affairs, some few, of genuine courage and undaunted resolution, served to inspire the rest; by the help of whose example, assisted by a little pride and some ostentation, we made a shift to march on with all the appearance of gallantry, and, cavalier-like, treated every insinuation of danger with the utmost contempt. It soon became habitual; and those who started in the morning with pale faces and apparent trepidation, could lie down and sleep at night in great quiet, not even possessed of fear enough to get the better of indolence.

"To give you a small specimen of the disposition of the people, it may be sufficient to assure you that when we arrived at this place, we found Captain Boone's men as inattentive on the score of fear, (to all appearances,) as if they had been in Hillsborough. A small fort, which only wanted two or three days' work to make it tolerably safe, was totally neglected on Mr. Cock's arrival,* and unto this day remains unfinished, notwithstanding the repeated applications of Captain Boone, and every representation of danger from ourselves.

"Our plantations extend near two miles in length, on the river, and up a creek. Here people work in their different lots; some without their guns, and others without care or caution. It is in vain for us to say anything more about the matter; it cannot be done by words.

"Our company has dwindled from about eighty in number to

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* A messenger sent ahead of the main body.

about fifty odd, and I believe in a few days will be considerably less. Amongst these I have not heard one person dissatisfied with the country or terms; but go, as they say, merely because their business will not admit of longer delay. The fact is, many of them are single, worthless fellows, and want to get on the other side of the mountains, for the sake of saying they have been out and returned safe, together with the probability of getting a mouthful of bread in exchange for their news.

"We are seated at the mouth of Otter creek, on the Kentucky, about one hundred and fifty miles from the Ohio. To the west, about fifty miles from us, are two settlements, within six or seven miles one of the other. There were, some time ago, about one hundred at the two places; though now, perhaps, not more than sixty or seventy, as many of them are gone up the Ohio for their families, &c.; and some returned by the way we came, to Virginia and elsewhere.

"On the opposite of the river, and north from us, about forty miles, is a settlement on the crown lands, of about nineteen persons; and lower down, towards the Ohio, on the same side, there are some other settlers, how many, or at what place, I can't exactly learn. There is also a party of about ten or twelve, with a surveyor, who is employed in searching through the country, and laying off officers' lands; they have been more than three weeks within ten miles of us, and will be several weeks longer ranging up and down the country.

"Colonel Harrod, who governs the two first mentioned settlements, (and is a very good man for our purpose,) Colonel Floyd, (the surveyor,) and myself, are under solemn engagements to communicate, with the utmost dispatch, every piece of intelligence respecting danger, or sign of Indians, to each other. In case of invasion of Indians, both the other parties are instantly to march, and relieve the distressed, if possible. Add to this, that our country is so fertile, the growth of grass and herbage so luxuriant, that it is almost impossible for man or dog to travel, without leaving such sign that you might, for many days, gallop a horse on the trail. To be serious, it is impossible for any number of people to pass through the woods without being tracked, and of course discovered, if Indians, for our hunters all go on horseback, and could not be deceived if they were to come on the trace of footmen. From these circumstances, I think myself in a great measure secure against a formidable attack; and a few skulkers could only

kill one or two, which would not much affect the interest of the company."*

Upon the 23d of May, the persons then in the country were called on by Henderson to send representatives to Boonesborough, to agree upon a form of government, and to make laws for the conduct of the inhabitants. From the journal of this primitive legislature, it appears that, besides Bonesboro', three settlements were represented, viz: Harrodsburg, which had been founded by James Harrod, in 1774, though afterward for a time abandoned, in consequence of Dunmore's war; the Boiling spring settlement, also headed by James Harrod, who had returned to the west early in 1775; and St. Asaph, in Lincoln county, where Benjamin Logan, who is said to have crossed the mountains with Henderson, was building himself a station, well known in the troubles with the Indians which soon followed.

The labors of this first of western legislatures were fruitless, as the Transylvania colony was soon transformed into the county of Kentucky, and yet some notice of them seems proper. There were present seventeen representatives; they met about fifty yards from the banks of the Kentucky, under the budding branches of a vast elm, while around their feet sprang the native white clover, as a carpet for their hall of legislation. When God's blessing had been asked by the Rev. John Lythe, Colonel Henderson offered an address on behalf of the proprietors, from which are selected a few paragraphs illustrative of the spirit of the men and times.

"Our peculiar circumstances in this remote country, surrounded on all sides with difficulties, and equally subject to one common danger, which threatens our common overthrow, must, I think, in their effects, secure to us an union of interests, and consequently that harmony in opinion so essential to the forming good, wise, and wholesome laws. If any doubt remain amongst you with respect to the force or efficacy of whatever laws you now or hereafter make, be pleased to consider that all power is originally in the people; therefore, make it their interest, by impartial and beneficial laws, and you may be sure of their inclination to see them enforced. For it is not to be supposed that a people, anxious and desirous to have laws made—who approve of the method of choosing delegates or representatives, to meet in general conven-

* Hall's Sketches, ii. 260 to 271.

tion for that purpose, can want the necessary and concomitant virtue to carry them into execution.

"Nay, gentlemen, for argument's sake, let us set virtue for a moment out of the question, and see how the matter will then stand. You must admit that it is, and ever will be, the interest of a large majority that the laws should be esteemed and held sacred; if so, surely this large majority can never want inclination or power to give sanction and efficacy to those very laws which advance their interest and secure their property.

"Among the many objects that must present themselves for your consideration, the first in order must, from its importance, be that of establishing courts of justice, or tribunals for the punishment of such as may offend against the laws you are about to make. As this law will be the chief corner-stone in the ground-work or basis of our constitution, let us in a particular manner recommend the most dispassionate attention, while you take for your guide as much of the spirit and genius of the laws of England as can be interwoven with those of this country. We are all Englishmen, or, what amounts to the same, ourselves and our fathers have, for many generations, experienced the invaluable blessings of that most excellent constitution, and surely we cannot want motives to copy from so noble an original.

"Many things, no doubt, crowd upon your minds, and seem equally to demand your attention; but next to that of restraining vice and immorality, surely nothing can be of more importance than establishing some plain and easy method for the recovery of debts, and determining matters of dispute with respect to property, contracts, torts, injuries, &c. These things are so essential, that if not strictly attended to, our name will become odious abroad, and our peace of short and precarious duration; it would give honest and disinterested persons cause to suspect that there was some colorable reason at least, for the unworthy and scandalous assertions, together with the groundless insinuations contained in an infamous and scurrilous libel* lately printed and published, concerning the settlement of this country, the author of which avails himself of his station, and under the specious pretense of proclamation, pompously dressed up and decorated in the garb of authority, has uttered invectives of the most malignant kind, and endeavors to wound the good name of persons, whose moral character would

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* Governor Dunmore's Proclamation.

derive little advantage by being placed in comparison with his, charging them amongst other things equally untrue, with a design 'of forming an asylum for debtors and other persons of desperate circumstances;' placing the proprietors of the soil at the head of a lawless train of abandoned villians, against whom the regal authority ought to be exerted, and every possible measure taken to put an immediate stop to so dangerous an enterprise.

"I have not the least doubt, gentlemen, but that your conduct in this convention will manifest the honest and laudable intentions of the present adventurers, whilst the conscious blush confounds the willful calumniators and officious detractors of our infant, and as yet, little community.

"Next to the establishment of courts or tribunals, as well for the punishment of public offenders as the recovering of just debts, that of establishing and regulating a militia, seems of the greatest importance; it is apparent, that without some wise institution respecting our mutual defense, the different towns or settlements are every day exposed to the most imminent danger, and liable to be destroyed at the mere will of the savage Indians. Nothing, I am persuaded, but their entire ignorance of our weakness and want of order, has hitherto preserved us from the destructive and rapacious hands of cruelty, and given us an opportunity at this time of forming secure defensive plans to be supported and carried into execution by the authority and sanction of a well-digested law.

"There are sundry other things, highly worthy your consideration, and demand redress; such as the wanton destruction of our game, the only support of life amongst many of us, and for want of which the country would be abandoned ere to-morrow, and scarcely a probability remain of its ever becoming the habitation of any Christian people. This, together with the practice of many foreigners, who make a business of hunting in our country, killing, driving off, and lessening the number of wild cattle and other game, whilst the value of the skins and furs is appropriated to the benefit of persons not concerned or interested in our settlement; these are evils, I say, that I am convinced cannot escape your notice and attention." *

To this the representatives of the infant commonwealth replied, by stating their readiness to comply with the recommendations of the proprietor, as being just and reasonable, and proceeded, with

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*See Butler's Kentucky, p. 508.

praiseworthy diligence, to pass the necessary acts. They were in session three working days, in which time they enacted the nine following laws:—one for establishing courts; one for punishing crimes; a third for regulating the militia; a fourth for punishing swearing and Sabbath-breaking; a fifth providing for writs of attachment; a sixth fixing fees; and three others for preserving the range, improving the breed of horses, and preserving game. In addition to these laws, this working House of delegates prepared a compact, to be the basis of relationship between the people and owners of Transylvania. Some of its leading articles were these:

"That the election of delegates in this colony be annual.

"That the convention may adjourn and meet again on their own adjournment, provided, that in cases of great emergency the proprietors may call together the delegates before the time adjourned to, and if a majority does not attend, they may dissolve them and call a new one.

"That to prevent dissension and delay of business, one proprietor shall act for the whole, or some one delegated by them for that purpose, who shall always reside in the colony.

"That there be a perfect religious freedom and general toleration—provided, that the propagators of any doctrine or tenets, widely tending to the subversion of our laws, shall for such conduct be amenable to, and punishable by the civil courts.

"That the judges of Superior or Supreme Courts be appointed by the proprietors, but be supported by the people, and to them be answerable for their mal-conduct.

"That the judges of the inferior courts be recommended by the people, and approved of by the proprietors, and by them commissioned.

"That all civil and military officers be within the appointment of the proprietors.

"That the office of Surveyor General belong to no person interested, or a partner in this purchase.

"That the Legislative authority, after the strength and maturity of the colony will permit, consist of three branches, to wit: the delegates or representatives chosen by the people, a council not exceeding twelve men, possessed of landed estate, residing in the colony, and the proprietors.

"That the convention have the sole power of raising and appropriating all public moneys, and electing their treasurer."

On the 27th of May, this Legislature adjourned to meet again upon the first Tuesday of the next September,—though it does not appear that it ever did so.

From the time of the unpopular treaty of Camp Charlotte, the western people had been apprehensive of extensive injury to the American frontiers from the Indians, instigated by agents reaching them through Canada, whenever the expected outbreak with England took place. Nor was it long before the Americans in the north saw the dangers to be feared from the action of the Indians, influenced by the British; and early in May, 1775, the provincial Congress of Massachusetts, wrote to the Reverend Samuel Kirkland, then a missionary among the Oneidas, informing him, that having heard that the English were trying to attach the Six Nations to their interest, it had been thought proper to ask the several tribes, through him, to stand neutral. Steps were also taken to secure the co-operation, if possible, of the Penobscot and Stockbridge Indians; the latter of whom replied, that, though they never could understand what the quarrel between the provinces and old England was about, yet they would stand by the Americans. They also offered to "feel the mind" of the Iroquois, and try to bring them over.

But the Iroquois were not easily to be won over by any means. Sir William Johnson, so long the king's agent among them, and to whom they looked with the confidence of children in a father, had died suddenly, in June, 1774, and the wild men had been left under the influence of Colonel Guy Johnson, Sir William's son-in-law, who succeeded him as superintendent, and of John Johnson, Sir William's son, who succeeded to his estates and honors. Both these men were Tories; and their influence in favor of England was increased by that of the celebrated Joseph Brant. This trio, acting in conjunction with some of the rich old royalists along the Mohawk, opposed the whole movement of the Bostonians, the whole spirit of the Philadelphia Congress, and every attempt, open or secret, in favor of the rebels. Believing Mr. Kirkland to be little better than a Whig in disguise, and fearing that he might alienate the tribe in which he was from their old faith, and through them influence the others, the Johnsons, while the war was still bloodless, made strong efforts to remove him from his position.

Nor were the fears of the Johnsons groundless, as is shown by the address of the Oneida Indians to the New England governors, in which they state their intention of remaining neutral during so unnatural a quarrel as that just then commencing. But this intention the leading tribe of the great Indian confederacy meant to disturb, if possible. The idea was suggested that Guy Johnson was in danger of being seized by the Bostonians, and an attempt was

made to rally about him the savages as a body-guard; while he, on his part, wrote to the neighboring magistrates, holding out to them as a terror, the excitement of the Indians, and the dangers to be feared from their rising, if he were seized, or their rights interfered with.

So stood matters in the Mohawk valley, during the month of May, 1775. The Johnsons were gathering a little army, which soon amounted to five hundred men; and the Revolutionary committees, resolute never to yield one hair's breadth, "never to submit to any arbitrary acts of any power under heaven," were denouncing Colonel Guy's conduct as "arbitrary, illegal, oppressive, and unwarrantable." "Watch him," wrote Washington to General Schuyler, in June; and, even before that order was given, with the Tryon county men above him on the river, and the whole Provincial force below him, he was likely to be well watched. Finding himself thus fettered, and feeling it to be time to take some decided step, the superintendent, early in June, began to move westward, accompanied by his dependents, and the great body of the Mohawk Indians, who remained firm in the British interests.* He moved first to Fort Stanwix, (afterward Fort Schuyler, near the present town of Rome,) and then went on to Ontario, where he arrived early in July, and held a congress with thirteen hundred and forty warriors, whose old attachment was then and there renewed. Joseph Brant, be it noted, during all this time, was acting as the superintendent's secretary.

All of the Six Nations, except the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, might now be deemed in alliance with the British. Those tribes, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Kirkland, were prevented from going with the others, and upon the 28th of June, at German Flats, gave to the Americans a pledge of neutrality.†

While the members of the Northern Confederacy were thus divided in their attachments, the Delawares of the upper Ohio were by no means unanimous in their opinions as to this puzzling family quarrel which was coming on; and Congress, having been informed on the 1st day of June, that the western Virginians stood in fear of the Indians, with whom Lord Dunmore, in his small way, was, as they thought, tampering, it was determined to have a conference held at Pittsburgh, to explain to the poor red men the causes of

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* Stone, vol. i. p. 77. † Stone, vol. i. p.81.

the sudden division of their old enemies, and try to persuade them to keep peace. This conference did not meet, however, until October.

Nor was it from the northern and western tribes only, that hostilities were feared. The Cherokees and their neighbors were much dreaded, and not without cause; as they were then less under the control of the whites than either the Iroquois or Delawares, and might, in the hope of securing their freedom, be led to unite, in a warfare of extermination against the Carolinas. Accordingly, early in July, Congress having determined to seek the alliance of the several Indians nations, three departments were formed;* a northern one, including the Six Nations, and all north and east of them, to the charge of which General Schuyler, Oliver Wolcott, and three others, were appointed; a middle department, including the Western Indians, who were to be looked to by Messieurs Franklin, Henry, and Wilson; and a southern department, including all the tribes south of Kentucky, over which commissioners were to preside, under the appointment of the South Carolina Council of Safety. These commissioners were to keep a close watch upon the nations in their several departments, and upon the king's superintendents among them. These officers they were to seize, if they had reason to think them engaged in stirring up the natives against the colonies, and in all ways were to seek to keep those natives quiet, and out of the contest. *Talks* were also prepared to send to the several tribes, in which an attempt was made to illustrate the relations between England and America, by comparing the last to a child ordered to carry a pack too heavy for its strength. The boy complains, and, for answer, the pack is made a little heavier. Again and again the poor urchin remonstrates, but the bad servants misrepresent the matter to the father, and the boy gets ever a heavier burden, till at last, almost broken-backed, he throws off the load altogether, and says he will carry it no longer. This allegory was intended to make the matter clear to the pack-carrying red men, and, if we may judge from Heckewelder's account, it answered the purpose; for, he says, the Delawares reported the whole story very correctly. Indeed, he gives their report upon the 137th page of his "Narrative," which report agrees very well with the original speech, preserved to us in the Journals of the Old Congress.

* "Old Journals," vol. i. p. 113, &c.

The first conference held by the commissioners, was in the northern department, a grand congress coming together at Albany, in August. Of this congress, a full account may be found in Col. Stone's first volume. It did not, however, fully represent the Six Nations, and some even of those who were present immediately afterward deserted to the British, so that the result was slight.

The next conference was held at Pittsburgh with the western Indians, in October, and was attended by the Delawares, Senecas, and, perhaps, some of the Shawanese. The Delaware nation were divided in their views touching the Americans. One of their chieftains, Captain White-Eyes, a man of high character and clear mind, of courage such as became the leader of a race whose most common virtues were those of the wild man, and of a forbearance and kindness as unusual as fearlessness was frequent, among his people,—this true man was now, as always, in favor of peace, and his influence carried with him a strong party. But there were others again who longed for war, and wished to carry the whole nation over to the British interest. These were led by a cunning and able man, called Captain Pipe, who, without the energy, moral daring, and unclouded honesty of his opponent, had many qualities admirably suited to win and rule Indians. Between these two men, there was a division from the beginning of the Revolution till the death of White-Eyes. At the Pittsburgh Conference the Peace Chief, as he was called, was present, and there asserted his freedom of the Six Nations, who, through their emissaries present, tried to bend the Delawares, as they had been used to do. His bold denial of the claim of the Iroquois to rule his people, was seized upon by some of the war-party as a pretext for leaving the Muskingum, where White-Eyes lived, and withdrawing toward Lake Erie, into the more immediate vicinity of the English and their allies.

The Shawanese and their neighbors, meantime, had taken council with Guy Johnson, at Oswego, and might be considered as in league with the king. Indeed, these bewildered savages cannot be blamed for leaguing themselves with any power *against* those actual occupants of their hunting-grounds, who were here and there in Kentucky, building block-houses and clearing corn-fields. Against those block-houses and their builders, little bands of red men continually kept sallying forth, supplied with ammunition from Detroit and the other western posts, and incited to exertion by the well known stimulants of whisky and fine clothes.

However, it is hardly correct to say, that this was done in 1775, though the arrangements were, beyond doubt, made in that year, Col. Johnson having visited Montreal, immediately after the council with the Shawanese and others, at Oswego, for the purpose of concluding with the British governor and general upon his future course.

But although the dangers of the posts more immediately exposed to Indian invasions were understood, both east and west, it did not prevent emigration. In June, 1775, Boone had sought the settlements once more, in order to remove his family; and in the following September, with four females, the fearless mothers of Kentucky, re-crossed the mountains. These four women were his own wife, Mrs. M'Gary, whose husband afterward attained distinction in the battle of the Blue-licks, Mrs. Denton, and Mrs. Hogan; their husbands and children came with them, and more than twenty other men, able to bear arms, were also of the party.

At the close of 1775, the country along the Kentucky was filling with emigrants, although doubt and dissatisfaction already existed as to Henderson's purchase, and especially as to holding lands of proprietors, and being governed by them—many of the new settlers not being ignorant of the evils brought on Pennsylvania by means of the Proprietary rule. But hope was still predominant, and the characters of Harrod, Floyd, Logan, and the Harts were well calculated to inspire confidence.

It was toward the close of this last year of our colonial existence, 1775, that a plot was discovered, which involved some whose names have already appeared upon these pages, and which, if successful, would have influenced the fortunes of the West deeply. Dr. John Connolly, of Pittsburgh, whom Washington had met and talked with, in 1770, and with whom he had afterward corresponded in relation to western lands, and who played so prominent a part as commandant of Pittsburgh, where he continued at least through 1774,* was, from the outset of the revolutionary movements a Tory; and being a man extensively acquainted with the West, a man of talent, and fearless withal, he naturally became a leader. This man, in 1775, planned a union of the north-western Indians with British troops, which combined forces were to be led, under

* American Archives, Fourth Series, vol. i., p. 1179.

his command, from Detroit, and, after ravaging the few frontier settlements, were to join Lord Dunmore in Eastern Virginia. To forward his plans, Connolly visited Boston, to see General Gage; then, having returned to the south, in the fall of 1775, he left Lord Dunmore for the West, bearing one set of instructions upon his person, and another set, the true ones, most artfully concealed, under the direction of Lord Dunmore himself, in his saddle, secured by tin and waxed cloth. He and his comrades, among whom was Dr. Smyth, the author of the doubtful work already quoted, had gone as far as Hagerstown, where they were arrested upon suspicion, and sent back to Frederick. There they were searched, and the papers upon Connolly's person were found, seized, and sent to Congress. Washington, having been informed by one who was present when the genuine instructions were concealed, as above stated, wrote twice on the subject to the proper authorities, in order to lead to their discovery, but it is not known that they were ever found. Connolly himself was confined, and remained a close prisoner till 1781, complaining much of his hard lot, but finding few to pity him.

After the Revolution, he was a mischief maker in Kentucky. He appears to have been one of the earliest explorers of the West, and, in 1770, proposed a province which would have included all of Kentucky between the Cumberland or Shawanee river, and a line drawn from above its fork to the falls, and the Ohio. He afterward caused to be surveyed, patented, and advertised for sale, in April, 1774, the ground upon which Louisville was built.

In the annals of Kentucky, this year is remarkable for the recog-
1776.] nition by Virginia of the Transylvania colony, as a part of the Old Dominion; and for such a renewal of hostilities as drove many, who had come to make the West their home, back over the mountains again. During the last six months of 1775, and the first half of 1776, the northern savages, as has been stated, had in a great measure ceased their excursions against the invaders of their hunting-grounds. Not, however, because they had given up the contest; they were preparing, in connection with the British agents in the north-west, to act with deadly efficiency against the frontier stations, and such seems to have been the feeling of the inhabitants of those stations. From an early period in the Revolutionary war, the use of the Indians had been contemplated by both parties to the struggle. It had been usual, in the contests between the French and the English, as has been seen; and few seem to have

deemed it possible to avoid alliances with the red men. It has been suggested, but it is not known on what evidence, that the origin of Dunmore's war, was the evil feeling produced by British envoys, who anticipated a struggle with the colonists, and were acting thus early.* Dunmore's war is, however, easily explained without resorting to any such abominable supposition; but there is cause to think that England took the first steps that were taken to enlist the Indians in the Revolutionary contest. The first mention of the subject is in the address of the Massachusetts Congress to the Iroquois, in April, 1775. In that they say, that they hear the British are exciting the savages against the colonies; and they ask the Six Nations to aid them or stand quiet.

And in the June following, when James Wood visited the western tribes, and asked them to a council, under the direction of the Virginia House of Burgesses, he found that Governor Carlton had been beforehand, and offered the alliance of England. It would seem then, that even before the battle of Lexington, both parties had applied to the Indians, and sought an alliance. In the outset, therefore, both parties were of the same mind and pursued the same course. The Congress of the United Colonies, however, during 1775, and until the summer of 1776, *advocated merely the attempt to keep the Indians out of the contest entirely*, and instructed the commissioners appointed in the several departments to do so. But England was of another mind. Promises and threats were both used to induce the savages to act with her, though at first it would seem to little purpose, for even the Canada tribe of Caghnawagas had offered their aid to the Americans. When Britain, however, became victorious in the North, and particularly after the battle of the Cedars, in May, 1776, the wild men began to think of holding to her side, their policy being, most justly, in all quarrels of the whites to stick to the strongest. Then it was, in June 1776, that Congress resolved to do what *Washington had advised in the previous April*, that is, to employ the savages in active warfare. Upon the 19th of April the commander-in-chief wrote to Congress, saying, as the Indians would soon be engaged, either for or against, he would suggest that they be engaged for the colonies;† upon the 3d of May, the report on this was considered; upon the 25th of May, it was resolved to

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* American Archives, Fourth Series.

† Spark's Washington, vol. iii, p. 364.

be highly expedient to engage the Indians for the American service; and, upon the 3d of June, the general was empowered to raise two thousand to be employed in Canada. Upon the 17th of June, Washington was authorized to employ them where he pleased and to offer them rewards for prisoners; and, upon the 8th of July, he was empowered to call out as many of the Nova Scotia and neighboring tribes as he saw fit.*

Such was the course of proceeding on the part of the colonies with regard to the employment of Indians. The steps at the time were secret, but now the whole story is before the world. Not so, however, with regard to the acts of England; as to them, there are but few of the records available. One thing, however, is known, namely, that while the colonies offered their allies of the woods rewards for *prisoners*, some of the British agents gave them money for *scalps*,†—a proceeding that cannot find any justification.

In accordance with the course of policy thus pursued, the northwestern tribes, already angered by the constant invasion of their territory by the hunters of Virginia and Carolina, and easily accessible by the lakes, were soon enlisted on the side of England; and, had a Pontiac been alive to lead them, might have done much mischief. As it was, during the summer of 1776, their straggling parties so filled the woods of Kentucky, that no one outside of a fort felt safe. But no better picture of the fear and anxiety that prevailed, can be given, than a part of a letter from an inmate of the fort at Boonesborough, written at that time.

"If the war becomes general, of which there is the greatest appearance, our situation is truly alarming. We are about finishing a large fort, and intend to keep possession of this place as long as possible. They are, I understand, doing the same thing at Harrodsburg, and also on Elkhorn, at the Royal Spring. The settlement on Licking creek, known by the name of Hinkston's, has been broken up; nineteen of the settlers are now here on their way in—Hinkston among the rest. They all seem deaf to any thing we can say to dissuade them. Ten at least, of our own people, are going to join them, which will leave us with less than thirty men at this fort. I think more than three hundred men have left the country since I came out, and not one has arrived, except a few *cabiners* down the Ohio.

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* Secret Journals, vol. i, pp. 43–47.

† Jefferson's Writings, vol. i, p. 456.

"I want to return as much as any person can do; but if I leave the country now, there is scarcely one single man who will not follow the example. When I think of the deplorable condition a few helpless families are likely to be in, I conclude to sell my life as dearly as I can in their defense, rather than make an ignominious escape.

"I am afraid it is in vain to sue for any relief from Virginia; yet the convention encouraged the settlement of this country, and why should not the extreme parts of Fincastle be as justly entitled to protection as any other part of the country? If an expedition was carried on against those nations who are at open war with the people in general, we might be in a great measure relieved, by drawing them off to defend their towns. If any thing under Heaven can be done for us, I know of no person who would more willingly engage in forwarding us assistance than yourself. I do, at the request and in behalf of all the distressed women and children, and other inhabitants of this place, implore the aid of every leading man who may have it in his power to give us relief.

"I cannot write. You can better guess at my ideas from what I have said, than I can express them."

But it was not destined that Kentucky should sink under her trials. It was during this very summer of 1776, indeed, that the corner-stone of her prosperity was laid, and the first step taken toward making her an independent commonwealth.

This was done by George Rogers Clark, truly her founder, and the most eminent of the early heroes of the West. He was born November 19, 1752, in Albemarle county, Virginia. In early life, he had been, like Washington, a surveyor, and more lately had served in Dunmore's war. He first visited Kentucky in 1775, and held apparently at that time the rank of major. Returning to Virginia, in the autumn of 1775, he prepared to move permanently to the West, in the following spring. Having done this early in 1776, Clark, whose views reached much further than those of most of the pioneers, set himself seriously to consider the condition and prospects of the young republic to which he had attached himself. Its advantages were too obvious to escape any eye; but the dangers of a colony so far beyond the old lines of civilization, and unconnected with any of the elder provinces, while at the same time the title to it was in dispute, had not impressed all minds as they should.

Clark knew that Virginia entirely denied the purchase of Henderson; he knew also that Henderson's purchase from the Cherokees was of the same soil which Sir William Johnson had purchased for the king in 1768, from the Iroquois, at Fort Stanwix; he was sure, also, that the Virginia settlers would never be easy under a proprietary government, however founded; and saw already with his quick eye, wide-spread dissatisfaction. One of two things he deemed the frontier settlements must be: either an acknowledged portion of Virginia,* and to be by her aided in their struggles,—or an independent commonwealth. These views had been partially formed in 1775, probably, for on June 6th, 1776, they had attained sufficient currency to cause the gathering of a general meeting at Harrodsburg, to bring matters to an issue. Clark was not present at the commencement of the meeting. Had he been, there is reason to think he would have procured the election of envoys authorized to lay the whole business before the Assembly of Virginia, and ask the admittance of Kentucky by itself into the number of her counties. As it was, he and Gabriel Jones were chosen members of the Virginia Assembly, and the following petition was prepared and signed by James Harrod and eighty-seven others, to be laid before that body.

"*To the Honorable the Convention of Virginia.*—The Petition of the inhabitants, and some of the intended settlers, of that part of North America now denominated Transylvania, humbly sheweth:

"*Whereas*, some of your petitioners became adventurers in that country from the advantageous reports of their friends who first explored it, and others since allured by the specious show of the easy terms on which the land was to be purchased from those who style themselves to be proprietors, have, at a great expense and many hardships, settled there, under the faith of holding the lands by an indefeasible title, which those gentlemen assured them they were capable of making. But your petitioners have been greatly alarmed at the late conduct of those gentlemen, in advancing the price of the purchase money from twenty shillings to fifty shillings sterling per hundred acres, and at the same time have increased the fees of entry and surveying to a most exorbitant rate; and, by the short period prefixed for taking up the lands, even on those extravagant terms, they plainly evince their intentions of rising in

* So far Fincastle county had been held to include Kentucky, but the inhabitants had no rights or protection as citizens of Virginia.—Marshall, i. 47.

their demands as the settlers increase, or their insatiable avarice shall dictate.

"And your petitioners have been more justly alarmed at such unaccountable and arbitrary proceedings, as they have lately learned, from a copy of the deed made by the Six Nations with Sir William Johnson, and the commissioners from this colony, at Fort Stanwix, in the year 1768, that the said lands were included in the cession or grant of that tract which lies on the south side of the river Ohio, beginning at the mouth of Cherokee or Hogohege River, and extending up the said river to Kettaning. And, as in the preamble of said deed, the said confederate Indians declare the Cherokee River to be their true boundary with the southern Indians, your petitioners may, with great reason, doubt the validity of the purchase that those proprietors have made of the Cherokees—the only title they set up to the lands for which they demand such extravagant sums from your petitioners, without any other assurance for holding them than their own deed and warrantee; a poor security, as your petitioners humbly apprehend, for the money that, among other new and unreasonable regulations, these proprietors insist should be paid down on the delivery of the deed.

"And, as we have the greatest reason to presume that his majesty, to whom the lands were deeded by the Six Nations, for a valuable consideration, will vindicate his title, and think himself at liberty to grant them to such persons, and on such terms as he pleases, your petitioners would in consequence thereof, be turned out of possession, or be obliged to purchase their lands and improvements on such terms as the new grantee or proprietor might think fit to impose; so that we cannot help regarding the demand of Mr. Henderson and his company as highly unjust and impolitic, in the infant state of the settlement, as well as greatly injurious to your petitioners, who would cheerfully have paid the considertion at first stipulated by the company, whenever their grant had been confirmed by the crown, or otherwise authenticated by the supreme legislature.

"And, as we are anxious to concur in every respect with our brethren of the united Colonies, for our just rights and privileges, as far as our infant settlement and remote situation will admit of, we humbly expect and implore to be taken under the protection of the honorable Convention of the Colony of Virginia, of which we cannot help thinking ourselves still a part, and request your kind interposition in our behalf, that we may not suffer under the rigorous demands and impositions of the gentlemen styling themselves

proprietors, who, the better to effect their oppressive designs, have given them the color of a law, enacted by a score of men, artfully picked from the few adventurers who went to see the country last summer, overawed by the presence of Mr. Henderson.

"And that you would take such measures as your honors, in your wisdom, shall judge most expedient for restoring peace and harmony to our divided settlement; or, if your honors apprehend that our case comes more properly before the honorable the General Congress, that you would, in your goodness, recommend the same to your worthy delegates, to espouse it as the cause of the colony. And your petitioners, &c."

Clark knew perfectly well that the legislature of his native State would not acknowledge the validity of the election of delegates from the frontiers, but hoping nevertheless to effect his object, such a recognition of the Virginia claim to Kentucky as would insure her aid in the defense of the stations, he and his companion took the southern route by the Cumberland Gap, and after suffering agonies from "scald feet," at length reached their destination, only to learn that the Assembly had adjourned. This of course caused a delay in part of their proceedings, but the keen-witted soldier saw that before the legislature met again, he might, by proper steps, effect much that he wished to; he lost no time, therefore, in waiting upon Patrick Henry, then governor, and explaining to him the capabilities, the dangers, the wishes, and the necessities of the settlers in the far west—asked for a supply of the first necessary of life, gunpowder. The governor was favorably disposed, and gave Clark a letter to the Executive Council, being himself sick, and unable to go with him to Williamsburg, the seat of government at that time.

But the Council were very cautious, and while they would lend the powder, if Clark would be answerable for it, and pay for its transportation, they dared not, until the Assembly had recognized the Kentucky stations as within Virginia, do more. Clark presented, and again presented the impossibility of his conveying the powder to so great a distance, through a country swarming with foes. The Council listened patiently, but dared not run any risk. An order was issued for the powder on the terms proposed, but the inflexible pioneer would have none of it, and inclosing the order again to the Council, told them, that since Virginia would not aid her children, they must look elsewhere—that a land not worth defending was not worth claiming, of course—and so he bade them good-bye.

These intimations were not to be overlooked; the whole matter was again weighed in the Council, and probably the governor's advice taken, after which, upon the 23d of August, an order was issued for placing the ammunition required at Pittsburgh, subject to Major Clark's order, for the use of the inhabitants of "Kentucki."*

One of his objects being thus in the main accomplished, Clark prepared himself to urge the suit of the Transylvania colonists before the legislature when it should meet in the fall, having first written to his friends at the west that powder was waiting them at Pittsburgh, which they must manage to get down the river. When the Assembly met, Messrs. Clark and Jones on the one hand, and Henderson and his friends on the other, proceeded to lay before it the whole question of proprietorship in the Kentucky purchase from the Cherokees. The contest must have been one of considerable severity, for it was not till December 7, 1776, that the success of the delegates appointed in June was made certain by the erection of the region in dispute, together with all that now forms the State of Kentucky, into a county of that name. His second great aim secured, (and he probably considered it so before the actual passage of the law,) Clark and his associate were on the point of returning at once to the frontier, by the southern route, when they fortunately heard that their gunpowder still lay at Pittsburgh. The truth was that Clark's letter to his western friends had miscarried. At once the envoys determined to go back by way of the Ohio, and see their five hundred pounds of ammunition safe to the stations themselves.

When they reached Pittsburgh, they learned that many Indians, it was thought with hostile intentions, were lurking thereabouts, who would probably follow them down the river; but no time was to be lost, no matter what dangers threatened, so with seven boatmen, the two delegates embarked upon the Ohio, and succeeded in reaching safely Limestone creek, where Maysville has been since built. Setting their boat adrift, lest it should attract attention, they concealed their treasure, as they best could, along the banks of the creek, and started for Harrodsburg, to procure a convoy. On the way they heard of Colonel Todd as being in the neighborhood with a band of men; Jones and five of the boatmen remained to join this party, and return with it for the powder, while Clark and

* Butler, second edition, 488, gives the order.

the other two pushed forward to the Kentucky. Jones and Todd having met, turned their steps toward the Ohio, but were suddenly attacked on the 25th of December, near the Blue Licks, by a party of natives, who had struck Clark's trail, were defeated, and Jones, with two others, were killed.* Clark, however, reached Harrodsburg in safety, and a party was sent thence, which brought the gunpowder to the forts.

The year 1776 might be said to have passed without any serious 1777.] injury to the colonists from the various Indian tribes, although it was clear that those tribes were to be looked on as engaged in the war, and that the majority of them were with the mother country. Through the west and north-west, where the agents of England could act to the greatest advantage, dissatisfaction spread rapidly. The nations nearest the Americans found themselves pressed upon and harassed by the more distant bands, and through the whole winter of 1776–77, rumors were flying along the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, of coming troubles. Nor were the people of New York less disturbed in their minds, the settlers upon the Mohawk and upper Susquehanna standing in continual dread of incursion.† No incursion, however, took place during the winter or spring of 1777; though why the blow was delayed cannot well be known until Great Britain has magnanimity enough to unveil her past acts, and, acknowledging her follies and sins, show the world the various steps to that union of the savages against her foes, which her noble Chatham denounced as a "disgrace," and "deep and deadly sin."

That blow was delayed, however; and, alas! was struck at length, after, and as if in retaliation for one of those violent acts of wrong, which must at times be expected from a frontier people. Cornstalk was the leading chieftain of the Scioto Shawanese; a man whose energy, courage, and good sense, placed him among the very foremost of the native heroes of this land. This truly great man, who was himself for peace, but who found all his neighbors, and even those of his own tribe, stirred up to war by the agents of England, went over to the American fort at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, in order to talk the matter over with Captain Arbuckle, who commanded there, and with whom he was

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* Clark's account in Dillon's Indiana, 128.

†Journal of the Old Congress—Stone, &c.

acquainted. This was early in the summer of 1777. The Americans knowing the Shawanese to be inclining to the enemy, thought it would be a good plan to retain Cornstalk and Redhawk, a younger chief of note, who was with him, and make them hostages for the good conduct of their people. The old warrior, accordingly, after he had finished his statement of the position he was in, and the necessity under which he and his friends would be of "going with the stream," unless the Long-Knives could protect them, found that, in seeking counsel and safety, he had walked into a trap, and was fast there. However, he folded his arms, and with Indian calmness, waited the issue.

The next morning, from the opposite shore was heard an Indian hail, known to be from Ellinipsico, the son of Cornstalk. The Americans brought him also into their toils as a hostage, and were thankful that they had thus secured to themselves peace; as if iniquity and deception ever secured that first condition of all good! Another day rolled by, and the three captives sat waiting what time would bring. On the third day, two savages who were unknown to the whites, shot one of the white hunters, toward evening. Instantly the dead man's comrades raised the cry, "Kill the red dogs in the fort." Arbuckle tried to stop them, but they were men of blood, and their wrath was up. The Captain's own life was threatened if he offered any hindrance. They rushed to the house where the captives were confined, Cornstalk met them at the door, and fell, pierced with seven bullets; his son and Redhawk died also, less calmly than their veteran companion, and more painfully. From that hour, peace was not to be hoped for.*

But this treachery closed by murder, on the part of the Americans, in no degree caused, or excuses the after steps of the British agents; for almost at the moment when Cornstalk was dying upon the banks of the Ohio, there was a congress gathering at Oswego, under the eye of Colonel Johnson, "to eat the flesh and drink the blood of a Bostonian;" in other words, to arrange finally the measures which should be taken against the devoted rebels by Christian brethren and their heathen allies.

In Kentucky, meanwhile, Indian hostilities had been unceasing:

From Clark's journal, it appears that on the 6th, 7th, 18th and

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* Doddridge, 237.—Withers' Border Warfare, 151.

28th of March; on the 7th, 24th and 29th of April; on the 23d and 30th of May; on the 22d of June; on the 25th of August; and on the 11th of September, predatory attacks were made, and murders committed by the Indians in all the settlements and around the forts and block-houses.

At times, the stations were assailed by large bodies of savages; at times, single settlers were picked off by single, skulking foes. The horses and cattle were driven away; the cornfields remained uncultivated; the numbers of the whites became fewer and fewer, and from the older settlements little or no aid came to the frontier stations, until Col. Bowman, in August, 1777, came from Virginia with one hundred men. It was a time of suffering and distress through all the colonies, which was in most of them bravely borne; but none suffered more, or showed more courage and fortitude, than the settlers of the West. Their conduct has excited less admiration out of their own section than that of Marion, and men like him, because their struggles had less apparent connection with the great cause of American independence. But who shall say what would have become of the resistance of the colonies, had England been able to pour from Canada her troops upon the rear of the rebels, assisted, as she would have been, by all the Indian nations? It may have been the contests before the stations of Kentucky, and Clark's bold incursions into Illinois, and against Vincennes, which turned the oft-tottering fortunes of the great struggle.

But whatever may be thought of this, very many incidents of Western history present a most picturesque and touching character, during the period that elapsed from 1777 to 1780. Time has not yet so mellowed their features as to give them an air of romance precisely; but the essence of romance is in them. In illustration, one or two of these incidents, familiar enough in the West, but still worthy of repetition, will be mentioned.

One of the eminent men of Kentucky, in those and later times, was General James Ray. While yet a boy, he had proved himself able to outrun the best of the Indian warriors; and it was when but seventeen years of age that he performed the service, for a distressed garrison, of which we are about to speak. It was in the winter of 1776–77, a winter of starvation. Ray lived at Harrodsburg, which, like the other stations, was destitute of corn. There was game enough in the woods around, but there were also Indians more than enough, and had the sound of a gun been heard in the

neighborhood of a station, it would have insured the death of the one who discharged it. Under these circumstances, Ray resolved to hunt at a distance. There was one horse left of a drove of forty, which Major M'Gary had brought to the West; an old horse, faithful and strong, but not fitted to run the gauntlet through the forest. Ray took this solitary animal, and before day dawn, day by day, and week by week, rode noiselessly along the runs and rivers until he was far enough to hunt with safety; then he killed his game, and by night, or in the dusk of the evening, retraced his steps. And thus the garrison lived by the daring labors of this stripling of seventeen. Older hunters tried his plan, and were discovered; but he, by his sagacity, boldness, care, and skill, safely pursued his disinterested and dangerous employment, and succeeded in constantly avoiding the perils that beset him. It is not likely that Boone, or any one, ever showed more perfectly the qualities of a superior woodsman than did Ray through that winter.

If any one did, however, it was surely Benjamin Logan, in the spring of that same year. Logan crossed the mountains with Henderson, in 1775, and was of course one of the oldest settlers. In May, 1777, the fort at which Logan lived was surrounded by Indians, more than a hundred in number; and so silently had they made their approach, that the first notice which the garrison had of their presence was a discharge of firearms upon some men who were guarding the women as they milked the cows outside the station. One was killed, a second mortally wounded, and a third, named Harrison, disabled. This poor man, unable to aid himself, lay in sight of the fort, where his wife, who saw his condition, was begging some one to go to his relief. But to attempt such a thing seemed madness; for whoever ventured from either side into the open ground, where Harrison lay writhing and groaning, would instantly become a target for all the sharpshooters of the opposite party. For some moments Logan stood it pretty well; he tried to persuade himself, and the poor woman who was pleading to him, that his duty required him to remain within the walls and let the savages complete their bloody work. But such a heart as his was too warm to be long restrained by arguments and judicious expediency; and suddenly turning to his men, he cried, "Come, boys, who's the man to help me in with Harrison?" There were brave men there, but to run into certain death in order to save a man whom, after all, they could not save—it was asking too much; and all shook their heads, and shrunk back from the mad proposal. "Not one! not one of you help a poor fellow to save his scalp?"

"Why, what's the good, captain; to let the red rascals kill us wont help Harrison!" At last, one, half inspired by Logan's impetuous courage, agreed to go; he could die but once, he said, and was about as ready then as he should ever be. The gate was slightly opened, and the two doomed men stepped out; instantly a tempest of rifle balls opened upon them, and Logan's companion, rapidly reasoning himself into the belief that he was not so ready to die as he had believed, bolted back into the station. Not so his noble-hearted leader. Alone, through that tempest, he sprang forward to where the wounded man lay, and while his hat, hunting-shirt, and hair were cut and torn by the ceaseless shower, he lifted his comrade like a child in his arms, and regained the fort without a scratch.

But this rescue of a fellow-being, though worthy of record in immortal verse, was nothing compared with what this same Benjamin Logan did soon after. The Indians continued their siege; still they made no impression, but the garrison were running short of powder and ball, and none could be procured except by crossing the mountains. To do this, the neighboring forest must be passed, thronging with Indians, and a journey of some hundred miles accomplished along a path every portion of which might be waylaid, and at last the fort must be re-entered with the articles so much needed. Surely, if ever an enterprise seemed hopeless, it was this one, and yet the thing must be tried. Logan pondered the matter carefully; he calculated the distance, not less than four hundred miles in and back; he estimated the aid from other quarters; and in the silence of night asked wisdom and guidance from God. Nor did he ask in vain; wisdom was given him. At night, with two picked companions, he stole from the station, every breath hushed. The summer leaves were thick above them, and, with the profoundest care and skill, Logan guided his followers from tree to tree, from run to run, unseen by the savages, who dreamed not, probably, of so dangerous an undertaking. Quickly, but most cautiously, pushing eastward, walking forty or fifty miles a day, the three woodsmen passed onward till the Cumberland range was in sight; then, avoiding the Gap, which they supposed would be watched by Indians, over those rugged hills, where man had never climbed before, they forced their way with untiring energy, and a rapidity to us, degenerate as we are, inconceivable.

The mountains crossed, and the valley of the Holston reached, Logan procured his ammunition, and then turned alone on his homeward track, leaving his two companions, with full directions,

to follow him more slowly with the lead and powder. He returned before them, because he wished to revive the hopes of his little garrison in the wilderness, numbering as it did, in his absence, only ten men, and they without the means of defense. He feared they would yield, if he delayed an hour; so back, like a chamois, he sped over those broken and precipitous ranges, and actually reached and re-entered his fort in ten days from the time he left it, safe and full of hope. Such a spirit would have made even women dare and do every thing, and by his influence the siege was still resisted till the ammunition came safe to hand. From May till September that little band was thus beset; then Colonel Bowman relieved them. In the midst of that summer, as George Rogers Clark's journal has it, "Lieutenant Linn was married—great merriment!" This was at Harrodsburg, near by Logan's station. Such was the frontier life!

It was a trying year, 1777, for those little forts in the wilderness. At the close of it, three settlements only existed in the interior—Harrodsburg, Boonesborough, and Logan's; and of these three the whole military population was but one hundred and two in number!

Nor was it in Kentucky alone that the Indians were busy. Through the spring and summer constant attacks were made upon the settlements in the neighborhood of Wheeling. At this point, the Zanes had settled, in 1770, and here, in 1774, Connolly, or the settlers, by his direction, had built a fort, called Fort Fincastle,* after the name of the western county of Virginia. In this a body of men was left by Lord Dunmore, when he made his treaty with the Shawanese,† and through the whole of 1775 and 1776 it was occupied by more or fewer soldiers; indeed, in those times all men were soldiers, and hostility from the Indians daily anticipated. This fort, in 1776, was called, in honor of the eloquent governor of Virginia, Fort Henry, and was the central point between Fort Pitt and the works at the mouth of Kanawha.

Early in the autumn of 1777, word from friendly Indians, perhaps the Christian Delawares, of the Muskingum, or perhaps from Isaac Zane, the brother of the Wheeling settlers, reached General Hand, who commanded at Fort Pitt, informing him that a large body of the north-western Indians was preparing to attack the

* George R. Clarke is said to have planned it. (American Pioneer. ii., 303.)

† American Archives, Fourth Series, ii., 1189.

posts of the upper Ohio. These news were quickly spread abroad, and all were watching where the blow would come.

On the evening of September 26th, smoke was seen by those near Wheeling, down the river, and was supposed to proceed from the burning of the block-house at Grave creek, and the people of the vicinity taking the alarm, betook themselves to the fort. Within its walls were forty-two fighting men, of various ages and gifts; these were well supplied with guns, both rifles and muskets, but had only a scant supply of gun powder; as the event proved. The night of the 26th passed without alarm, but when very early upon the 27th, two men, who were sent out for horses, in order to alarm the settlements near by, had proceeded some distance from the fort, they met a party of six savages, by whom one of them was shot.

The commandant of the post, Colonel Shepherd, learning from the survivor that there were but six of the assailants, sent a party of fifteen men to see to them. These were suffered to march after the six, who seem to have been meant merely for a decoy, until they were within the Indian lines, when, suddenly, in front, behind, and on every side, the painted warriors showed themselves. The little band fought bravely against incalculable odds, but of the fifteen, three only escaped, and they by means of the brush and logs which were in the corn-field where the skirmish took place. As soon as the position of the first band was seen at the fort, thirteen others rushed to their assistance, and shared their fate. Then, and it was not yet sunrise, the whole body of Indians, disposed in somewhat martial order, appeared regularly, to invest the devoted fort. There were nearly four hundred of them, and of the defenders, but twelve men and boys; unless indeed, the women are counted, *than whom none were braver or calmer within the walls of that little fortress.*

The Indians were led, as was supposed, by Simon Girty, who was acting as an agent for the British, in the attempt to secure the aid of a part, at any rate, of the frontier men, in the Revolutionary struggle.

Fort Henry stood immediately upon the bank of the Ohio, about a quarter of a mile above the mouth of Wheeling creek, and between it and the steep river hill, with which every traveler in the west is acquainted, were twenty or thirty log huts. When Girty led his red troops against the fort, he at once took possession of the houses of the village, as a safe and ready-made line of attack, and from the window of one of the cabins, called upon the little garrison to surrender to King George, and promised absolution to all who would do so. Col. Shepherd answered at once that they would

neither desert or yield; and when Girty recommenced his eloquence, a shot from some impatient listener suddenly stopped his mouth.

Then commenced the siege. It was just sunrise in the valley, through which the quiet river flowed as peacefully as if war was never known. A calm, warm, bright September day—one of those days most lovely among the many pleasant ones of a year in the Ohio valley. And from sunrise till noon, and from noon till night of that day, the hundreds of besiegers and units of besieged, about and within Fort Henry, ceased not to load and discharge musket or rifle till it was too hot to hold.

About noon the fire of the assailants slackened, and then, as powder was scarce in the fort, and it was remembered that a keg was concealed in the house of Ebenezer Zane, some sixty yards distant, it was determined to make an effort to obtain it. When the question "Who will go?" was proposed, however, so many competitors appeared, that time was wasted in adjusting the claims to what was almost sure death. The rest of the story is given by Mr. George S. McKiernan, from whom the whole account is derived.

"At this crisis a young lady, the sister of Ebenezer and Silas Zane, came forward and desired that she might be permitted to execute the service. This proposition seemed so extravagant that it met with a peremptory refusal; but she instantly renewed her petition in terms of redoubled earnestness, and all the remonstrances of the colonel and her relatives failed to dissuade her from her heroic purpose. It was finally represented to her that either of the young men, on account of his superior fleetness and familiarity with scenes of danger, would be more likely than herself to do the work successfully. She replied that the danger which would attend the enterprise was the identical reason that induced her to offer her services, for, as the garrison was very weak, no soldier's life should be placed in needless jeopardy, and that, if she were to fall, the loss would not be felt. Her petition was ultimately granted, and the gate opened for her to pass out. The opening of the gate arrested the attention of several Indians who were straggling through the village. It was noticed that their eyes were upon her as she crossed the open space to reach her brother's house; but seized, perhaps with a sudden freak of clemency, or believing that a woman's life was not worth a load of gunpowder, or influenced by some other unexplained motive, they permitted her to pass without molestation. When she reappeared with the powder in her arms, the Indians suspecting, no doubt, the character of her burden, elevated their firelocks and discharged a volley at her as she swiftly glided

toward the gate; but the balls flew wide of the mark, and the fearless girl reached the fort in safety with her prize."*

The allies of Britain, finding rifles powerless when used against well-built block-houses and pickets, determined upon trying an extemporary cannon, and having bound a hollow maple with chains, having bored a touch hole, and plugged up one end, they loaded it liberally and leveled it at the gate of the impregnable castle. It was now evening, and the disappointed Wyandots gathered about their artillery, longing to see its loading of stones open to them the door of the American citadel. The match was applied; bursting into a thousand pieces, the cannon of Girty tore, maimed, and killed his copper-colored kinsfolk, but hurt no one else.

During that night many of the assailants withdrew disheartened. On the morning of the 28th, fifteen men came from Cross creek to the aid of Fort Henry, and forty-one from Short creek. Of these, all entered the fort except Major McColloch, the leader of the Short creek volunteers, who was separated from his men, and left at the mercy of the natives. His escape is thus described by Mr. McKiernan:

"From the very commencement of the war, his reputation as an Indian hunter was as great, if not greater, than that of any white man on the north-western border. He had participated in so many renconters, that almost every warrior possessed a knowledge of his person. Among the Indians his name was a word of terror; they cherished against him feelings of the most frenzied hatred, and there was not a Mingo or Wyandot chief before Fort Henry who would not have given the lives of twenty of his warriors to secure to himself the living body of Major McColloch. When, therefore, the man whom they had long marked out as the first object of their vengeance, appeared in their midst, they made almost superhuman efforts to acquire possession of his person. The fleetness of Mr. McColloch's well-trained steed was scarcely greater than that of his enemies, who, with flying strides, moved on in pursuit. At length the hunter reached the top of the hill, and, turning to the left, darted along the ridge with the intention of making the best of his way to Short creek.

"A ride of a few hundred yards in that direction brought him suddenly in contact with a party of Indians, who were returning to

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* See American Pioneer, vol. ii. p. 309.

their camp from a marauding excursion to Mason's Bottom, on the eastern side of the hill. This party being too formidable in numbers to encounter single-handed, the major turned his horse about, and rode over his own trace, in the hope of discovering some other avenue to escape. A few paces only of his countermarch had been made, when he found himself confronted by his original pursuers, who had, by this time gained the top of the ridge, and a third party was discovered pressing up the hill directly on his right. He was now completely hemmed in on three sides, and the fourth was almost a perpendicular precipice of one hundred and fifty feet descent, with Wheeling creek at its base.

The imminence of his danger allowed him but little time to reflect on his situation. In an instant he decided upon his course. Supporting his rifle in his left hand, and carefully adjusting his reins with the other, he urged his horse to the brink of the bluff, and then made the leap which decided his fate. In the next moment the noble steed, still bearing his intrepid rider in safety, was at the foot of the precipice. McColloch immediately dashed across the creek, and was soon beyond the reach of the Indians."*

Finding all attempts to take the fort fruitless, the Indians killed all the stock, including more than three hundred cattle, burned houses and fences, and destroyed every article of furniture.

Of the forty-two men who had been in the fort, twenty-five were killed, *all outside of the walls*, and of the savages, probably one hundred perished.

Some of the incidents of the first siege of Fort Henry here detailed,† are referred by some of the early historians of the west to the second siege of that fort, in 1782. The story of the wooden cannon made by the Indians, and the "gunpowder exploit," are especially referred to that period. In regard to the latter incident, there is a further difficulty arising, from the fact that another claimant for the honor of the exploit has appeared. The statement of Mrs. Cruger, made in 1849, affirms that at the attack on Fort Henry, in 1782, of which she was at that time an inmate, Miss Molly Scott, ran from the house of Colonel Zane to the fort, to obtain a supply of gunpowder for the use of those who were defending it. She avers, that she herself assisted in placing the

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*American Pioneer, vol. ii. p. 312.

† The authority here followed is that of the American Pioneer. Withers, in his border-warfare, presents many of the incidents of the first siege, as here given, in 1782.

powder in Molly Scott's apron; and affirms that Elizabeth Zane was not then at Wheeling.*

There is a further difficulty in the conflicting statements made in regard to the presence of Simon Girty, at that siege. N. B. Craig, Esq., whose accuracy is unquestioned, says: "On the 28th of March, 1778, Simon Girty, Alexander McKee, and Matthew Elliott, made their escape from Pittsburgh, and ever after were active agents of the British government, and exercised much influence with the Indians against the United States." If the date here assigned to the flight of Girty and his companions is correct, it necessarily contradicts the statement that he was present at the siege of Wheeling, in 1777.

As Girty's name is associated with the whole history of the Indian wars of that period, it may be proper to refer more particularly to his origin and history.

The father of Girty, was a native of Ireland, who emigrated to, and settled in Pennsylvania about the year 1740. He was a man of bad character and dissolute habits. He had four sons, Thomas, Simon, George, and James. It is said he was murdered by the paramour of his wife, who afterward married her, and removed with her about 1754, to the extreme frontier. There the whole family were taken by the Indians, and the step-father was burned before the eyes of his family. Of the remaining members, Thomas was rescued by Colonel Armstrong, in the Kittanning expedition, and the rest were ransomed at various times from 1758 to 1765, but only the mother and Simon returned.

George Girty was adopted by the Delawares, and continued with them until his death. He became a perfect savage, and adopted entirely the manners of the Indians. To consummate cunning, he added the most fearless intrepidity. He fought in the battle of Point Pleasant, Blue Licks, and Sandusky, and gained himself much distinction for skill and bravery. In his latter years he gave himself up to intemperance and died drunk, about 1813, on the Miami of the Lake.

James Girty fell into the hands of the Shawanese, who adopted him as a son. As he approached manhood he became dextrous in all the arts of savage life. To the most sanguinary spirit he added all the vices of the depraved frontier men, with whom he frequently associated. It is represented that he often visited Kentucky at the time of its first settlement, and many of the inhabitants felt the

* De Hass's Western Virginia, p. 280.

effects of his courage and cruelty. Neither age nor sex found mercy at his hand. His delight was in carnage. When unable to walk in consequence of disease, he laid low with his hatchet captive women and children who came within his reach. Traders who were acquainted with him, say, so furious was he, that he would not have turned on his heel to save a prisoner from the flames. His pleasure was to see new and refined tortures inflicted, and to perfect this gratification he frequently gave directions. To this barbarian are to be attributed many of the cruelties charged on his brother Simon. Yet this monster was caressed by Elliott and Proctor.

Thomas Girty alone, of the sons, returned to civilized life. He was one of Brady's spies in the Indian wars after the revolution, and died, perhaps in Butler county, Pennsylvania, in 1820.

Simon Girty was the most notorious of the family. He was adopted by the Senecas, but returned with his mother to the settlements, after his release. He joined the army under Lord Dunmore, in 1774, and in that campaign was the companion of Simon Kenton, sleeping, as he said, often under the same blanket. At the revolution, he sought a commission in the continental army, was refused, and with McKee and Elliott, who were dissatisfied for the same reason, left the vicinity of Pittsburgh, and joined the Indians. In Kentucky and Ohio, he sustained the reputation of a relentless barbarian, and his name was associated with every thing cruel and fiend-like. This impression was in part erroneous. It is said to be a fact susceptible of proof, that through his importunities, many prisoners were saved from death. His influence among the Indians was great, and when he chose to be merciful, it was generally in his power to protect the imploring captive.

His reputation was that of an honest man. In the payment of his debts he was scrupulously exact; knowing and duly appreciating integrity, he fulfilled his engagements to the last cent. It is stated that on one occasion he sold his horse, rather than incur the odium of violating his promise. He was a great lover of rum. Nothing could afford him more joy than a keg of this beverage. When intoxicated, in abuse he was indiscriminate, sparing neither friends nor foes. Then it was he had no compassion in his heart. Although much disabled by rheumatism, for the last ten years of his life he rode to his hunting grounds in pursuit of game. Suffering the most excruciating pains he often boasted of his warlike spirit, and it was his constant wish that he might breathe his last in battle. It is probable that he was gratified, for it is said he was cut to pieces by Johnston's mounted men at the battle of the Thames. This, however, is not certain.

But, notwithstanding the dangers and difficulties which surrounded them during 1777, the pioneers of the West held steadily to their purposes, and those of Kentucky being now a component part of the citizens of Virginia, proceeded to exercise their civil privileges, and, in April, elected John Todd and Richard Callaway, burgesses, to represent them in the Assembly of the parent State. Early in the following September, the first court was held at Harrodsburg, and Col. Bowman, who, as had arrived from the settlements in August, was placed at the head of a regular military organization which had been commenced the March previous. Thus, within herself, feeble as she was, Kentucky was organizing, and George Rogers Clark, her chief spirit, that had represented her beyond the mountains the year before, was meditating another trip to Williamsburg, for the purpose of urging a bolder and more decided measure than any yet proposed.

He understood the whole game of the British. He saw that it was through their possession of Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and the other western posts—which gave them easy and constant access to the Indian tribes of the north-west—that the British hoped to effect such an union of the wild men as would annihilate the frontier fortresses. He knew that the Delawares were divided in feeling, and the Shawanese but imperfectly united in favor of England, ever since the murder of Cornstalk. He was convinced, that could the British in the north-west be defeated and expelled, the natives might be easily awed or bribed into neutrality, and by spies sent for the purpose, and who were absent from April 20th, to June 22d, he had satisfied himself that an enterprise against the Illinois settlements might easily succeed.

Having made up his mind, on the 1st of October, he left Harrodsburg for the East, and reached the capital of Virginia, November the 5th. Opening his mind to no one, he watched with care the state of feeling among those in power, waiting the proper moment to present his scheme. Fortunately, while he was upon his road, on the 17th of October, Burgoyne had surrendered, and hope was again predominant in the American councils. When, therefore, the western soldier, on the 10th of December, broke the subject of his proposed expedition against the forts on the distant Mississippi, to Patrick Henry, who was still govornor, he met with a favorable hearing, and though doubts and fears arose by degrees, yet so well digested were his plans, that he was able to meet each objection, and remove every seeming impossibility.

Already the necessity of securing the western posts had been

presented to the consideration of Congress; as early as April 29th, 1776, the committee on Indian Affairs were instructed to report upon the possibility of taking Detroit;* and again, upon the 20th of November, 1777, a report was made to that body, in which this necessity was urged, and also the need that existed, of taking some measure to prevent the spirit of disaffection from spreading among the frontier inhabitants.† Three Commissioners, also, were chosen to go to Fort Pitt, for the purpose of inquiring into the causes of the frontier difficulties, and doing what could be done to secure all the whites to the American cause, to cultivate the friendship of the Shawanese and Delawares, and to concert with General Hand, some measures for pushing the war westward, so as to obtain possession of Detroit and other posts. General Washington was also requested to send Colonel William Crawford, an old pioneer, to take active command in the West; and he accordingly left head-quarters upon the 25th. All this ended in nothing, but it proved the correctness of Clark's views, and aided, we may suppose, in convincing those who ruled in the Ancient Dominion, that their glory and interest, as well as the safety of the whole frontier country, were deeply involved in the success of the bold plan of the founder of Kentucky.

Clark having satisfied the Virginia leaders of the feasibility of his 1778.] plan, received on the 2d of January, two sets of instructions—the one open, authorizing him to enlist seven companies to go to Kentucky, subject to his orders, and to serve for three months from their arrival in the West; the others set secret, and drawn as follows:

"VIRGINIA: Sct. In Council, Williamsburg, Jan. 2d, 1778.

"*Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers Clark:*

"You are to proceed with all convenient speed, to raise seven companies of soldiers, to consist of fifty men each, officered in the usual manner; and armed most properly for the enterprise, and with this force attack the British force at Kaskasky.

"It is conjectured that there are many pieces of cannon and military stores, to considerable amount at that place; the taking and preservation of which, would be a valuable acquisition to the State. If you are so fortunate, therefore, as to succeed in your

* Secret Journals, 1, 43.

† Old Journals, vol. ii. p. 340.

expedition, you will take every possible measure to secure the artillery and stores, and whatever may advantage the State.

"For the transportation of the troops, provisions, &c., down the Ohio, you are to apply to the commanding officer at Fort Pitt, for boats; and, during the whole transaction, you are to take especial care to keep the true destination of your force secret; its success depends upon this. Orders are, therefore, given to Capt. Smith to secure the two men from Kaskasky. Similar conduct will be proper in similar cases.

"It is earnestly desired that you show humanity to such British subjects and other persons as fall in your hands. If the white inhabitants at that post and neighborhood will give undoubted evidence of their attachment to this State, (for it is certain they live within its limits,) by taking the test prescribed by law, and by every other way and means in their power, let them be treated as fellow-citizens, and their persons and property duly secured. Assistance and protection against all enemies whatever, shall be afforded them, and the Commonwealth of Virginia is pledged to accomplish it. But if these people will not accede to these reasonable demands, they must feel the miseries of war, under the direction of that humanity that has hitherto distinguished Americans, and which, it is expected, you will ever consider as the rule of your conduct, and from which you are, in no instance, to depart.

"The corps you are to command, are to receive the pay and allowance of militia, and to act under the laws and regulations of this State now in force, as militia. The inhabitants at this post will be informed by you, that in case they accede to the offers of becoming citizens of this Commonwealth, a proper garrison will be maintained among them, and every attention bestowed to render their commerce beneficial, the fairest prospects being opened to the dominions of both France and Spain.

"It is in contemplation to establish a post near the mouth of the Ohio. Cannon will be wanted to fortify it. Part of those at Kaskasky will be easily brought thither, or otherwise secured, as circumstances will make necessary.

"You are to apply to General Hand, at Pittsburgh, for powder and lead necessary for this expedition. If he can't supply it, the person who has that which Captain Lynn brought from New Orleans can. Lead was sent to Hampshire by my orders, and that may be delivered you. Wishing you success, I am, Sir, your humble servant,

P. HENRY."

With these instructions, and twelve hundred pounds in the depreciated currency of the time, Colonel Clark, for such was now his title, on the 4th of February, started for Pittsburgh. It had been thought best to raise the troops needed, beyond the mountains, as the colonies were in want of all the soldiers they could muster east of the Alleghenies, to defend themselves against the British forces. Clark, therefore, proposed to enlist men about Pittsburgh, while Major W. B. Smith, for the same purpose, went to the Holston, and other officers to other points. None of them, however, succeeded as they hoped to; at Pittsburgh, Clark found great opposition to the intention of carrying men away to defend the outposts of Kentucky, while their own citadel and the whole region about it, were threatened by the savage allies of England; and Smith, though he nominally succeeded in raising four companies, was unable, essentially, to aid his superior officer after all. With three companies and several private adventurers, Clark, at length, commenced his descent of the Ohio, which he navigated as far as the Falls, where he took possession of, and fortified Corn Island, opposite to the spot now occupied by Louisville. At this place, he appointed Colonel Bowman to meet him with such recruits as had reached Kentucky by the southern route, and as many men as could be spared from the stations.

He was joined on Corn Island by Captain Bowman, and a company from Kentucky, under Captain Dillard. His principal officers were Captains Bowman, Helm, Harrod, Montgomery, and Dillard; and he daily expected a reinforcement from the Holston country, under Major Smith, which failed. He now disclosed to his troops that their point of destination was Kaskaskia, in the Illinois country. The project met the enthusiastic approbation of his men, except the company from Kentucky, under Captain Dillard; a large part of which, with the lieutenant, on the morning appointed for starting, the worthy captain had the mortification to find, had waded the river and deserted. They were pursued in the morning, overtaken in the woods, about twenty miles from the falls, eight taken back, and the rest wandered about in the woods for some weeks, where they suffered greater deprivations and hardships than their comrades who had gone on the expedition, before they got shelter in a fort.*

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* Clark's Journal—Butler's Kentucky, p. 49.

Having waited until his arrangements were all completed, and those chosen who were to be of the invading party, on the 24th of June, during a total eclipse of the sun, with four companies, he left his position and fell down the river. His plan was to follow the Ohio as far as the fort known as Fort Massac, and thence to go by land direct to Kaskaskia. His troops took no other baggage than they could carry in the Indian fashion, and for his success he trusted entirely to surprise. If he failed, his plan was to cross the Mississippi, and throw himself into the Spanish settlements on the west of that river. Before he commenced his march, he received two pieces of information, of which he made good use at the proper time, by means of which he conquered the West without bloodshed. One of these important items was the alliance of France with the colonies; this, at once, made the American side popular with the French and Indians of Illinois and the lakes; France having never lost her hold upon her ancient subjects and allies, and England having never secured their confidence. The other item was, that the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, and other old towns, had been led by the British to believe that the Long Knives, or Virginians, were the most fierce, cruel, and blood-thirsty savages that ever scalped a foe. With this impression on their minds, Clark saw that proper management would readily dispose them to submit from fear, if surprised, and then to become friendly from gratitude, when treated with unlooked-for clemency.

Near the mouth of the Tennessee river, he found a party of hunters, who had recently come from Kaskaskia, and who could give him important information. They reported that M. Rocheblave was the commander; that the militia, chiefly French citizens, were kept in good discipline; that spies were stationed along the Mississippi; that a rumor had reached Kaskaskia that the "Long-Knives"* had projected an attack, and that the hunters and Indians had received orders to keep watch, and report if any American troops were coming that way. The fort near the town was kept in order, as a place of retreat if the village was attacked, but it had no regular garrison. The hunters offered to return with Clark, and one John Saunders was employed as a guide.

The party landed near the old site of Fort Massac, and secured their boats in the mouth of a small creek. Heavy rains had fallen,

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* The Indians and French of Illinois called the New Englanders *Bostonais*," and the Virginians "*Long-Knives*."

succeeded by hot, sultry weather. Their route lay through a wilderness without a path. Cypress swamps, ponds, and deep, muddy, sluggish streams had to be forded. Their success depended on a secret and rapid march through the woods and prairies. For most part of the route, the game on which they relied for subsistence was scarce, and to send out hunting parties would expose them to discovery. On the prairies, a July sun beat on them, and water was scarce. The distance, as they traveled, was over one hundred miles. On the third day the guide became so bewildered that he could not direct their course. A suspicion arose amongst the men that he designed to betray them, and they earnestly demanded that he should be put to death. He begged that, under a guard, he might go a short distance into the prairie and try to find his course. In an hour or two the poor fellow exclaimed, "I know that point of timber," and pointed out the direction of Kaskaskia. It was on the *Fourth of July*, 1778, that this party of invaders, with their garments torn and soiled, and their beards of three weeks' growth, approached the town, and secreted themselves among the hills east of the Kaskaskia river. Clark sent forward his spies to watch the proceedings of the people, and after dark put his troops in motion, and took possession of a house, where a family lived, about three-quarters of a mile above town. Here they found boats and canoes. The troops were divided into three parties, two of which were ordered to cross the river, while the other, under the immediate command of Colonel Clark, took possession of the fort.

Kaskaskia then contained about two hundred and fifty houses. Persons who could speak the French language, were ordered to pass through the streets and make proclamation, that all the inhabitants must keep within their houses, under penalty of being shot down in the streets.

The few British officers who had visited these French colonies since the commencement of the rebellion of their Atlantic colonies, as they termed the Revolution, had told the most exaggerated stories about the brutality and ferocity of the "Long-Knives;"—that they would not only take the property of the people, but would butcher, in the most horrible manner, men, women, and children! The policy of these stories was to excite in the minds of these simple-hearted French people, the most fearful apprehensions against the colonists, that they might be watchful and be prepared for a determined resistance, should any attempt be made on these remote posts. These stories were a stimulus to the French traders to supply the Indians with guns, ammunition, and scalping-knives, to aid their depredations on the settlements of Kentucky.

Colonel Clark gained this intelligence from the hunters, and in his journal says, "I was determined to improve upon this, if I was fortunate enough to get them into my possession; as I conceived the greater the shock I could give them at first, the more sensibly would they feel my lenity, and become more valuable friends."*

Few men have had a quicker or keener sagacity than Clark. His plan was to produce a terrible panic, and then capture the town without bloodshed, and well did he succeed.

The two parties having crossed the river, entered the quiet and unsuspecting village at both extremes, yelling in the most furious manner, while those who made the proclamation in French, ordered the people into their houses on pain of instant death. In a moment, men, women, and children were screaming, "*les long Couteaux!—les long Couteaux!*"—*the Long-Knives!—the Long-Knives!*

In about two hours after the surprise of the town, the inhabitants had all surrendered, and delivered up their arms to the conqueror. Not a drop of blood had been shed, though the victory was complete. The whole management displayed in a most admirable manner, what the French style *ruse de guerre*, the policy of war. M. Rocheblave, the governor, was taken in his chamber; but his public papers and documents were admirably concealed or destroyed by his wife.

Throughout the night the Virginia troops were ordered to patrol the streets, with yells and whoopings after the Indian fashion, which, though exceedingly alarming to the conquered inhabitants, was a stratagem of Clark to accomplish his purposes.

One of the richest and most distinguished citizens of Kaskaskia at that period was M. Cerre, said by Col. Clark to have been a most bitter enemy to the Americans. In this, probably, he was misinformed. None of the French families in Illinois were particularly friendly to the government of Great Britain. But, probably, M. Cerre had partaken of the feeling of his townsmen concerning the "Long-Knives." He had long been a successful trader, but had left the place before the arrival of the Americans, and was then at St. Louis, on his way to Quebec.

The commander at once determined to bring him and all his influence to the side of the American interest. Accordingly, he took possession of his house and extensive stock of merchandise,

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* Clark's Journal in Dillon's Indiana, i. p. 137.

and placed a guard over the property. Another stratagem was to prevent all intercourse between his own men and the citizens, and to admit none of the latter to his presence, except by positive command for them to appear before him; or, apparently, in great condescension, when urgently solicited, to grant audience to some humble petitioner. By this course of policy he contrived, at first, to confirm all the worst suspicions the British had instilled into the minds of the simple villagers, of the ferocity of the "Long-Knives," and then, by undeceiving them, to produce a revulsion of feelings, and gain their unlimited confidence. In this he was completely successful. The town was in possession of an enemy the inhabitants had been taught were the most ferocious and brutal of all men, and of whom they entertained the most horrible apprehensions, and all intercourse was strictly prohibited between each other, and the conquerors. After five days the troops were removed to the outskirts of the town, and the citizens were permitted to walk in the streets. But finding them engaged in conversation, one with another, Col. Clark ordered some of the officers to be put in irons, without assigning a single reason, or permitting a word of defense. This singular display of despotic power in the conqueror, did not spring from a cruel disposition, or a disregard to the principles of liberty, but it was the course of policy he had marked out to gain his object.

Of all commanders, perhaps, Colonel Clark had the readiest and clearest insight into human nature. The effect of this stretch of military power, at first, was to fill the inhabitants with consternation and dismay.

After some time, M. Gibault, the parish priest, got permission to wait on Colonel Clark, with five or six elderly gentlemen.

If the inhabitants of the town were filled with astonishment at the suddenness of their captivity, these men were far more astonished at the personal appearance of Clark and his soldiers.

Their clothes were dirty and torn, (for they had no change of apparel,) their beards of three and four weeks' growth, and, as Clark states in his journal, they looked more frightful and disgusting than savages.

Some minutes passed before the deputation could speak, and then they felt at a loss whom they should address as commandant, for they saw no difference in the personal appearance between the chieftain and his men.

Finally, the priest, in the most submissive tone and posture, remarked, that the inhabitants expected to be separated, perhaps

never to meet again, and they begged through him, as a great favor from their conqueror, to be permitted to assemble in the church, offer up their prayers to God for their souls, and take leave of each other.

The commander observed, with apparent carelessness, that the Americans did not trouble themselves about the religion of others, but left every man to worship God as he pleased, that they might go to church if they wished, but on no account must a single person leave the town. All further conversation was repelled, and they were sent away rather abruptly, that the alarm might be raised to the highest pitch.

The whole population assembled in the church, as for the last time, mournfully chanted their prayers, and bid each other farewell—never expecting to meet again in this world! But so much did they regard this as a favor, that the priest and deputation returned from the church to the lodgings of Col. Clark, and in the name of the people, expressed thanks for the indulgence they had received. They then begged leave to address their conqueror upon their separation and their lives. They claimed not to know the origin or nature of the contest between Great Britain and the colonies. What they had done had been in subjection to the British commanders, whom they were constrained to obey. They were willing to submit to the loss of all their property, as the fate of war, but they begged they might not be separated from their families, and that clothes and provisions might be allowed them, barely sufficient for their present necessities.

Col. Clark had now gained the object of his artful maneuver. He saw their fears were raised to the highest pitch, and he abruptly thus addressed them:

"Who do you take me to be? Do you think we are savages—that we intend to massacre you all? Do you think Americans will strip women and children, and take the bread out of their mouths? My countrymen," said the gallant colonel, "never make war upon the innocent! It was to protect our own wives and children that we have penetrated this wilderness, to subdue these British posts, from whence the savages are supplied with arms and ammunition to murder us. We do not war against Frenchmen. The king of France, your former master, is our ally. His ships and soldiers are fighting for the Americans. The French are our firm friends. Go, and enjoy your religion, and worship when you please. Retain your property—and now please to inform all your citizens from me, that they are quite at liberty to conduct themselves as

usual, and dismiss all apprehensions of alarm. We are your friends, and come to deliver you from the British."

This speech produced a revulsion of feelings better imagined than described. The news soon spread throughout the village, the bell rang a merry peal, the people, with the priest, again assembled in the church, *Te Deum* was loudly sung, and the most uproarious joy prevailed throughout the night. The people were now allowed all the liberty they could desire. All now cheerfully acknowledged Col. Clark as the commandant of the country.

An expedition was now planned against Cahokia, and Major Bowman with his detachment, mounted on French ponies, was ordered to surprise that post. Several Kaskaskia gentlemen offered their services to proceed ahead, notify the Cahokians of the change of government, and prepare them to give the Americans a cordial reception. The plan was entirely successful, and the post was subjugated without the disaster of a battle. Indeed, there were not a dozen British soldiers in the garrison.

In all their intercourse with the citizens, Col. Clark instructed his men to speak of a large army encamped at the falls of the Ohio, which would soon overrun and subjugate all the British posts in the West, and that Post Vincent would be invaded by a detachment from this army. He soon learned from the French, that Governor Abbot was gone to Detroit, and that the defense was left with the citizens, who were mostly French. M. Gibault, the priest, readily undertook an embassy to Vincennes, and to bring over the people to the American interests without the trouble and expense of an invasion. This was also successful, and in a few days the American flag was displayed on the fort, and Captain Helm appointed to the command, much to the surprise and consternation of the neighboring Indians.

M. Gibault and party, with several gentlemen from Vincennes, returned to Kaskaskia about the first of August with the joyful intelligence.

The reduction of these posts was the period of the enlistment of the men, and Colonel Clark was at a loss to know how to act, as his instructions were vague and general. To abandon the country now, was to lose the immense advantages gained, and the commander, never at a loss for expedients, opened a new enlistment and engaged his own men on a new establishment, and he issued commissions for French officers in the country to command a company of the inhabitants. He then established a garrison at

Cahokia, commanded by Capt. Bowman, and another at Kaskaskia, commanded by Capt. Williams. Capt. William Linn took charge of a party that was to be discharged when they arrived at the Falls, (Louisville,) and orders were sent to remove the station from Corn Island, and erect a fort on the main land; and a stockade fort was erected.

Capt. John Montgomery, in charge of M. Rocheblave, the late British commander, and as bearer of dispatches, was sent with a corps of men to Virginia.

For the command of Post Vincent, he chose Capt. Leonard Helm, in whom he reposed great confidence. Capt. Helm had much knowledge and experience in Indian character, and Col. Clark appointed him agent for Indian affairs in the department of the Wabash. About the middle of August, he went out to take possession of his new command.

At that period, an Indian of the Piankashaw tribe that had their principal village near Vincennes, possessed great influence among his people. He was known by the name of "Big Gate," or "Big Door," and called by the Indians, "The Grand Door to the Wabash," because nothing could be done by the Indian confederacy on the Wabash without his approbation. His father who had been known as "Tobacco," or, more commonly, "Old Tobac," sent him "a spirited compliment by priest Gibault, who had influence with these Indians. Big Door returned it. Next followed a regular "talk," with a belt of wampum.

Captain Helm arrived safe at Vincennes, and was received with acclamation by the people, and soon sent the "talk" and the wampum to the Grand Door. These Indians had been under British influence, and had done no small mischief to the frontier settlements. The proud and pompous chief was taken with the courtesy of the shrewd Captain, and sent him a message that he was glad to see one of the Big Knife chiefs in town; that here he joined the English against the Big Knives, but he long thought they "looked a little gloomy;" that he must consult his counselors, take time to deliberate, and hoped the captain of the Big Knives would be patient. After several days of very constant and ceremonious proceedings, the captain was invited to council by Old Tobac, who played quite a subordinate part to his son.

After the customary display of Indian eloquence, about the sky having been dark, and the clouds now having been brushed away, the Grand Door announced "that his ideas were quite changed"—and the "Big Knives was in the right,"—"and that he would tell

all the red people on the Wabash to bloody the land no more for the English."

"He jumped up, struck his breast, called himself a man and a warrior, said that he was now a Big Knife, and took Capt. Helm by the hand. His example was followed by all present." *

This was a most fortunate alliance, for, in a short time, all the tribes along the Wabash, as high as the Ouiatenon, came to Post Vincennes and followed the example of the Great Door chief, and the interests of the British lost ground daily in all the villages south of Lake Michigan. The French citizens at the different posts, enlisted warmly in the American cause.

Captain Montgomery reached Williamsburg, then the seat of government in the "Old Dominion," with M. Rocheblave, the Governor of Illinois, a prisoner of war, and the dispatches of Col. Clark, announcing that the British posts were captured, and the vast territory of the north-west subjugated. Only four persons had known the real destination of Clark when he left the seat of government at the commencement of the year. These were the Governor, Patrick Henry, and his confidential counselors, Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe and George Mason. They had assumed a fearful responsibility in giving him private instructions, authorizing an attack on these remote British posts. The degree of success was beyond the expectations of the most sanguine.

In October, the House of Burgesses created the county of Illinois, and appointed John Todd, Esq., then of Kentucky, lieutenant-colonel and civil commandant. The act, which we have in manuscript, with the seal of the Commonwealth, contained the following provisions:

"All the citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia, who are already settled, or shall hereafter settle on the *western side of the Ohio*, shall be included in a distinct county, which shall be called *Illinois county;* and the Governor of this Commonwealth, with the advice of the council, may appoint a county lieutenaat, or commandant-in-chief, in that county, during pleasure, who shall appoint and commission so many deputy commandants, militia and officers, and commissaries as he shall think proper, in the different districts, during pleasure, all of whom, before they enter into office, shall take the oath of fidelity to this Commonwealth, and the oath of office, according to the form of their own religion. And all civil

* Journal of Clark, in Dillon's Indiana, p. 144.

officers to which the inhabitants have been accustomed, necessary to the preservation of peace, and the administration of justice, shall be chosen by a majority of citizens in their respective districts, to be convened for that purpose, by the county lieutenant or commandant, or his deputy, and shall be commissioned by the said county lieutenant, or commandant-in-chief.

In November, the Legislature passed the following complimentary resolution to Clark and his men:

IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES,
Monday, the 23d Nov., 1778.

Whereas, authentic information has been received, that Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers Clark, with a body of Virginia militia, has reduced the British posts in the western part of this commonwealth, on the river Mississippi, and its branches, whereby great advantage may accrue to the common cause of America, as well as to this commonwealth in particular:

Resolved, That the thanks of this House are justly due to the said Colonel Clark, and the brave officers and men under his command, for their extraordinary resolution and perseverance, in so hazardous an enterprise, and for their important services thereby rendered their country.*

Test, E. RANDOLPH, C. H. D.

After organizing a civil government, and providing for an election of magistrates by the people, Col. Clark directed his attention to the subjugation of the Indian tribes. In this he displayed the same tact and shrewdness, the same daring, and his acts were crowned with the same success as in the conquest with the British posts.

He always reprobated the policy of inviting and urging the Indians to hold treaties, and maintained that such a course was founded upon a mistaken view of their character. He supposed they always interpreted such overtures from the government as an evidence of the fear and conscious weakness of the whites. Hence, he avoided every intimation that he desired peace, and assumed a line of conduct that would appear that he meant to exterminate them at once. He always waited for them to apply and beg for a treaty.

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* See Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 490.

These and other measures, which displayed great penetration into Indian character, were completely successful. No commander ever subjugated as many warlike tribes, in so short a time, and at so little expense of life.

His meetings with them were opened at Cahokia, in September, and his principles of action being never to court them, never to load them with presents, never to seem to fear them, though always to show respect to courage and ability, and to speak in the most direct manner possible—he waited for the natives to make the first advances, and offer peace. When they had done so, and thrown away the bloody wampum sent them by the British, Clark coldly told them he would answer them the next day, and, meanwhile, cautioned them against shaking hands with the Americans, as peace was not yet concluded; it will be time to give hands when the heart can be given too, he said. The next day the Indians came to hear the answer of the Big Knife, which is given, as taken by Mr. Butler and Mr. Dillon, from Clark's own notes:

"Men and warriors: pay attention to my words. You informed me yesterday, that the Great Spirit had brought us together, and that you hope that, as he was good, it would be for good. I have also the same hope, and expect that each party will strictly adhere to whatever may be agreed upon, whether it shall be peace or war, and henceforward prove ourselves worthy of the attention of the Great Spirit. I am a man and a warrior, not a counselor; I carry war in my right hand, and in my left, peace. I am sent by the Great Council of the Big Knife, and their friends, to take possession of all the towns possessed by the English in this country, and to watch the motions of the Red people: to bloody the paths of those who attempt to stop the course of the river; but to clear the roads for us to those that desire to be in peace; that the women and children may walk in them without meeting any thing to strike their feet against. I am ordered to call upon the Great Fire for warriors enough to darken the land, and that the Red people may hear no sound, but of birds who live on blood. I know there is a mist before your eyes; I will dispel the clouds, that you may clearly see the causes of the war between the Big Knife and the English; then you may judge for yourselves, which party is in the right; and if you are warriors, as you profess yourselves to be, prove it by adhering faithfully to the party which you shall believe to be entitled to your friendship, and not show yourselves to be squaws.

"The Big Knife is very much like the Red people, they don't know how to make blankets, and powder, and cloth; they buy

these things from the English, from whom they are sprung. They live by making corn, hunting, and trade, as you and your neighbors, the French, do. But the Big Knife daily getting more numerous, like the trees in the woods, the land became poor, and the hunting scarce; and having but little to trade with, the women began to cry at seeing their children naked, and tried to learn how to make clothes for themselves; some made blankets for their husbands and children; and the men learned to make guns and powder. In this way we did not want to buy so much from the English; they then got mad with us, and sent strong garrisons through our country, (as you see they have done among you on the lakes, and among the French,) they would not let our women spin, nor our men make powder, nor let us trade with anybody else. The English said we should buy every thing from them, and since we had got saucy, we should give two bucks for a blanket, which we used to get for one; we should do as they pleased, and they killed some of our people, to make the rest fear them. This is the truth, and the real cause of the war between the English and us; which did not take place for some time after this treatment. But our women became cold and hungry, and continued to cry; our young men got lost for want of counsel to put them in the right path. The whole land was dark, the old men held down their heads for shame, because they could not see the sun, and thus there was mourning for many years over the land.

"At last the Great Spirit took pity on us, and kindled a great council fire, that never goes out, at a place called Philadelphia; he then stuck down a post, and put a war tomahawk by it, and went away. The sun immediately broke out, the sky was blue again, and the old men held up their heads, and assembled at the fire; they took up the hatchet, sharpened it, and put it into the hands of our young men, ordering them to strike the English as long as they could find one on this side of the great waters. The young men immediately struck the war-post, and blood was shed: in this way the war began, and the English were driven from one place to another, until they got weak, and then they hired you Red people to fight for them. The Great Spirit got angry at this, and caused your old father, the French king, and other great nations, to join the Big Knife, and fight with them against all their enemies. So the English have become like a deer in the woods; and you may see that it is the Great Spirit, that has caused your waters to be troubled; because you have fought for the people he was mad with.

If your women and children should now cry, you must blame yourselves for it, and not the Big Knife.

"You can now judge who is in the right; I have already told you who I am; here is a bloody belt, and a white one, take which you please. Behave like men, and don't let your being surrounded by the Big Knife, cause you to take up the one belt with your hands, while your hearts take up the other. If you take the bloody path, you shall leave the town in safety, and may go and join your friends, the English; we will then try, like warriors, who can put the most stumbling blocks in each other's way, and keep our clothes longest stained with blood. If, on the other hand, you should take the path of peace, and be received as brothers to the Big Knife, with their friends, the French, should you then listen to bad birds, that may be flying through the land, you will no longer deserve to be counted as men, but as creatures with two tongues, that ought to be destroyed without listening to any thing you might say. As I am convinced you never heard the truth before, I do not wish you to answer before you have taken time to counsel. We will, therefore, part this evening, and when the Great Spirit shall bring us together again, let us speak and think like men, with one heart and one tongue."*

This speech produced the desired effect, and upon the following day the "Red people" and the "Big Knife," united hearts and hands both. In all these proceedings, there is no question that, directly and indirectly, the alliance of the United States with France was very instrumental in producing a friendly feeling among the Indians, who had never lost their old regard toward their first Great Father.

But though it was Clark's general rule not to court the savages there were some particular chieftains so powerful as to induce him to invite them to meet him, and learn the merits of the quarrel between the colonies and England. Among these was Black Bird, one of the lake chiefs; he came at the invitation of the American leader, and, dispensing with the usual formulas of the Indian negotiation, sat down with Col. Clark, in a common sense way, and talked and listened, questioned and considered, until he was satisfied that the rebels had the right of the matter; after which he became, and remained a firm friend of the Big Knives.

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* See Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 68.

While the negotiations between the conqueror of Kaskaskia and the natives were going forward, an incident occurred, so characteristic of Colonel Clark, that it is worthy of notice: A party of Indians, known as Meadow Indians,* had come to attend the council with their neighbors. These, by some means, were induced to attempt the murder of the invaders, and tried to obtain an opportunity to commit the crime proposed, by surprising Clark and his officers in their quarters. In this plan they failed, and their purpose was discovered by the sagacity of the French in attendance; when this was done, Clark gave them to the French to deal with as they pleased, but with a hint that some of the leaders would be as well in irons. Thus fettered and foiled, the chiefs were brought daily to the council house, where he whom they proposed to kill, was engaged daily in forming friendly relations with their red brethren. At length, when by these means the futility of their project had been sufficiently impressed upon them, the American commander ordered their irons to be struck off, and in his quiet way, full of scorn, said, "Every body thinks you ought to die for your treachery upon my life, amidst the sacred deliberations of a council. I had determined to inflict death upon you for your base attempt, and you yourselves must be sensible that you have justly forfeited your lives; but on considering the meanness of watching a bear and catching him asleep, I have found out that you are not warriors, only old women, and too mean to be killed by the Big Knife. But," continued he, "as you ought to be punished for putting on breech cloths like men, they shall be taken away from you; plenty of provisions shall be given for your journey home, as women don't know how to hunt, and during your stay you shall be treated in every respect as squaws." †

These few cutting words concluded, the Colonel turned away to converse with others. The children of the prairie, who had looked for anger, not contempt—punishment, not freedom—were unaccountably stirred by this treatment. They took counsel together, and presently a chief came forward with a belt and pipe of peace, which, with proper words, he laid upon the table. The interpreter stood ready to translate the words of friendship, but

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*These were a remnant of the Mascoutin tribe, or *Prairie* Tribe, as the name signifies.

†This was a mode of punishment used by the Indians as a mark of disgrace. An Indian thus degraded, never after could be a *man*. He must do the drudgery of a squaw.

with curling lip, the American said he did not wish to hear them, and lifting a sword which lay before him, he shattered the offered pipe, with the cutting expression that "he did not treat with women." The bewildered, overwhelmed Meadow Indians, next asked the intercession of other red men, already admitted to friendship, but the only reply was, "The Big Knife has made no war upon these people; they are of a kind that we shoot like wolves when we meet them in the woods, lest they eat the deer."

All this wrought more and more upon the offending tribe; again they took counsel, and then two young men came forward, and, covering their heads with their blankets, sat down before the impenetrable commander; then two chiefs arose, and stating that these young warriors offered their lives as an atonement for the misdoings of their relatives, again they presented the pipe of peace. Silence reigned in the assembly, while the fate of the proffered victims hung in suspense: all watched the countenance of the American leader, who could scarce master the emotion which the incident excited. Still, all sat noiseless, nothing heard but the deep breathing of those whose lives thus hung by a thread. Presently, he upon whom all depended, arose, and, approaching the young men, he bade them be uncovered and stand up. They sprang to their feet. "I am glad to find," said Clark, warmly, "that there are men among all nations. With you, who alone are fit to be chiefs of your tribe, I am willing to treat; through you I am ready to grant peace to your brothers; I take you by the hands as chiefs, worthy of being such." Here again the fearless generosity, the generous fearlessness of Clark, proved perfectly successful, and while the tribe in question became the allies of America, the fame of the occurrence, which spread far and wide through the north-west, made the name of the white negotiator everywhere respected.

"In October of the same year, an agent arrived at Ouiatenon on the upper Wabash, whose special mission was to keep the Indians of that place and vicinity, in the British interest. Therefore, it was resolved, in the language of Colonel Clark, "to take him off." A detachment of men under Lieutenant Bailey, from Kaskaskia, and Captain Helm, commanding at Vincennes, in all numbering about one hundred, a portion of whom were French militia and Indians, were sent to surprise him; but by some accident, he perhaps the only one at the post, received intelligence of their approach, absconded, and returned to the north, leaving his friends who were unprepared for any resistance, to the mercy of

their captors. Forty men were made prisoners, all of whom were released by signing a treaty much to our advantage; and the detachment returned as far as Vincennes, by water."

In leaving Captain Helm at Vincennes, with a very diminutive command, Colonel Clark was supposed to have relaxed from his former caution and vigilance; but at or about that time, he had been officially informed of the orders to General McIntosh, to march with all possible dispatch against Detroit, where it was believed that the whole British force, together with their Indian allies, would find employment in their immediate defense. McIntosh, however, loitered on his march until the season wore away, and proceeded no further against November, than the upper Muskingum, where he built a fort, left a garrison, and returned to Fort Pitt.

From the failure of that expedition, the post at Vincennes was left exposed to the attack of the British and Indians, without any sufficient force to defend it. Henry Hamilton, the British Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit, collected an army of about thirty regulars, fifty French volunteers, and four hundred Indians, went from Detroit to the Wabash, thence down that river, and appeared before the fort on the 15th of December, 1778. The people made no effort to defend the place. Captain Helm and a man named Henry, were the only Americans in the fort. The latter had a cannon well charged, placed in the open gateway, while the commandant, Helm, stood by it with the lighted match. When Colonel Hamilton and his troops approached within hailing distance, the American officer called out, with a loud voice, "Halt!" This show of resistance caused Hamilton to stop, and demand a surrender of the garrison.

Helm exclaimed, "No man shall enter here until I know the terms." Hamilton responded, "You shall have the honors of war;" and the fort was surrendered, and the one officer and the one private received the customary mark of respect for their brave defense.

A portion of Hamilton's force was dispatched with the Indians to attack the settlements on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Capt. Helm was detained in the fort as a prisoner, and the French inhabitants were disarmed. Col. Clark's position became perilous. Detached parties of hostile Indians, sent out by Col. Hamilton, began to appear in Illinois. He ordered Major Bowman to evacuate the fort at Cahokia, and meet him at Kaskaskia. "I could see," says Clark, "but little probability of keeping possession of

the country, as my number of men was too small to stand a siege, and my situation too remote to call for assistance. I made all the preparation I possibly could for the attack, and was necessitated to set fire to some of the houses in town, to clear them out of the way." At this crisis, the bold and hazardous project of capturing Colonel Hamilton, and retaking Post Vincennes, became the theme of his daily and nightly meditations.

He employed Col. Francis Vigo, then a resident of St. Louis, to make an exploration of the circumstances and strength of the enemy at Post Vincennes. Col. Vigo, though a Spanish subject, possessed an innate love of liberty; an attachment to republican principles, and an ardent sympathy for an oppressed people, struggling for their rights. He disregarded personal consequences, for as soon as he had heard of the arrival of Col. Clark at Kaskaskia, and the possession of Illinois by the Americans, he went there and tendered his wealth and influence to sustain the cause of liberty.

At the request of Col. Clark, Col. Vigo, with a single servant, proceeded to Vincennes. At the Embarrass he was taken prisoner by a party of Indians, plundered and brought before Col. Hamilton. Being a Spanish subject, though suspected of being a spy for the Americans, the governor had no power to hold him as a prisoner of war, but forbid him to leave the fort. Entreated by the French inhabitants to allow him to depart, and threatened with the refusal of all supplies for the garrison, the governor reluctantly yielded, on condition that Col. Vigo would sign an article "not to do any act during the war, injurious to the British interests." This he refused, but consented to a pledge not to do anything injurious *on his way to St. Louis.* This was accepted, and Col. Vigo was permitted to depart in a pirogue down the Wabash and Ohio, and up the Mississippi to St. Louis.

He kept his pledge most sacredly. On his way to St. Louis, he abstained from all intercourse with the Americans—but he only staid at home long enough to change his dress, when he returned to Kaskaskia, and gave Col. Clark full and explicit information of the condition of the British force at Vincennes, the projected movements of Hamilton, and the friendly feelings of the French toward the Americans. From him, Col. Clark learned that a portion of the British troops were absent on marauding parties with the Indians, that the garrison consisted of about eighty regular soldiers, three brass field-pieces and some swivels, and that Gov. Hamilton meditated the re-capture of Kaskaskia early in the spring. Col. Clark determined on the bold project of an expedition to

Vincennes, of which he wrote to Gov. Henry, and sent an express to Virginia. As a reason for this hazardous project, Col. Clark urged the force and designs of Hamilton, saying to Gov. Henry in his letter, "*I knew if I did not take him, he would take me.*"

A boat fitted up as a galley, carrying two four-pounders and four swivels, and commanded by Capt. John Rogers, with forty-six men, and provisions, was dispatched from Kaskaskia to the Ohio, with orders to proceed up the Wabash as secretly as possible to a place near the mouth of the Embarrass. Two companies of men were raised from Cahokia and Kaskaskia, commanded by Captains McCarty and Charleville, which, with the Americans, amounted to one hundred and seventy men.

The winter was unusually wet and the streams all high; but on the 7th of February, 1779, this fragment of an army commenced its march from Kaskaskia to Post Vincent. Their route lay through the prairies and points of timber east of the Kaskaskia river, a north-easterly course through Washington and Marion counties into Clay county, where the trail, visible thirty years since, would strike the route of the present road from St. Louis to Vincennes. This was one of the most dreary and fatiguing expeditions of the Revolutionary war. After incredible hardships, they reached the Little Wabash, the low bottoms of which, for several miles, were covered with water, as Col. Clark's report affirms, "generally three feet deep, never under two, and frequently over four feet."

They arrived at the "two Wabashes," as Bowman, in his journal calls the two branches, (now known as the "Little Wabash" and "Muddy" rivers,) on the 13th. Here they made a canoe, and on the 15th, ferried over their baggage, which they placed on a scaffold on the opposite bank. Rains fell every day, but the weather was not cold. Hitherto they had borne their extreme privations and difficulties with incredible patience, but now the spirits of many seemed exhausted. There was an Irish drummer in the party who possessed an uncommon talent in singing comic Irish songs. While the men were wading to their waist, and sometimes to the arm-pits in mud and water, the fertile ingenuity of Colonel Clark, who never failed in resources, placed the Irishman on his drum, which readily floated, while he entertained his exhausted troops with his comic and musical powers.

On the 18th day of February, eleven days after their departure from Kaskaskia, they heard the morning gun of the fort, and at evening of the same day, they were on the Great Wabash, below the

mouth of the Embarrass. The party were now in the most exhausted, destitute and starving condition, and no sign of their boat with supplies. The river was out of its banks, all the low grounds covered with water, and canoes could not be constructed to carry them over before the British garrison would discover and capture, or massacre the whole party. On the 20th of February they hailed and brought to a boat from Post Vincent, and from the crew, whom they detained, they learned that the French population were friendly to the Americans, and that no suspicion of the expedition had reached the British garrison.

Colonel Clark says:

"This last day's march, (February 21st,) through the water, was far superior to any thing the Frenchmen had any idea of: they were backward in speaking—said the nearest land to us was a small league, called the sugar camp, on the bank of the slough. A canoe was sent off, and returned without finding that we could pass. I went in her myself, and sounded the water; found it deep as to my neck. I returned with a design to have the men transported on board the canoes to the sugar camp, which I knew would spend the whole day and ensuing night, as the vessels would pass slowly through the bushes. The loss of so much time, to men half starved, was a matter of consequence. I would have given now a great deal for a day's provisions, or for one of our horses. I returned but slowly to the troops—giving myself time to think. On our arrival, all ran to hear what was the report. Every eye was fixed on me. I unfortunately spoke in a serious manner to one of the officers; the whole were alarmed without knowing what I said. I viewed their confusion for about one minute—whispered to those near me to do as I did—immediately put some water in my hand, poured on powder, blackened my face, gave the war-whoop, marched into the water without saying a word.

"The party gazed, fell in, one after another, without saying a word, like a flock of sheep. I ordered those near me to give a favorite song of theirs. It soon passed through the line, and the whole went on cheerfully. I now intended to have them transported across the deepest part of the water; but when about waist deep, one of the men informed me that he thought he felt a path. We examined, and found it so; and concluded that it kept on the highest ground, which it did; and by taking pains to follow it, we got to the sugar camp without the least difficulty, where there was about half an acre of dry ground, at least not under water, where we took up our lodgings. The Frenchmen that we had taken on

the river appeared to be uneasy at our situation. They begged that they might be permitted to go in the two canoes to town in the night: they said they would bring from their own houses provisions, without the possibility of any person knowing it; that some of our men should go with them, as a surety of their good conduct; that it was impossible we could march from that place till the water fell, for the plain was too deep to march. Some of the officers believed that it might be done. I would not suffer it. I never could well account for this piece of obstinacy, and give satisfactory reasons to myself, or anybody else, why I denied a proposition apparently so easy to execute, and of so much advantage; but something seemed to tell me that it should not be done, and it was not done.

"The most of the weather that we had on this march, was moist and warm for the season. This was the coldest night we had. The ice in the morning was from one-half to three-quarters of an inch thick, near the shores, and in still water. The morning was the finest we had on our march. A little after sunrise I lectured the whole. What I said to them I forget; but it may be easily imagined by a person that could possess my affections for them at that time: I concluded by informing them, that passing the plain that was then in full view, and reaching the opposite woods, would put an end to their fatigue—that in a few hours they would have a sight of their long wished for object—and immediately stepped into the water without waiting for any reply. A huzza took place. As we generally marched through the water in a line, before the third entered I halted and called to Major Bowman, ordered him to fall in the rear with twenty-five men, and to put to death any man who refused to march, as we wished to have no such person amongst us. The whole gave a cry of approbation, and on we went. This was the most trying of all the difficulties we had experienced.

"I generally kept fifteen or twenty of the strongest men next myself; and judged from my own feelings what must be those of others. Getting about the middle of the plain, the water about mid-deep, I found myself sensibly failing; and as there were no trees nor bushes for the men to support themselves by, I feared that many of the most weak would be drowned. I ordered the canoes to make the land, discharge their loading, and ply backward and forward with all diligence, and pick up the men; and to encourage the party, sent some of the strongest men forward, with orders, when they got to a certain distance, to pass the word back that the water was getting shallow; and when getting near the

woods to cry out 'Land!' This stratagem had its desired effect. The men, encouraged by it, exerted themselves almost beyond their abilities—the weak holding by the stronger. The water never got shallower, but continued deepening. Getting to the woods where the men expected land, the water was up to my shoulders: but gaining the woods was of great consequence: all the low men and weakly hung to the trees, and floated on the old logs, until they were taken off by the canoes. The strong and tall got ashore, and built fires. Many would reach the shore, and fall with their bodies half in the water, not being able to support themselves without it.

"This was a delightful dry spot of ground, of about ten acres. We soon found that fires answered no purpose; but that two strong men taking a weaker one by the arms was the only way to recover him; and, being a delightful day, it soon did. But, fortunately, as if designed by Providence, a canoe of Indian squaws and children was coming up to town, and took through part of this plain as a nigh way. It was discovered by our canoes as they were out after the men. They gave chase and took the Indian canoe, on board of which was nearly half a quarter of buffalo, some corn, tallow, kettles, &c. This was a grand prize, and was invaluable. Broth was immediately made and served out to the most weakly, with great care: most of the whole got a little; but a great many gave their part to the weakly, jocosely saying something cheering to their comrades.

"This little refreshment and fine weather, by the afternoon, gave life to the whole. Crossing a narrow, deep lake, in the canoes, and marching some distance, we came to a copse of timber, called the Warrior's Island. We were now in full view of the fort and town, not a shrub between us, at about two miles distance. Every man now feasted his eyes, and forgot that he had suffered any thing—saying, that all that had passed was owing to good policy, and nothing but what a man could bear, and that a soldier had no right to think, &c.—passing from one extreme to another, which is common in such cases. It was now we had to display our abilities. The plain between us and the town was not a perfect level. The sunken grounds were covered with water, full of ducks. We observed several men out on horseback, shooting them, within half a mile of us, and sent out as many of our active young Frenchmen to decoy and take one of these men prisoner, in such a manner as not to alarm the others; which they did. The information we got from this person was similar to that which we got from those we took on the river: except that of the British having that evening

completed the wall of the fort, and that there were a good many Indians in town.

"Our situation was now truly critical—no possibility of retreating in case of defeat—and in full view of a town that had at this time upward of six hundred men in it, troops, inhabitants, and Indians. The crew of the galley, though not fifty men, would now have been a reinforcement of immense magnitude to our little army, (if I may so call it,) but we would not think of them. We were now in the situation that I had labored to get ourselves in. The idea of being made prisoner was foreign to almost every man, as they expected nothing but torture from the savages, if they fell into their hands. Our fate was now to be determined, probably in a few hours. We knew that nothing but the most daring conduct would insure success. I knew that a number of the inhabitants wished us well—that many were lukewarm to the interest of either—and I also learned that the Grand Chief, the Tobacco's son, had, but a few days before, openly declared in council with the British, that he was a brother and a friend to the Big Knives. These were favorable circumstances; and as there was but little probability of our remaining until dark undiscovered, I determined to begin the career immediately, and wrote the following placard to the inhabitants:

"*To the inhabitants of Post Vincennes.*

"GENTLEMEN:—Being now within two miles of your village, with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request such of you as are true citizens and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you, to remain still in your houses. And those, if any there be, that are friends to the king, will instantly repair to the fort and join the hair-buyer general, and fight like men. And if any such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered afterward, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated; and I once more request them to keep out of the streets. For every one I find in arms on my arrival, I shall treat him as an enemy.

[Signed.] G. R. CLARK.

"A little before sunset we moved and displayed ourselves in full view of the town—crowds gazing at us. We were plunging ourselves into certain destruction, or success. There was no midway thought of. We had but little to say to our men, except

inculcating an idea of the necessity of obedience, &c. We knew they did not want encouraging; and that any thing might be attempted with them that was possible for such a number—perfectly cool, under proper subordination, pleased with the prospect before them, and much attached to their officers. They all declared that they were convinced that an implicit obedience to orders was the only thing that would ensure success—and hoped that no mercy would be shown the person that should violate them. Such language as this from soldiers, to persons in our station, must have been exceedingly agreeable. We moved on slowly in full view of the town; but as it was a point of some consequence to us to make ourselves appear as formidable, we, in leaving the covert that we were in, marched and counter-marched in such a manner that we appeared numerous.

"In raising volunteers in the Illinois, every person that set about the business had a set of colors given them, which they brought with them, to the amount of ten or twelve pair. These were displayed to the best advantage; and as the low plain we marched through was not a perfect level, but had frequent raisings in it seven or eight feet higher than the common level, (which was covered with water,) and as these raisings generally run in an oblique direction to the town, we took the advantage of one of them, marching through the water under it, which completely prevented our being numbered; but our colors showed considerably above the heights, as they were fixed on long poles procured for the purpose, and at a distance made no despicable appearance; and as our young Frenchmen had, while we lay on the Warrior's Island, decoyed and taken several fowlers, with their horses, officers were mounted on these horses, and rode about more completely to deceive the enemy. In this manner we moved, and directed our march in such a way as to suffer it to be dark before we had advanced more than half way to the town. We then suddenly altered our direction, and crossed ponds where they could not have suspected us, and about eight o'clock gained the heights back of the town.

"The garrison was soon completely surrounded, and the firing continued without intermission, (except about fifteen minutes a little before day,) until about nine o'clock the following morning. It was kept up by the whole of the troops,—joined by a few of the young men of the town who got permission—except fifty men kept as a reserve.

"I had made myself fully acquainted with the situation of the fort

and town, and the parts relative to each. The cannon of the garrison was on the upper floors of strong block-houses, at each angle of the fort, eleven feet above the surface; and the ports so badly cut that many of our troops lay under the fire of them, within twenty or thirty yards of the walls. They did no damage except to the buildings of the town, some of which they much shattered: and their musketry, in the dark, employed against woodsmen covered by houses, palings, ditches, the banks of the river, &c., was but of little avail, and did no injury to us except wounding a man or two. As we could not afford to lose men, great care was taken to preserve them sufficiently covered, and to keep up a hot fire in order to intimidate the enemy as well as to destroy them.

"The embrasures of their cannon were frequently shut, for our riflemen, finding the true direction of them, would pour in such volleys when they were opened, that the men could not stand to the guns; seven or eight of them in a short time got cut down. Our troops would frequently abuse the enemy, in order to aggravate them to open their ports and fire their cannon, that they might have the pleasure of cutting them down with their rifles—fifty of which perhaps would be leveled the moment the port flew open; and I believe that if they had stood at their artillery, the greater part of them would have been destroyed in the course of the night, as the greater part of our men lay within thirty yards of the walls; and in a few hours were covered equally to those within the walls, and much more experienced in that mode of fighting.

"Sometimes an irregular fire, as hot as possible, was kept up from different directions for a few minutes, and then only a continual scattering fire at the ports as usual; and a great noise and laughter immediately commenced in different parts of the town, by the reserved parties, as if they had only fired on the fort a few minutes for amusement; and as if those continually firing at the fort were only regularly relieved. Conduct similar to this kept the garrison constantly alarmed.

"Thus the attack continued, until about nine o'clock on the morning of the 24th. Learning that the two prisoners they had brought in the day before had a considerable number of letters with them, I supposed it an express we expected about this time, which I knew to be of the greatest moment to us, as we had not received one since our arrival in the country; and not being fully acquainted with the character of our enemy, we were doubtful that those papers might be destroyed; to prevent which I sent a flag, with a letter, demanding the garrison."

The following is a copy of the letter * which was addressed by Col. Clark to Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, on the occasion:

"SIR:—In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, &c. For if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town—for, by heavens! if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you.

[Signed.] G. R. CLARK."

To this the governor replied, that he could not think of being "awed into any action unworthy a British subject;" but his true feeling peeped out in his question to Helm, when the bullets rattled about the chimney of the room in which they were playing piquet together, and Helm swore that Clark would have them prisoners. "Is he a merciful man?" said the governor.

Clark finding the British unwilling to yield quietly, began "firing very hot." When this came on, Helm cautioned the English soldiers not to look out through the loop-holes; for these Virginia riflemen, he said, would shoot their eyes out if they did. And seven being actually shot by balls which came through the port-holes, Hamilton was led to send out a flag with the following letter:

"Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton proposes to Colonel Clark a truce for three days; during which time he promises there shall be no defensive works carried on in the garrison, on condition that Colonel Clark shall observe, on his part, a like cessation of any defensive work: that is, he wishes to confer with Colonel Clark as soon as can be; and promises that whatever may pass between them two, and another person mutually agreed upon to be present, shall remain secret till matters be finished, as he wishes, that whatever the result of the conference may be, it may tend to the honor and credit of each party. If Colonel Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton will speak to him by the gate.

[Signed.] HENRY HAMILTON.

24th February, '79."

"I was at a great loss to conceive what reason Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton could have for wishing a truce for three days, on

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*Extracted from Major Bowman's MS. Journal.

such terms as he proposed. Numbers said it was a scheme to get me into their possession. I had a different opinion, and no idea of his possessing such sentiments, as an act of that kind would infallibly ruin him. Although we had the greatest reason to expect a reinforcement in less than three days, that would at once put an end to the siege, I yet did not think it prudent to agree to the proposals, and sent the following answer:

"Colonel Clark's compliments to Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, and begs leave to inform him that he will not agree to any terms other than Mr. Hamilton's surrendering himself and garrison prisoners at discretion. If Mr. Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Colonel Clark, he will meet him at the church, with Captain Helm. [Signed,] G. R. C.

February 24th, '79."

"We met at the church, about eighty yards from the fort—Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, Major Hay, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Capt. Helm, their prisoner, Major Bowman and myself. The conference began. Hamilton produced terms of capitulation, signed, that contained various articles, one of which was that the garrison should be surrendered, on their being permitted to go to Pensacola on parole. After deliberating on every article, I rejected the whole. He then wished I would make some proposition. I told him that I had no other to make, than what I had already made—that of his surrendering as prisoners at discretion. I said that his troops had behaved with spirit; that they could not suppose that they would be worse treated in consequence of it; that if he chose to comply with the demand, though hard, perhaps the sooner the better; that it was in vain to make any proposition to me; that he by this time, must be sensible that all the garrison would fall; that both of us must view all blood spilt for the future by the garrison as murder; that my troops were already impatient, and called aloud for permission to tear down and storm the fort; if such a step was taken, many of course would be cut down; and the result of an enraged body of woodsmen breaking in, must be obvious to him; it would be out of the power of an American officer to save a single man. Various altercations took place for a considerable time. Captain Helm attempted to moderate our fixed determination. I told him he was a British prisoner, and it was doubtful whether or not he could with propriety speak on the subject. Hamilton then said that Captain Helm was from that moment liberated, and might use his pleasure. I informed the Captain that

I would not receive him on such terms—that he must return to the garrison and await his fate. I then told Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton that hostilities should not commence until five minutes after the drums gave the alarm. We took our leave and parted but a few steps, when Hamilton stopped and politely asked me if I would be so kind as to give him my reasons for refusing the garrison on any other terms than those I had offered. I told him I had no objections in giving him my real reasons, which were simply these: that I knew the greater part of the principal Indian partizans of Detroit were with him—that I wanted an excuse to put them to death, or otherwise treat them as I thought proper—that the cries of the widows and the fatherless on the frontiers, which they had occasioned, now required their blood from my hands, and that I did not choose to be so timorous as to disobey the absolute commands of their authority, which I looked upon to be next to divine; that I would rather lose fifty men, than not to empower myself to execute this piece of business with propriety; that if he chose to risk the massacre of his garrison for their sakes, it was his own pleasure; and that I might perhaps take it into my head to send for some of those widows to see it executed. Major Hay, paying great attention, I had observed a kind of distrust in his countenance, which in a great measure influenced my conversation during this time.

"On my concluding, 'Pray, sir,' said he, 'who is it that you call Indian partizans?' 'Sir,' I replied, 'I take Major Hay to be one of the principal.' I never saw a man in the moment of execution so struck as he appeared to be—pale and trembling, scarcely able to stand. Hamilton blushed, and, I observed, was much affected at his behavior. Major Bowman's countenance sufficiently explained his disdain for the one, and his sorrow for the other. Some moments elapsed without a word passing on either side. From that moment, my resolutions changed respecting Hamilton's situation. I told him that we would return to our respective posts; that I would reconsider the matter, and let him know the result; no offensive measures should be taken in the meantime. Agreed to, and we parted. What had passed being made known to our officers, it was agreed that we should moderate our resolutions."

During the conference at the church, some Indian warriors who had been sent to the falls of the Ohio for scalps and prisoners, were discovered on their return, as they entered the plains near Post Vincennes. A party of the American troops, commanded by Captain Williams, went out to meet them. The Indians, who mistook this

detachment for a party of their friends, continued to advance "with all the parade of successful warriors." "Our men," says Major Bowman, "killed two on the spot, and wounded three, took six prisoners and brought them into the town; two of them proved to be whites; we released them and brought the Indians to the main street before the fort gate; there tomahawked them and threw them into the river."

In the course of the afternoon of the 24th, the following articles were signed, and the garrison capitulated:

"Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clark, Fort Sackville, as it is at present, with all the stores, &c.

"The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war, and march out with their arms and accoutrements, &c.

"The garrison to be delivered up at ten o'clock to-morrow.

"Three days time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders of the place.

"The officers of the place to be allowed their necessary baggage, &c.

"Signed at Post St. Vincent, [Vincennes,] 24th February, 1779.

"Agreed for the following reasons: the remoteness from succor; the state and quantity of provisions, &c.; unanimity of officers and men in its expediency; the honorable terms allowed; and lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy.

[Signed,] HENRY HAMILTON,
Lieut. Gov. and Superintendent."

"The business being now nearly at an end, troops were posted in several strong houses around the garrison, and patroled during the night to prevent any deception that might be attempted. The remainder on duty lay on their arms; and, for the first time for many days past, got some rest. During the siege, I got only one man wounded; not being able to lose many, I made them secure themselves well. Seven were badly wounded in the fort, through ports."

On the 25th of February, Fort Sackville was surrendered to the American troops, and the garrison treated as prisoners of war. The American flag waved on its battlements, and thirteen guns celebrated the victory.

Seventy-nine prisoners, and stores to the value of 50,000 dollars, were obtained by this bold and desperate enterprise, and the whole country along the Mississippi and Wabash, remained ever after in in the peaceable possession of the Americans. Governor Hamilton

was sent to Richmond, and his men permitted to return to Detroit on parole of honor.

Six were badly, and one man mortally wounded on the part of the British, and only one man wounded on the part of the Americans.

The governor and some others were sent prisoners to Virginia, where the council ordered their confinement in jail, fettered and alone, in punishment for their abominable policy of urging barbarians to greater barbarism, as they surely had done by offering rewards for scalps, but none for prisoners, a course which naturally resulted in wholesale and cold-blooded murder; the Indians driving captives within sight of the British forts and then butchering them. As this rigid confinement, however just, was not in accordance with the terms of Hamilton's surrender, General Phillips protested in regard to it, and Jefferson having referred the matter to the commander-in-chief, Washington gave his opinion decidedly against it, in consequence of which the Council of Virginia released the Detroit "hair buyer" from his irons.*

Clark returned to Kaskaskia, where, in consequence of the competition of the traders, he found himself more embarrassed from the depreciation of the paper money which had been advanced him by Virginia than he had been by the movements of the British; and where he was forced to pledge his own credit to procure what he needed, to an extent that influenced vitally his own fortune and life thenceforward.

After the taking of Vincennes, Detroit was undoubtedly within the reach of the enterprisng Virginian, had he been but able to raise as many soldiers as were starving and idling at Forts Laurens and McIntosh. In his letter to Mr. Jefferson, he says, that with five hundred men, when he reached Illinois, or with three hundred after the conquest of Post Vincennes, he could have taken Detroit. The people of Detroit rejoiced greatly when they heard of Hamilton's capture. Governor Henry having promised him a reinforcement, he concluded to wait for that, as his force was too small to both conquer and garrison the British Forts. But the results of what was done were not unimportant; indeed of very great importance. Hamilton had made arrangements to enlist the Southern and Western Indians, for the next spring's campaign; and, if Mr. Stone be correct in his suppositions, Brant and his Iroquois were to act in concert with him. Had Clark, therefore, failed to conquer

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* Spark's Washington, vi. 315.

the governor, there is too much reason to fear, that the West would have been, indeed, swept, from the Mississippi to the mountains, and the great blow struck, which had been contemplated from the outset, by Britain. But for his small army of dripping, but fearless Virginians, the union of all the tribes from Georgia to Maine, against the colonies, might have been effected, and the whole current of our history changed.

The conquest of Clark changed the face of affairs in relation to the whole country north of the Ohio river, which, in all probability, would have been the boundary between Canada and the United States. This conquest was urged by the American Commissioners in negotiating the definite treaty of 1793.

While Clark was thus successful in the West, the difficulties and misfortunes of the people of the frontier were greatly enhanced. The people of Kentucky had suffered much for salt, and the labor and risk of packing it over the mountains on horseback were too great; for only by that mode of transportation could they obtain the necessaries of life which the wilderness did not furnish. It was arranged that thirty men, under the guidance of Captain Boone, should proceed to the Lower Blue Licks, on Licking river, and manufacture salt. The enterprise was commenced on New Year's day, 1778.

Boone was to be guide, hunter, and scout; the rest to cut wood, and attend to the manufacturing department. January passed quietly, and before the 7th of February, enough of salt had accumulated to lead to the return of three of the party to the stations, with the treasure. The rest still labored on, and Boone enjoyed the winter weather in the forest after his own fashion. But there was more than mere game about him in those woods along the Licking. On the 7th of February, as he was hunting, he came upon a party of one hundred and two foes—two Canadians, the remainder Indians, Shawanese apparently. Boone fled; but their swiftest runners were on his trail, and he was soon their prisoner. Finding it impossible to give his companions at the Licks due notice, so as to secure their escape, he proceeded to make terms on their behalf with his captors, and then persuaded his men by gestures, at a distance, to surrender without offering battle. Thus, without a blow, the invaders found themselves possessed of twenty-eight prisoners, and among them the greatest, in an Indian's eyes, of all the Long-Knives. This band was on its way to Boonesborough, to attack or to reconnoitre; but such good luck as they had

met with, changed their minds, and, turning upon their track, they took up their march for old Chillicothe, an Indian town on the Little Miami.

It was no part of the plan of the Shawanese, however, to retain these men in captivity, nor yet to scalp, slay, or eat them. Under the influence and rewards of Governor Hamilton, the British commander in the North-West, the Indians had taken up the business of speculating in human beings, both dead and alive; and the Shawanese meant to take Boone and his comrades to the Detroit market. On the 10th of March, accordingly, eleven of the party, including Boone himself, were dispatched for the north, and, after twenty days of journeying, were presented to the English governor, who treated them, Boone says, with great humanity. To Boone himself, Hamilton and several other gentlemen seem to have taken an especial fancy, and offered considerable sums for his release; but the Shawanese had also become enamored of the veteran hunter, and would not part with him. He must go home with them, they said, and be one of them, and become a great chief. So the pioneer found his very virtues becoming the cause of a prolonged captivity.

In April, the red men, with their one white captive, about to be converted into a genuine son of nature, returned from the flats of Michigan, covered with brush-choken forests, to the rolling valley of the Miamis, with its hill-sides clothed in their rich, open woods of maple and beech, then just bursting into bloom. And now the white blood was washed out of the Kentucky ranger, and he was made a son in the family of Blackfish, a Shawanese chief, and was loved and caressed by father and mother, brothers and sisters, till he was thoroughly sick of them. But disgust he could not show; so he was kind and affable, and knew how to allay any suspicions they might harbor lest he should run away. He took his part in their games and romps; shot as near the centre of a target as a good hunter ought to, and yet left the savage marksmen a chance to excel him, and smiled in his quiet eye when he witnessed their joy at having done better than the best of the Long-Knives. He grew into favor with the chief, was trusted, treated with respect, and listened to with attention. No man could have been better calculated than Boone to disarm the suspicions of the red men. Some have called him a white Indian, except that he never showed the Indian's blood-thirstiness when excited. Scarce any other white ever possessed in an equal degree the true Indian gravity, which comes neither from thought, feeling, nor vacuity, but from

a peculiar organization. And so in hunting, shooting, swimming, and other Shawanese amusements, the newly-made Indian, Boone, spent the month of May, necessity making all the inconveniences of his lot endurable.

On the 1st of June, his aid was required in the business of salt making, and for that purpose he and a party of his brethren started for the valley of the Scioto, where he stayed ten days, hunting, boiling brine, and cooking. But when he returned to Chillicothe a sad sight met his eyes; four hundred and fifty of the choice warriors of the West, painted in the most exquisite war style, and armed for the battle. He scarce needed to ask whither they were bound; his heart told him Boonesborough; and already in imagination he saw the blazing roofs of the little borough he had founded, and the bleeding forms of his friends. Could he do nothing? He was a long way from his own white homestead; one hundred and fifty miles at least, and a rough and inhospitable country much of the way between him and it. But he *had* traveled fast and far, and might again. So, without a word to his fellow prisoners, early on the morning of June the 16th, without his breakfast, in the most secret manner, unseen, unheard, he departed. He left his red relatives to mourn his loss, and over hill and valley sped, forty miles a day, for four successive days, and ate but one meal by the way. He found the station wholly unprepared to resist so formidable a body as that which threatened it, and it was a matter of life and death that every muscle should be exerted to get all in readiness for the expected visitors.

Rapidly the white men toiled to repair and complete the fortifications, and to have all ready for an attack. But the Indians did not make their appearance, and in a few days another escaped captive brought information of the delay of the expedition in consequence of Boone's flight. The savages had relied on surprising the stations, and their plans being foiled by their adopted son Daniel, all their determinations were unsettled. Thus it proved the salvation of Boonesborough, and probably of all the frontier forts, that the founder of Kentucky was taken captive and remained a captive as long as he did. So often do seeming misfortunes prove, in God's hand, our truest good.

Boone, finding his late relatives so backward in their proposed call, determined to anticipate them by a visit to the Scioto valley, where he had been at salt making; and early in August, with nineteen men, started for the town on Paint Creek. He knew, of course, that he was trying a somewhat hazardous experiment, as

Boonesborough might be attacked in his absence; but he had his wits about him, and his scouts examined the country far and wide. Without interruption, he crossed the Ohio, and had reached within a few miles of the place he meant to attack, when his advanced guard, consisting of one man, Simon Kenton, discovered two natives riding one horse, and enjoying some joke as they rode. Not considering that these two might be, like himself, the van of a small army, Simon, one of the most impetuous of men, shot and ran forward to scalp them, but found himself at once in the midst of a dozen or more of his enemies, from whom he escaped only by the arrival of Boone and the remainder. The commander, upon considering the circumstances, and learning from spies whom he sent forward, that the town he intended to attack was deserted, came to the opinion that the band just met was on its way to join a larger body for the invasion of Kentucky, and advised an immediate return.

His advice was taken, and the result proved its wisdom; for in order to reach Boonesborough, they were actually obliged to go around, and outstrip a body of nearly five hundred savages, led by Canadians, who were marching against his doomed borough, and after all, got there only the day before them.

Shortly after their return, in August, the whole Indian army, four hundred and forty-four in number, commanded by Blackfish, with eleven Canadians under Captain Du Quesne, with British and French colors flying, appeared before Boonesborough, and summoned the fort to "surrender in the name of his Britannic Majesty," with the promise of liberal treatment.

It was, as Boone says, a critical period for him and his friends. Should they yield, what mercy could they look for? and he, especially, after his unkind flight from his Shawanese parents? They had almost stifled him with their caresses before; they would literally hug him to death if again within their grasp. Should they refuse to yield, what hope of successful resistance? And they had so much need of all their cattle, to aid them in sustaining a siege, and yet their cows were abroad in the woods. Boone pondered the matter, and concluded it would be safe to ask two days for consideration. It was granted, and he drove in his cows. The evening of the 9th soon arrived, however, and he politely thanked the representative of his gracious Majesty for giving the garrison time to prepare for their defense, and announced their determination to fight. Captain Du Quesne was much grieved at this answer, since Governor Hamilton was anxious to save bloodshed, and wished the

Kentuckians taken alive; and rather than proceed to extremities, he offered to withdraw his troops, if the garrison would make a treaty, though to what point the treaty was to aim is unknown.

Boone was determined not to yield; but then he had no wish to starve in his fort, or have it taken by storm, and be scalped; and he thought, remembering Hamilton's kindness to him when in Detroit, that there might be something in what the captain said, and at any rate, to enter upon a treaty was to gain time, and something might be gained. So he agreed to treat; but where? Could nine of the garrison, as desired, safely venture into the open field? It might be all a trick to get possession of some of the leading whites. Upon the whole, however, as the leading Indians and their Canadian allies must come under the rifles of the garrison, who might with certainty and safety pick them off if treachery were attempted, it was thought best to run the risk; and Boone, with eight others, went out to meet the leaders of the enemy, sixty yards from the fort, within which the sharpest shooters stood, with leveled rifles, ready to protect their comrades. The treaty was made and signed, and then the Indians, saying it was their custom for two of them to shake hands with every white man when a treaty was made, expressed a wish to press the palms of their new allies. Boone and his friends must have looked rather queer at this proposal; but it was safer to accede than to refuse and be shot down instantly; so they presented each his hand. As anticipated, the warriors seized them with rough and fierce eagerness, the whites drew back struggling, the treachery was apparent, the rifle balls from the garrison struck down the foremost assailants of the little band, and, amid a fire from friends and foes, Boone and his fellow deputies bounded back into the station, with the exception of one, unhurt.

The treaty trick having thus failed, Captain Du Quesne had to look to more ordinary modes of warfare, and opened a fire which lasted during ten days, though to no purpose, for the woodsmen were determined not to yield. On the 20th of August, the Indians were forced unwillingly to retire, having lost thirty-seven of their number, and wasted a vast amount of powder and lead. The garrison picked up from the ground, after their departure, one hundred and twenty-five pounds of their bullets.*

A formidable expedition into the Indian country was planned for the summer of the same year. It was arranged that fifteen hun-

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*Butler's Kentucky.

dred men were to assemble at the mouth of the Kanawha, and as many more to pass down the river from Fort Pitt. There the two divisions were to unite, enter the Indian country, and destroy their towns and crops. General M'Intosh, then commanding at Fort Pitt, led the division from that point. Failing to receive any reinforcement from the Kanawha, General M'Intosh prepared to invade the Indian country by the way of Big Beaver, or nearly the same route that Col. Bouquet had pursued fourteen years before. Preparatory to the expedition, Fort M'Intosh was built, on the present site of Beaver. It was a regular stockaded work, with four bastions, and was defended by six pieces of cannon.*

From this point it was intended to operate in reducing Detroit, where mischief was still brewing. Indeed, the natives were now more united than ever against the frontier inhabitants. In June, Congress was in possession of information that led them to think a universal frontier war close at hand.† The Senecas, Cayugas, Mingoes, (by which doubtless were meant the Ohio Iroquois, or possibly the Mohawks,) Wyandots, Onondagas, Ottawas, Chippewas, Shawanese and Delawares, were all said to be more or less united in opposition to America. Congress, learning the danger to be so immediate and great, determined to push on the Detroit expedition, and ordered another to be undertaken by the Mohawk valley against the Senecas, who might otherwise very much annoy and impede the march from Fort Pitt. For the capture of Detroit, three thousand continental troops and two thousand five hundred militia were voted; an appropriation was made of nearly a million of dollars; and General M'Intosh was to carry forward the needful operations.

All the flourish which was made about taking Detroit, however, and conquering the Senecas, ended in the resolves of Congress. The dilatory movements of M'Intosh occupied the summer, and it was finally thought too late in the season for advantageous action, and also too great an undertaking for the weak handed colonies.

This having been settled, it was resolved that the forces in the west should move up and attack the Wyandots and other Indians about the Sandusky, and a body of troops was accordingly marched forward to prepare a half-way house, or post by which the necessary connection might be kept up. This was built upon the Tuscarawas, a few miles south of the present town of Bolivar. In these

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* Craig's History of Pittsburgh.

† Journals of the Old Congress, vol. ii. p. 585.

quiet, commercial days, the Ohio canal passes through its midst. It was named Fort Laurens, in honor of the President of Congress.

While these warlike measures were pursued on the one hand, the confederacy on the other, by its commissioners, Andrew and Thomas Lewis, of Virginia, formed at Fort Pitt, on the 17th of September, a treaty of peace and alliance with the chiefs of the Delawares, White-Eyes, Kill-Buck, and Pipe.

The erection of Fort Laurens has been already noticed. At that 1779.] point, seventy miles from Fort M'Intosh, and exposed to all the fierce north-western tribes, Col. John Gibson had been left with one hundred and fifty men to get through the winter of 1778–79, as he best could, while M'Intosh himself returned to Pittsburgh, disappointed and dispirited. Nor was Congress in a very good humor with him, for already had six months passed to no purpose. Washington was consulted, but could give no definite advice, knowing nothing of those details which must determine the course of things for the winter. M'Intosh, at length, in February, asked leave to retire from his unsatisfactory command, and was allowed to do so. No blame appears to have been attached to him for any unfaithfulness in the performance of his duty. He doubtless attempted to do whatever was in his power, but was regarded as weak and inefficient. Among other things, he led a party with provisions for the relief of Col. Gibson's starving garrison, but unhappily the guns fired as a salute by those about to be relieved, scared the pack-horses, and much of the provisions was scattered and lost in the woods. The force at Fort Laurens, meantime, had been suffering cruelly, both from the Indians and famine, and, though finally rescued from starvation, had done, and could do, nothing. The post was at last abandoned in August, 1779.

A new cause of trouble was meanwhile arising in the north. Of the six tribes of the Iroquois, the Senecas, Mohawks, Cayugas, and Onondagas, had been, from the outset inclining to Britain, though all of these, but the Mohawks, had now and then tried to persuade the Americans to the contrary. During the winter of 1778–79, the Onondagas, who had been for a while nearly neutral, were suspected by the Americans of deception, and this suspicion having become nearly knowledge, a band was sent, early in April, to destroy their towns, and take such of them as could be taken, prisoners. The work appointed was done, and the villages and wealth of the poor savages were annihilated. This sudden act of severity startled all. The Oneidas, hitherto faithful to their neutrality,

were alarmed, lest the next blow should fall on them, and it was only after a full explanation that their fears were quieted. As for the Onondagas, it was not to be hoped that they would sit down under such treatment; and accordingly, that some hundred of their warriors were at once in the field, and from that time forward, a portion of their nation remained, and justly, hostile to the United States.

The Continental Congress, meanwhile, had become convinced, from the massacre at Wyoming and Cherry Valley, that it was advisable to adopt some means of securing the north-western and western frontiers against the recurrence of such catastrophes; and, the hostile tribes of the Six Nations being the most numerous and deadly foes, it was concluded to begin by strong action against them. Washington had always said, that the only proper mode of defense against the Indians was to attack them; and this mode he determined to adopt on this occasion. Some difference of opinion existed, however, as to the best path into the country of the inimical Iroquois.

General Schuyler was in favor of a movement up the Mohawk river; the objection to which route was, that it carried the invaders too near to Lake Ontario, and within reach of the British. The other course proposed was up the Susquehanna, which heads, as all know, in the region that was to be reached. The latter route was the one determined on by Washington for the main body of troops, which was to be joined by another body moving up the Mohawk, and also by detachments coming from the western army, by the way of the Allegheny and French creek. Upon further thought, however, the movement from the west was countermanded. All the arrangements for this invasion were made in March and April, but it was the last of July before General Sullivan could get his men on their march from Wyoming, where they had gathered; and, of course, information of the proposed movements had been given to the Indians and Tories, so that Brant, the Johnsons, and their followers, stood ready to receive the invaders.

They were not, however, strong enough to withstand the Americans; and, having been defeated at the battle of Newton, were driven from village to village, and their whole country was laid waste. Houses were burned, crops and orchards destroyed, and every thing done that could be thought of, to render the country uninhabitable. Of all these steps Mr. Stone speaks fully. Forty towns were burnt, and more than one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn destroyed. Well did the Senecas name Washing-

ton, whose armies did all this, "the Town Destroyer." Having performed this portion of his work, Sullivan turned homeward from the beautiful valley of the Genesee; leaving Niagara, whither the Indians fled, as to the stronghold of British power in that neighborhood, untouched. This conduct, Mr. Stone thinks "difficult of solution,"* as he supposes the destruction of that post to have been one of the main objects of the expedition. Such, however, was not the fact. Originally, it had been part of the proposed plan to attack Niagara; but, early in January, Washington was led to doubt, and then to abandon that part of the plan, thinking it wiser to carry on, merely, some operations on a smaller scale against the savages.

One of the smaller operations was from the West. On the 22d of March, 1779, Washington wrote to Colonel Daniel Brodhead, who had succeeded McIntosh in command at Fort Pitt, that an incursion into the country of the Six Nations was in preparation, and that in connection therewith, it might be advisable for a force to ascend the Allegheny to Kittanning, and thence to Venango, and, having fortified both points, to strike the Mingoes and Munseys upon French creek, and elsewhere in that neighborhood, and thus aid General Sullivan in the great blow he was to give by his march up the Susquehanna. Brodhead was also directed to say to the western Indians, that if they made any trouble, the whole force of the United States would be turned against them, and they should be cut off from the face of the earth.

But, on the 21st of April, these orders were countermanded, and Brodhead was directed to prepare an expedition against the Indians of the Ohio and western lakes, with an especial view to the reduction of Detroit. Whether this order came too late, or was withdrawn, is not ascertained. Brodhead, however, proceeded as first directed, and marched up the Allegheny. His report will furnish the best account of the expedition:

"I left this place on the 11th of August, with six hundred and five, rank and file, including the militia and volunteers, and one month's provisions, which, except the live cattle, was transported by water, under the escort of one hundred men, to a place called Mahoney, about fifteen miles above Fort Armstrong, (Kittanning,) where, after four days' detention by excessive rains, and the straying of some of the cattle, the stores were loaded on pack-horses,

* Life of Brant, vol. ii.

and the troops proceeded on the march for Conowago, on the path leading to Cushcushing. At ten miles this side the town, one of the advance guards, consisting of fifteen white men and eight Delaware Indians, under the command of Lieutenant Harding, discovered between thirty and forty warriors coming down the river in seven canoes. These warriors having likewise discovered some of the troops, immediately landed, stripped off their shirts, and prepared for action, and the advance guard immediately began the attack. All the troops, except one column and flankers, being in the narrows between the river and a high hill, were immediately prepared to receive the enemy; which being done, I went forward to discover the enemy, and saw six of them retreating over the river without arms; at the same time the rest ran away, leaving their canoes, blankets, shirts, provisions, and eight guns, besides five dead, and, by the signs of blood, several went off wounded; only two of our men and one of the Delaware Indians were wounded, and so slightly that they are already recovered and fit for action.

"The next morning the troops proceeded to Buckaloons, where I ordered a small breastwork to be thrown up, of felled timber and fascines. A captain and forty men were left to secure our baggage, and the troops marched immediately to Conowago, which I found had been deserted about eighteen months past. Here the troops seemed much mortified, because we had no person to proceed as a guide to the upper towns, but I ordered them to proceed on a path which appeared to have been traveled by the enemy some time past, and we continued marching on it about twenty miles before any discoveries were made, except a few tracks of their spies; but immediately before ascending a high hill we discovered the Allegheny river, and a number of cornfields, and descending, several towns, which the enemy had deserted on the approach of the troops; some of them fled just before the advanced guard reached the town, and left several packs of deer skins.

"At the upper Seneca town we found a painted image or war-post, clothed in dog skin, and John Montour informed me this town was called Yoghwonwaga; beside this we found other towns, consisting in the whole of one hundred and thirty houses, some of which were large enough to accommodate three or four Indian families. The troops remained on the ground three days, destroying the towns and cornfields. I never saw finer corn, although it was planted much thicker than is common among our farmers. The quantity of corn and other vegetables destroyed at the several towns, from

the best accounts I could collect from the officers employed to destroy it, must certainly exceed five hundred acres, which is the lowest estimate; and the plunder taken is estimated at three thousand dollars. I have directed a sale of it for the benefit of the troops, and hope it will meet your approbation. On my return I preferred the Venango road. The old towns of Conowago, Buckaloons, and Maghinquechahocking, about twenty miles above Venango, on French creek, consisting of thirty-five large houses, were likewise burnt. The greater part of the Indian houses were larger than common, and were built of square and round logs and frame work. From the great quantity of corn in the ground, and the number of new houses built and building, it appears that the Seneca and Munsey nations intended to collect at this settlement, which extends about eight miles on the Allegheny river, between one hundred and seventy and two hundred miles from Pittsburgh; the river at the upper town is little if any larger than Kiskiminetas creek. It is remarkable that neither man nor beast has fallen into the enemy's hands on this expedition."

On Brodhead's return to Pittsburgh, he found there the chiefs of the Delawares, Shawanese, and Hurons, who had come to treat for peace. On the 17th of September, a conference was held with them, and a treaty of peace and of alliance with the Americans was made.

Further west, during this summer and autumn, the Indians were more successful. In July, the stations being still troubled, Col. Bowman undertook an expedition into the country of the Shawanese, acting upon the principle, that the best mode of defense against Indians is to assail them. He marched undiscovered into the immediate vicinity of the towns upon the Little Miami, and so divided and arranged his forces, as to insure apparent success, one portion of the troops being commanded by himself, another by Colonel Benjamin Logan; but from some unexpected cause, his division of the whites did not co-operate fully with that led by Logan, and the whole body was forced to retreat, after having taken some booty, including one hundred and sixty horses, and leaving the town of the savages in cinders, but also leaving the fierce warriors themselves in no degree daunted or crippled.

Nor was it long before they showed themselves south of the Ohio again, and unexpectedly won a victory over the Americans of no slight importance. The facts, so far as they are ascertained, are these:

An expedition which had been made into the neighborhood of

Lexington, where the first permanent improvements were made in April of this year, upon its return came to the Ohio near the Licking, at the very time that Colonel Rogers and Captain Benham reached the same point on their way up the river in boats. A few of the Indians were seen by the commander of the little American squadron, near the mouth of the Licking, and supposing himself to be far superior in numbers, he caused seventy of his men to land, intending to surround the savages; in a few moments, however, he found he was himself surrounded, and after a hard fought battle, only twenty or twenty-five, or perhaps even fewer of the party, were left alive. It was in connection with this skirmish that an incident occurred which seems to belong rather to a fanciful story than to sober history, and which yet appears to be well authenticated.

In the party of whites was Captain Robert Benham. He was one of those that fell, being shot through both hips, so as to be powerless in his lower limbs; he dragged himself, however, to a tree-top, and there lay concealed from the savages after the contest was over. On the evening of the second day, seeing a raccoon, he shot it, but no sooner was the crack of his rifle heard than he distinguished a human voice not far distant; supposing it to be some Indian, he reloaded his gun and prepared for defense; but a few moments undeceived him, and he discovered that the person whose voice he had heard was a fellow sufferer, with this difference, however, that both his arms were broken! Here, then, were the only two survivors of the combat, (except those who had entirely escaped,) with one pair of legs and one pair of arms between them. It will be easily believed that they formed a co-partnership for mutual aid and defense. Benham shot the game which his friend drove toward him, and the man with sound legs then kicked it to the spot where he with sound arms sat ready to cook it. To procure water, the one with legs took a hat by the brim in his teeth, and walked into the Licking up to his neck, while the man with arms was to make signals if any boat appeared in sight. In this way they spent about six weeks, when, upon the 27th of November, they were rescued. Benham afterward bought and lived upon the land where the battle took place; his companion, Mr. Butler tells us, was a few years since still living at Brownsville, Pennsylvania.

But the military operations of 1779 were not those which were of the most vital importance to the West. The passage of the Land Laws by Virginia was of more consequence than the losing or gaining of many battles to the hardy pioneers of Kentucky and to their descendants. Of these laws but a vague outline can be

given; but it may be enough to render the subject in some degree intelligible.

In 1779 there existed claims of various kinds to the western lands:

Those of the Ohio, Walpole and other companies, who had a title more or less perfect, from the British Government; none of these had been perfected by patents, however.

Claims founded on the military bounty warrants of 1763; some of these were patented.

Henderson's claim by purchase from the Indians.

Those based on mere selection and occupancy.

Others resting on selection and survey, without occupancy.

Claims of persons who had imported settlers; for each such settler, under an old law, fifty acres were to be allowed.

Claims of persons who had paid money into the old colonial treasury for land.

The claims of officers and soldiers of the Revolution, to whom Virginia was indebted.

These various claims were, in the first place, to be provided for, and then the residue of the rich valleys beyond the mountains might be sold to pay the debts of the parent State. In May, the chief laws relative to this most important and complicated subject were passed, and commissioners were appointed to examine the various claims which might be presented, and give judgment according to the evidence brought forward; their proceedings, however, to remain open to revision until December 1, 1780. And as the subject was a perplexed one, the following principles were laid down for their guidance:

All *surveys* (without patents,) made before January 1, 1778, by any county surveyor commissioned by William and Mary College, and founded upon charter; upon importation rights duly proved; upon treasury rights, (money paid into the colonial treasury;) upon entries not exceeding four hundred acres, made before October 26, 1763; upon acts of the Virginia Assembly resulting from orders in council, &c.; upon any warrant from a colonial governor, for military services, &c. were to be good; all other surveys null and void.

Those *who had not made surveys*, if claiming under importation rights; under treasury rights; under warrants for military services, were to be admitted to survey and entry.

Those who had actually settled, or caused at their cost others to settle, on unappropriated land, *before January* 1, 1778, were to have four hundred acres, or less, as they pleased, for every family so settled; paying $2.25 for each hundred acres.

Those who had settled in villages *before January* 1, 1778, were to receive for each family four hundred acres, adjacent to the village, at $2.25 per hundred acres; and the village property was to remain unsurveyed until the General Assembly could examine the titles to it, and do full justice.

To all having settlement rights, as above described, was given also a right of pre-emption to one thousand acres adjoining the settlement, at State prices—forty cents an acre.

To those who had settled *since January* 1, 1778, was given a pre-emption right to four hundred acres, adjoining and including the settlement made by them.

All the region between Green river, the Cumberland mountains, Tennessee, the river Tennessee, and the Ohio, was reserved, to be used for military claims.

The two hundred thousand acres granted Henderson and his associates, October, 1778, along the Ohio, below the mouth of Green river, remained still appropriated to them.

Having thus provided for the various classes of claimants, the Legislature offered the remainder of the public lands at forty cents an acre; the money was to be paid into the Treasury, and a warrant for the quantity wished taken by the purchaser; this warrant he was to take to the surveyor of the county in which he wished to locate, and an entry was to be made of every location, so special and distinct that the adjoining lands might be known with certainty. To persons unable to pay cash, four hundred acres were to be sold on credit, and an order of the county court was to be substituted for the warrant of the Treasury.

To carry these laws into effect, four Virginians were sent westward to attend to claims; these gentlemen opened their court on the 13th of October, at St. Asaph's, and continued their sessions at various points, until April 26, 1780, when they adjourned to meet no more, after having given judgment in favor of about three thousand claims. The labors of the commissioners being ended, those of the surveyor commenced; and Mr. George May, who had been appointed to that office, assumed its duties upon the 10th day of that month, the name of which he bore.

"At this time," says Imlay, "what was called continental currency, was reduced to as low a rate as five hundred to one; nay, I believe one thousand to one was a more common exchange.

"This circumstance, though it had its good effects so far as it tended to accelerate the settlement of the country, still was productive of no small degree of evil and injustice. For, in conse-

quence of the great quantity of this money which lay dead in the hands of individuals, it was no sooner known in the different States that Virginia held out an opportunity to them of obtaining a consideration for this depreciated currency, than it was sent to the treasury in such quantities and given for land warrants, that in a short time, more of them were issued than would have covered half the territory within its limits.

"Previous to this era, a great part of the valuable land in the district of Kentucky had either been taken up on old military grants and pre-emption rights, or located by those who had been first in obtaining their warrants, for it required some time for the business to extend itself and become generally known and understood. In consequence, a large proportion of the holders of treasury warrants were disappointed when they determined if they could not obtain prime lands, they would lay their warrants upon such as were vacant, however sterile, which doubtless was proper, for though the warrants had cost them only a nominal value, nor was the State of Virginia sensible of the dangerous avenue they were opening to fraudulent practices, yet it was possible in an extensive tract of mountainous country, there might be in the valleys or between the hills, some bottom land, which in the progress of settlements would be of value.

"But they did not stop here, for finding a general spirit of migration was taking place from every part of the Atlantic to the Western country, and that the reputation of the fine lands upon the Ohio, particularly those of Kentucky, were every day advancing in estimation, they determined to have their surveys made out in the most artful manner, by having for corner trees such kinds as are never known to grow but in the most fertile soil, and which may always be found in the narrow strips of bottom land, and the plots embellished with the greatest elegance, displaying fine water courses, mill seats, where perhaps there will not be a grain of corn for half a century to come, plains, groves, and meadows. Hence proceeded so generally the business of land jobbing; hence it is that there is to be seen in the mercuries throughout Europe, such immense tracts of land in America offered for sale; and hence it is that so many persons have cause to complain of having been deceived in the accounts which have been given of land they have purchased."

The Governor of Virginia appointed four commissioners for Kentucky; but it was not until some time in October, 1779, they arrived in the country and opened court. The law itself was

vague, and the proceedings of the court, and the certificates granted to claimants under the law, were more indefinite and uncertain. The description of tracts were general, the boundaries not well defined, and consequently the claims, when located, interfered with each other. Every family that settled on waste or unappropriated lands belonging to Virginia, upon the western waters, was entitled to a pre-emption right to any quantity of land not exceeding four hundred acres; and, upon the payment of two dollars and twenty-five cents on each one hundred acres, a certificate was granted, and a title in fee-simple confirmed.

Each settler could select and survey for pre-emption any quantity of waste or unappropriated lands, not exceeding one thousand acres to each claimant, for which forty dollars for each hundred acres were required. Payments could be made in the paper currency of Virginia, which had depreciated greatly.*

The following specimens from the record of the Commissioners' Court are given to illustrate the vague manner in which tracts of land were described in the entry:

"Michael Stoner this day appeared, and claimed a right of settlement and pre-emption to a tract of land lying on Stoner's Fork, a branch of the south fork of the Licking, about twelve miles above Licking Station, by making corn in the country in the year 1775, and improving said land in 1776. Satisfactory proof being made to the court, they are of opinion that said Stoner has a right to a settlement of four hundred acres of land, including the above mentioned improvement, and a pre-emption of one thousand acres adjoining the same, and that a certificate issue accordingly."

"Joseph Combs, this day claimed a right to a pre-emption of one thousand acres of land lying on Combs', since called Howard's creek, about eight miles above Boonesborough, on both sides of the creek, and about three or four miles from the mouth of it, by improving the said land, by building a cabin on the premises, in the month of May, 1775. Satisfactory proof being made to the court, they are of opinion that the said Combs has a right to a pre-emption of one thousand acres, including the said improvement, and that a certificate issue accordingly."

The sessions of this court were held at different places in Kentucky, to accommodate the claimants, for the period of one year, during which about three thousand certificates were granted. The

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* Life of Boone, in Sparks' Biography, p. 95.

foregoing extracts illustrate the vague and undefined descriptions of localities. Many of the claims were rendered null from more specific and definite surveys covering the same land; and many of the old pioneers, amongst whom was Daniel Boone, lost the lands they had entered and surveyed, by subsequent law suits.

The winter of 1779–80, was uncommonly severe throughout the United States, and has been distinguished as "*the hard winter.*" The effect on the new settlements in the West was great distress and suffering. In Kentucky, the rivers, creeks, and branches were frozen to an uncommon thickness where the water was deep, and became exhausted in shallow places. Horses and cattle died from thirst and starvation. The snow, from continuous storms, became of unusual depth and continued a long time. Men could not hunt. Families were overtaken in the wilderness on their journey, and their progress arrested, and there was great suffering. The supplies of the settlements were exhausted, and corn became extremely scarce.

When the snow melted, and the ice broke up in the rivers, the low grounds and river bottoms were submerged, and much of the stock that had survived the severity of the winter, perished in the waters. The game of the forest furnished meat, which was the only solid food to be obtained until the corn was grown. The summer brought large accessions to the population by emigration.

On the 11th of August, 1768, during the period of the revolt of 1780.] Lower Louisiana, M. Rious, with a detachment of Spanish troops, arrived at St. Louis, and took formal possession of Upper Louisiana, in the name of the king of Spain.* The occupation of Rious was military, and St. Ange was allowed still to exercise the functions of the civil government. On the 17th of July, 1769, he evacuated St. Louis, and returned to New Orleans, to aid O'Reilly in the reduction of the lower province.

After the submission of the people to the government of Spain, O'Reilly deputed Don Pedro Piernas to be lieutenant-governor, and civil and military commandant of Upper Louisiana. On the 29th of November, Piernas arrived at St. Louis, received the government from St. Ange, and in February, 1771, entered upon the exercise of his official functions. No opposition was made to the

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*Gayarre's Spanish domination in Louisiana.

new government, the administration of Piernas was mild and paternal, and the people soon became reconciled to, and in time became strongly attached to the Spanish government.

Unzaga was left in charge of the government of Lower Louisiana on the departure of O'Reilly, on the 29th of October, 1770, and was confirmed as governor of Louisiana by a royal decree, on the 17th of August, 1772. The administration of O'Reilly had completely crushed out the spirit of resistance to the Spanish domination, and the administration of Unzaga, and his deputy Piernas, occupied with no wars or rebellions, afford few events worthy of record. On the 24th of March, 1770, the Spanish government, by a royal decree, confirmed the acts of O'Reilly, in substituting the laws and usages of Spain instead of those of France, which were in force in the colony. All controversies were tried under the Spanish law, by a tribunal of which the governor was the supreme judge in Lower Louisiana, and by a tribunal of which the deputy governor was the supreme judge in Upper Louisiana. No titles to land in Upper Louisiana were given under the French domination. The grants to Laclede, and the various grants made by St. Ange, during the period of his provisional government, were held to be invalid, because made without the authority of Spain, after the treaty of cession. All these titles were, however, examined, surveyed, and on the 23d of May, 1772, confirmed by Piernas. No land titles west of the Mississippi, in Upper Louisiana, date beyond that period. A liberal policy in the bestowment of grants was pursued, the government was mild, and more in accordance with the usages of the French than the government of Great Britain, and accordingly a large emigration set in from Canada, and the Illinois, to the western side of the Mississippi. Immigrants, too, were attracted by the climate, soil, and trade of the province of Lower Louisiana, and under these circumstances its population was largely increased.

On the 1st of February, 1777, Don Bernando de Galvez succeeded Unzaga in the government of Louisiana. Piernas had previously resigned, in 1775, his authority to Cruzat, and in 1778, Cruzat was superseded by Don Francisco de Leyba. The war of the Revolution had begun, and Louisiana, though far removed from the scene of conflict, was still within reach of its influence, and shared in the commotions it excited. As early as 1777, the Spanish court had sent orders to the governors of Louisiana, to afford secret aid to the Americans, and arms and ammunition had been procured at New Orleans, to the amount of seventy thousand dol-

lars, and shipped to Fort Pitt for their use. In January, 1778, Captain Willing, an American officer, with a party of fifty men, descended the river, and ravaged the British shore of the Mississippi from the bayou Manchac to Natchez.

On the 8th of May, 1779, Spain declared war against Great Britain, and on the 8th of July, the people of Louisiana were authorized to take their share in the war against the colonies of Great Britain. Accordingly, Galvez collected a force of fourteen hundred men, and on the 7th of September, attacked and took Fort Manchac. Thence he proceeded to Baton Rouge, and after a short siege, reduced that post on the 21st of September, while a detachment of his force took possession of the post at Natchez. Eight vessels of the British were taken by the Spanish colonists on the lakes and in the Mississippi. Galvez, encouraged by his success, collected another force of two thousand men, in the next year, and laid siege to Mobile, which in a short time was surrendered. Galvez then returned to Havana, obtained a reinforcement of troops, with arms and ammunition, for the siege of Pensacola, then the principal post of the British in West Florida; but, on his return, his transports were dispersed and lost in a storm. Galvez returned to Havana, procured another reinforcement, and in March, 1781, laid siege to Pensacola. The siege was maintained with great vigor on both sides for a month, when the fortifications were pierced, by the explosion of a magazine. The garrison offered a capitulation, and Pensacola, and with it all west Florida, on the 9th of May, was surrendered to Spain.

The war did not immediately affect the people of Upper Louisiana. The conquest of Illinois by Clark, in 1778, removed from their neighborhood all the British posts in the Illinois. There was no British force nearer than Detroit, and the garrison there, and their Indian allies, were so fully occupied with the war along the American border, that danger was not to be apprehended from that quarter. The British commandant at Mackinaw, however, was meditating the reduction of Upper Louisiana, and after the reverses the British arms had sustained in Florida, determined to lead an expedition on his own responsibility against St. Louis. Accordingly, he collected a force of one hundred and forty soldiers, and fifteen hundred Indians, and with these he set out early in the spring of 1780, with a view of surprising that place.

Rumors of the intention of the British to attack Louisiana had been current among the Indians of Illinois. This intelligence was

conveyed to General Clark while at Kaskaskia, in the spring of 1779. Clark immediately informed the inhabitants of St. Louis, and through them the governor, Leyba, of their danger, and proffered his aid in case of an attack. His offer was rejected, for the reason that no immediate danger was to be apprehended.

The territory on which St. Louis stood, as likewise that on which several other towns had been located, and the surrounding country, were claimed by the Illinois Indians, but they had acquiesced in the intrusion of the whites, and had never molested them. But when the rumor of an attack upon the town began to spread abroad, the people became alarmed for their safety.

The town was almost destitute of works of defense, but the inhabitants, amounting to a little more than a hundred men,* immediately proceeded to inclose it with a species of wall, formed of the trunks of small trees planted in the ground, the interstices being filled up with earth. The wall was some five or six feet high. It started from the Half Moon, a kind of fort in that form, situated on the river, the present Floating Dock, and ran from thence a little above the brow of the hill, in a semicircle, until it reached the Mississippi, somewhat above the bridge, now on Second street. Three gates were formed in it; one near the bridge, and two others on the hill, at the points where the roads from the north-western and south-western parts of the common fields came in. At each of these gates was placed a heavy piece of ordnance, kept continually charged, and in good order. Having completed this work, and hearing no more of the Indians, it was supposed that the attack had been abandoned. Winter passed away, and spring came; still nothing was heard of the Indians. The inhabitants were led to believe that their apprehensions were groundless, from the representations of the commandant, Leyba, who did every thing in his power to dissipate their anxiety, assuring them that there was no danger, and that the rumor of the proposed attack was false. The month of May came, the labors of planting were over, and the peaceful and happy villagers gave themselves up to such pursuits and pleasures as suited their taste.

A few days before the attack, an old man named Quenelle, being on the opposite side of the river, saw another Frenchman, by the name of Ducharme, who had formerly absconded from St. Louis, who told him of the projected attack. The governor called him "an old dotard," and ordered him to prison.

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* The whole population was probably nine hundred, or one thousand.

In the meantime, numerous bands of the Indians living on the lakes and the Mississippi—the Ojibwas, Menomonies, Winnebagoes, Sioux, Sacs, &c., together with a large number of Canadians, amounting in all to upward of fourteen hundred, had assembled on the eastern shore of the Mississippi, a little above St. Louis, awaiting the 26th of May, the day fixed for the attack. The 25th of May was the feast of *Corpus Christi*, a day highly venerated by the inhabitants, who were all Catholics. Had the assault taken place then, it would have been fatal to them; for, after divine service, all, men, women, and children, had flocked to the prairie to gather strawberries, which were that season very abundant and fine. The town, being left perfectly unguarded, could have been taken with ease, and the unsuspecting inhabitants, who were roaming about in search of fruit, could have been massacred without resistance. Fortunately, however, a few only of the enemy had crossed the river, and ambushed themselves in the prairie. The villagers frequently came so near them, in the course of the day, that the Indians, from their places of concealment, could have reached them with their hands. But they knew not how many of the whites were still remaining in the town, and in the absence of their coadjutors feared to attack, lest their preconcerted plan might be defeated.

On the 26th, the body of the Indians crossed, and marched directly toward the fields, expecting to find the greater part of the villagers there; but in this they were disappointed, a few only having gone out to view their crops. These perceived the approach of the savage foe, and immediately commenced a retreat toward the town, the most of them taking the road that led to the upper gate, nearly through the mass of Indians, and followed by a shower of bullets. The firing alarmed those who were in town, and the cry, "To arms! to arms!" was heard in every direction. They rushed toward the works, and threw open the gates to their brethren. The Indians advanced slowly, but steadily, toward the town, and the inhabitants, though almost deprived of hope, by the vast superiority in numbers of the assailants, determined to defend themselves to the last.

In expectation of an attack, Silvio Francisco Cartabona, a governmental officer, had gone to Ste. Genevieve for a company of militia, to aid in defending the town, in case of necessity, and had, at the beginning of the month, returned with sixty men, who were quartered on the citizens. As soon as the attack commenced, however, neither Cartabona nor his men could be seen. Either

through fear or treachery, the greater part concealed themselves in a garret, and there remained until the Indians had retired. The assailed, being deprived of a considerable force by this shameful defection, were still resolute and determined. About fifteen men were posted at each gate; the rest were scattered along the line of defense, in the most advantageous manner.

When within proper distance, the Indians began an irregular fire, which was answered with showers of grape-shot from the artillery. The firing for a while was warm, but the Indians, perceiving that all their efforts would be ineffectual, on account of the intrenchments, and deterred by the cannon, to which they were unaccustomed, from making a nearer approach, suffered their zeal to abate, and deliberately retired. At this stage of affairs the lieutenant-governor made his appearance. The first intimation that he received of what was going on, was by the discharge of artillery, on the part of the inhabitants. He immediately ordered several pieces of cannon, which were posted in front of the government-house, to be spiked and filled with sand, and went, or rather *was rolled in a wheelbarrow*, to the scene of action. In a very peremptory tone, he commanded the inhabitants to cease firing, and return to their houses. Those posted at the lower gate did not hear the order, and consequently kept their stations. The commandant perceived this, and ordered a cannon to be fired at them. They had barely time to throw themselves on the ground, when the volley passed over them, and struck the wall, tearing a great part of it down. These proceedings, as well as the whole tenor of his conduct, after the first rumor of an attack, gave rise to suspicions very unfavorable to the lieutenant-governor.

It was freely said, that he was the cause of the attack, that he was connected with the British, and that he had been bribed into a dereliction of duty, which, had not Providence averted, would have doomed them to destruction. Under the pretext of proving to them that there was no danger of an attack, he had, a few days before it occurred, sold to the traders all the ammunition belonging to the government; and they would have been left perfectly destitute and defenseless, had they not found, in a private house, eight barrels of powder, belonging to a trader, which they seized in the name of the king, upon the first alarm. These circumstances gave birth to a strong aversion to the commandant, which evinces itself, even at this day, in execrations of his character, whenever his name is mentioned to those who have known him. Representations of his conduct, together with a detailed account of the attack, were

sent to New Orleans by a special messenger, and the result was, that the governor-general re-appointed Francisco Cruzat to the office of lieutenant-governor.

As soon as it was ascertained that the Indians had retired from the neighborhood, the inhabitants proceeded to gather and bury the dead that lay scattered in all parts of the prairie. Seven were at first found and buried in one grave. Ten or twelve others, in the course of a fortnight, were discovered in the long grass that bordered the marshes. The acts of the Indians were accompanied by their characteristic ferocity. Some of their victims were horribly mangled. With the exception of one individual, the whites who accompanied the Indians did not take part in the butcheries that were committed. A young man named *Calve* was found dead, his skull split open, and a tomahawk, on the blade of which was written the word "*Calve*," sticking in his brain. He was supposed to have fallen by the hand of his uncle. Had those who discovered the Indians in the prairie fled to the lower gate, they would have escaped, but the greater part of them took the road that led to the upper gate, through the very ranks of the enemy, and were thus exposed to the whole of their fire. About twenty persons, it is computed, met their death in endeavoring to get within the entrenchments. None of those within them were injured, and none of the Indians were killed; at least, none of them were found. Their object was not to plunder, for they did not attempt, in their retreat, to take with them any of the cattle or horses that were in the prairie, and which they might have taken; nor did they attack any of the neighboring towns, where the danger would have been less, and the prospect of success greater. The only object they had in view, was the destruction of St. Louis; and this would seem to favor the idea that they were instigated by the English, and gives good ground, when connected with other circumstances, to believe that Leyba was their aider and abettor.

Thus ended an attack, which, properly conducted, might have been destructive to the infant town, and which, from the number of the enemy, and the danger incurred, was calculated to impress itself deeply on the minds of those who witnessed it. It forms an era in the history of the place; and the year in which it occurred has ever since been designated by the inhabitants as the *year of the blow*—"*L'annee du Coup.*"

Leyba, aware that representations of his course had been specially forwarded to the governor-general at New Orleans, and fearful of the consequences, and unable to bear up under the load of scorn

and contempt which the inhabitants heaped upon him, died a short time after the attack, suspected by many of having hastened his end by poison.

Upon his death, Cartabona performed the functions of government until the following year, when Cruzat returned to St. Louis, and assumed the command as lieutenant-governor a second time.

After the events narrated above, the inhabitants of St. Louis, finding that their garrison were unworthy of trust, without ammunition, and without means of defense against a regularly organized attack, deputed Mr. A. Chouteau to proceed to New Orleans for assistance. A wooden fort was built on the most elevated spot within the city, upon which were mounted several heavy pieces of ordnance, and still later there were added four stone turrets, from which cross-fires could be kept up. This might have answered for the protection of the city, but only against the Indians. No traces of this fortification are now to be seen—the very site of which has yielded to the improvements of the city.

The fortifications consisted of a square building called the *bastion*, situated at the northern extremity of the hill, nearly opposite the Half Moon; of a circular fort, directly south of the bastion, and situated on what is now called Olive street; of another circular building, which served both for a fort and prison, south of that last mentioned, and situated on Walnut street; of a circular fort, in a line with, and south of the others, situated at the extremity of the hill, near what is called Mill creek; and finally, of another circular fort, east of the latter, and somewhat above the bridge, near the river. All of these fortifications were provided with ammunition and artillery, and soldiers were kept constantly on guard in them. The forts, besides, were connected together by a strong wall, made of cedar posts, planted upright in the ground, fitted closely together, and with loop-holes for small arms between every two. These precautionary defenses had been dictated by the danger which had been incurred, and which was fresh in the recollection of all, and probably had the effect of preventing any further assaults upon the place. The inhabitants were never afterward molested.*

In the autumn of 1780, La Balme, a native of France, made an attempt to carry an expedition from Kaskaskia against Detroit. With twenty or thirty men, he marched from Kaskaskia to Post Vincen-

* Western Journal.

nes, where he was joined by a small reinforcement. He then moved up the Wabash, and reached the British trading post Ke-ki-ong-a, at the head of the Maumee. After plundering the traders, and some of the Indians, he marched from the post, and encamped near the river Aboite. A party of the Miami Indians attacked the encampment in the night. La Balme and several of his followers were slain, and the expedition was defeated.*

With the year 1780, commences the history of those troubles relative to the navigation of the Mississippi, which, for so long a time, produced the deepest discontent in the West. Spain had taken the American part so far as to go to war with Britain, but no treaty had yet been concluded between Congress and the powers at Madrid. Mr. Jay, however, had been appointed Minister from the United States, at the Spanish court, where he arrived in the spring of this year, and where he soon learned the grasping plans of the Southern Bourbons. These plans, indeed, were in no degree concealed, the French Minister being instructed to inform Congress,—

"That his most Christian Majesty (of France,) being informed of the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to treat of an alliance between the United States and his Catholic Majesty, (of Spain,) has signified to his Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, that he wishes most earnestly for such an alliance; and in order *to make the way more easy*, has commanded him to communicate to the Congress, *certain articles*, which his Catholic Majesty deems of great importance to the interests of his crown, and on which it is *highly necessary* that the United States explain themselves with *precision*, and with such *moderation* as may consist with their essential rights.

"That the articles are:

"A precise and invariable western boundary to the United States;

"The exclusive navigation of the river Mississippi;

"The possession of the Floridas; and,

"The land on the left or eastern side of the river Mississippi.

"That on the first article, it is the idea of the Cabinet of Madrid, that the United States extend to the westward no farther than settlements were permitted by the Royal Proclamation, bearing

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* Dillon's Indiana.

date the 7th day of October, 1763, (that is to say, not west of the Alleghenies.)

"On the second, that the United States do not consider themselves as having any right to navigate the river Mississippi, no territory belonging to them being situated thereon.

"On the third, that it is probable the king of Spain will conquer the Floridas, during the course of the present war; and in such an event, every cause of dispute relative thereto, between Spain and these United States, ought to be removed.

"On the fourth, that the lands lying on the east side of the Mississippi, whereon the settlements were prohibited by the aforesaid proclamation, are possessions of the crown of Great Britain, and proper *objects* against which the arms of Spain may be employed, for the purpose of making a *permanent conquest* for the Spanish crown. That such conquest may probably be made during the present war. That, therefore, it would be advisable to *restrain* the *southern* States from making any settlements or conquests in these territories. That the Council of Madrid consider the United States as having no claim to those territories, either as not having had possession of them before the present war, or not having any foundation for a claim in the right of the sovereignty of Great Britain, whose dominion they have abjured."*

These extraordinary claims of his Catholic Majesty were in no respect admitted during this year, either by Mr. Jay or Congress, and in October a full statement of the views of the United States, as to their territorial rights, was drawn up, probably by Mr. Madison, and sent to the Ambassador at Madrid.† Meantime, as Virginia considered the use of the Great Western river very necessary to her children, Governor Jefferson had ordered a fort to be constructed upon the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Ohio. This was done in the spring of the year 1780, by General G. R. Clark, who was stationed at the Falls; and was named by him after the writer of the Declaration of Independence. This fort, for some purposes, may have been well placed, but it was a great mistake to erect it, without notice, in the country of the Chickasaws, who had thus far been true friends to the American cause. They regarded this unauthorized intrusion upon their lands as the first step in a career of conquest, and as such resented it; while

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* See Pitkin's History of the United States, ii. p. 92.

† Pitkin, ii. 512, 91. Life of John Jay, i. 108, &c.

the settlers of Kentucky looked upon the measure with but little favor, as it tended to diminish the available force in their stations, which were still exposed to the ceaseless hostility of the Shawanese and Wyandots.

The inhabitants of these stations, meanwhile, were increasing with wonderful rapidity under the inducements presented by the land laws. Emigrants crowded over the mountains as soon as spring opened. Three hundred large family boats arrived early in the year at the Falls; and on Beargrass creek was a population containing six hundred serviceable men.* Nor did the swarming stop with the old settlements; in the southwest part of the State the hunter Maulding, and his four sons, built their outpost upon the Red river, which empties into the Cumberland; while, sometime in the spring of this same year, Dr. Walker, and Colonel Henderson, the first visitor and first colonist of Kentucky, tried to run the line which should divide Virginia from Carolina, (or, as things are now named, Kentucky from Tennessee,) westward as far as the Mississippi; an attempt in which they failed.† Nor was it to western lands and territorial boundaries alone that Virginia directed her attention at this time; in May her Legislature resolved, that,

"Whereas, It is represented to this General Assembly that there are certain lands within the county of Kentucky, formerly belonging to British subjects, not yet sold under the law of escheats and forfeitures, which might at a future day be a valuable fund for the maintenance and education of youth, *and it being the interest of this Commonwealth always to promote and encourage every design which may tend to the improvement of the mind, and the diffusion of useful knowledge even among its remote citizens, whose situation, in a barbarous neighborhood and a savage intercourse, might otherwise render unfriendly to science:* be it therefore enacted, that eight thousand acres of land, within the said county of Kentucky, late the property of those British subjects, (Robert M'Kenzie, Henry Collins, and Alexander M'Kee,) should be vested in trustees, 'as a free donation from this commonwealth, for the purpose of a public school, or seminary of learning, to be erected within the said county, as soon as its circumstances and the state of its funds will permit.'"

Thus was early laid the foundation of the first western seminary of literature, just five years after the forts of Boonesborough and

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*Butler, second edition, 99.

†Marshal, i. 113. Holme's Annals, ii. 304, note 3d.

Harrodsburg rose amidst the woods. Thus was the foundation laid for the establishment of the Transylvania University at Lexington.

In the summer of 1780, a force of six hundred Canadians and Indians, with six pieces of cannon, under the command of Colonel Byrd, of the British army, invaded Kentucky, by the way of the Miami and the Licking. Their first point of attack was Rüddel's station, on the south fork of the Licking, below the mouth of Hinkston fork. Singularly enough, their approach was not discovered before they appeared before the station, although they had been twelve days occupied in cutting a road through the country, from the Ohio. Col. Byrd immediately demanded the surrender of the station. Resistance was useless, and Rüddel consented to yield the post on condition that the prisoners should be protected by the British from the Indians. Byrd promised his protection, and the gates were thrown open. Immediately the Indians rushed in, seized the inhabitants, and divided them among themselves. Rüddel remonstrated, but Byrd confessed that he could do nothing, that he had no control over the savages, but that he himself was at their mercy. The Indians next proposed to attack Martin's station, five miles further, but Byrd refused to assist them unless the chiefs would pledge themselves that all the prisoners taken should be surrendered to him. They consented; the army marched to Martin's station; it was surrendered without a contest; the prisoners were relinquished, and the Indians divided the spoils among themselves.

The Indians next insisted on attacking Lexington and Bryant's station. Byrd refused to march further, and insisted that it would be impracticable to procure provisions, or to transport the cannon by land, and thus with difficulty dissuaded them from the enterprise. His conduct, however, shows that motives of humanity influenced him more than a doubt of success; since with the force at his command it would have been easy to have reduced all the stockades, and to have broken up all the settlements of Kentucky.

As soon as it was decided to abandon the expedition, the army retreated to the forks of the Licking. There the Indians separated, and set out for their villages, taking with them the prisoners they had taken at Rüddel's station, together with a great amount of stock and other booty they had secured. The British passed down the Licking, and up the Miami, as far as they could proceed in their boats, where they concealed their artillery, and returned to Detroit.

General Clark was at this juncture absent from the falls, engaged in the building of Fort Jefferson. The State of Virginia was anxious to extend her jurisdiction to the Mississippi, and Clark was directed to take military possession of the western limit of that territory of Kentucky. Accordingly, he descended the Ohio, and built a fort a short distance below its mouth, which he named Fort Jefferson. After its completion it was placed under the command of Captain George, with a garrison of one hundred men. It was located within the territory of the Chickasaws, and they immediately remonstrated, through a Scotch half-breed chief, Colbert, against its erection. Their remonstrance was disregarded, and they prepared to drive the whites from their lands. Accordingly, they attacked the fort in the fall of the same year, when the garrison was reduced to thirty men. The siege was pressed with great vigor for six days, when Clark arrived with a reinforcement, and compelled the Indians to retire. The fort was dismantled, and abandoned in the next year, in accordance with the instructions of the governor of Virginia, and the hostilities of the Chickasaws ceased.

When Clark returned from the building of Fort Jefferson, he received at the falls a letter from the governor of Virginia, recommending an invasion of the Indian country, and the destruction of the trading post at Loramie's store. The invasion of Byrd furnished an additional motive for an expedition to chastise the Indians, in accordance with the usual practice of the pioneers of the time, to allow no inroad of the Indians to pass without retaliation. Clark immediately proceeded to Harrodsburg, to enlist volunteers to invade the Indian country, but the people were so engaged with the land entries, then recently opened, that it was impossible to interest them in the expedition. In accordance with Clark's request, May, the surveyor, closed the land-office; and, in consequence, a regiment of troops was immediately raised. With these, and with a mounted regiment from the falls, Clark proceeded to the mouth of the Licking, crossed the Ohio, and marched up the Miami valley to Piqua, on Mad river. The town was taken by surprise, but the Indians made a desperate defense. They were, however, routed, and compelled to fly; their town and their growing corn were destroyed. Seventeen of the whites and seventeen of the Indians, it is said, were killed. The town was never rebuilt; the Indians passed over and built another town on the Great Miami, to which they also gave the name of Piqua.

Detachments of the army were sent out, who destroyed the corn

and burned all the other villages around the head waters of the Miami.

Thomas Vickroy, who afterward, in conjunction with George Woods, surveyed the site of Pittsburgh, was in Clark's army on this expedition. His account of it is interesting, as it fixes the date of the first occupation of the site of Cincinnati:

"In April, 1780, I went to Kentucky, in company with eleven flat boats with movers. We landed, on the 4th of May, at the mouth of Beargrass creek, above the falls of Ohio. I took my compass and chain along, to make a fortune by surveying, but when we got there, the Indians would not let us survey. In the same summer, Col. Byrd came from Detroit, with a few British soldiers, and some light artillery, with Simon Girty, and a great many Indians, and took the two forts on Licking. Immediately afterward, General Clark raised an army of about a thousand men, and marched with one party of them against the Indian towns. When we came to the mouth of the Licking, we fell in with Col. Todd and his party. On the first day of August, 1780, we crossed the Ohio river, and built the two block houses where Cincinnati now stands. I was at the building of the block houses. Then, as Gen. Clark had appointed me commissary of the campaign, he gave the military stores into my hands; and gave me orders to maintain that post for fourteen days. He left with me Captain Johnston, and about twenty or thirty men, who were sick and lame. On the fourteenth day the army returned with sixteen scalps, having lost fifteen men killed. They reported the death of Rogers, Clark's cousin, who fought that day with the Indians."

The expedition of Clark so effectually chastised the Indians on the Miami, that Kentucky was for a time relieved from the attack of any body of Indians large enough to excite serious alarm. During that period of comparative quiet, those measures which led to the cession of the western lands to the United States began to assume a definite form. On the 25th of June, 1778, when the articles of confederation were under discussion in Congress, the objections of New Jersey to the proposed plan of union were brought forward, and among them was this:

"It was ever the confident expectation of this State, that the benefits derived from a successful contest were to be general and proportionate; and that the property of the common enemy, falling in consequence of a prosperous issue of the war, would belong to the United States, and be appropriated to their use. We are there-

fore greatly disappointed in finding no provision made in the confederation for empowering the Congress to dispose of such property, but especially the vacant and impatented lands, commonly called the crown lands, for defraying the expenses of the war, and for such other public and general purposes. The jurisdiction ought in every instance to belong to the respective states, within the charter or determined limits of which such lands may be seated; but reason and justice must decide, that the property which existed in the Crown of Great Britain, previous to the present revolution, ought now to belong to the Congress, in trust for the use and benefit of the United States. They have fought and bled for it in proportion to their respective abilities; and therefore the reward ought not to be predilectionally distributed. Shall such States as are shut out by situation from availing themselves of the least advantage from this quarter, be left to sink under an enormous debt, whilst others are enabled, in a short period, to replace all their expenditures from the hard earnings of the whole confederacy?"*

Nor was New Jersey alone in her views. In January, 1779, the Council and Assembly of Delaware, while they authorized their delegates to ratify the Articles of Confederation, also passed certain resolutions, and one of them was:

"That this State consider themselves justly entitled to a right, in common with the members of the Union, to that extensive tract of country which lies to the westward of the frontiers of the United States, the property of which was not vested in, or granted to, individuals at the commencement of the present war. That the same hath been, or may be, gained from the king of Great Britain, or the native Indians, by the blood and treasure of all, and ought, therefore, to be common estate, to be granted out on terms beneficial to the United States."†

But this protest, however positive, was not enough for Maryland, the representatives of which, in Congress, presented upon the 21st of May, 1779, their instructions relative to confirming the articles of confederation. From those instructions are selected the following passages:

"Virginia, by selling on the most moderate terms a small portion of the lands in question, would draw into her treasury vast sums of money; and, in proportion to the sums arising from such sales, would be enabled to lessen her taxes. Lands comparatively

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* See Secret Journal, i. p. 377.

† See Secret Journal, i. p. 429.

cheap, and taxes comparatively low, with the lands and taxes of an adjacent State, would quickly drain the State thus disadvantageously circumstanced of its most useful inhabitants; its wealth and its consequence in the scale of the confederated States would sink of course. A claim so injurious to more than one-half, if not the whole of the United States, ought to be supported by the clearest evidence of the right. Yet what evidences of that right have been produced? What arguments alleged in support either of the evidence or the right? None that we have heard of deserving a serious refutation.

"We are convinced, policy and justice require, that a country unsettled at the commencement of this war, claimed by the British crown, and ceded to it by the treaty of Paris, if wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen States, should be considered as a common property, subject to be parceled out by Congress, into free, convenient and independent governments, in such manner, and at such times as the wisdom of that assembly shall hereafter direct.

"Thus convinced, we should betray the trust reposed in us by our constituents, were we to authorize you to ratify on their behalf the confederation, unless it be further explained. We have coolly and dispassionately considered the subject: we have weighed probable inconveniences and hardships against the sacrifice of just and essential rights, and do instruct you not to agree to the confederation, unless an article or articles be added thereto in conformity with our declaration. Should we succeed in obtaining such article or articles, then you are hereby fully empowered to accede to the confederation."*

These difficulties toward perfecting the Union were increased by the passage of the laws in Virginia, in May, 1779, for disposing of the public lands. Apprehensive of the consequences, Congress, upon the 30th of October, in that year, resolved that Virginia be recommended to reconsider her Act opening a land office, and that she and all other States claiming wild lands, be requested to grant no warrants during the continuance of the war. The troubles which thus threatened to arise from the claims of Virginia, New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut, to the lands which other colonies regarded as common property, caused New York, on the 19th of February, 1780, to pass an act which gave to the dele-

* See Secret Journal, i. p. 435.

gates of that State power to cede the western lands claimed by her for the benefit of the United States. This law was laid before Congress on the 7th of March, 1780, but no step seems to have been taken until September 6th, 1780, when a resolution passed that body pressing upon the States claiming western lands the wisdom of giving up their claims in favor of the whole country; and to aid this recommendation, upon the 10th of October, was passed the following resolution—which formed the basis of all after action, and was the first of those legislative measures which have thus far resulted in the creation of the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan—

"That the unappropriated lands that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, by any particular State, pursuant to the recommendation of Congress, of the 6th day of September last, shall be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and be settled and formed into distinct republican States, which shall be members of the Federal Union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the other States; that each State which shall be so formed shall contain a suitable extent of territory, not less than one hundred, nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit: that the necessary and reasonable expenses which any particular State shall have incurred since the commencement of the present war, in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining forts or garrisons within, and for the defense, or in acquiring any part of the territory that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, shall be reimbursed.

"That the said lands shall be granted or settled at such times, and under such regulations as shall hereafter be agreed on by the United States, in Congress assembled, or in any nine or more of them."

The lands at the falls of the Ohio were first claimed and patented by Dr. John Connolly and John Campbell.* In the spring of 1773, Captain Thomas Bullitt went as a surveyor from Virginia, to locate and survey lands in Kentucky. On his way he visited Chillicothe, held a conference with the chiefs of the Shawanese, and obtained from them permission to make a settlement on the Ohio. Proceeding down the river, he established his camp at the mouth of Beargrass creek. From that point he surveyed the

*See Casseday's History of Louisville.

country on the south side of the Ohio, twenty miles, to a river he named Salt river, from the circumstance of finding on it a salt lick, that still bears his name, and made preparations to establish a colony at the falls of the Ohio. His death ended his schemes of colonization, but the settlement at Beargrass remained, and became a prominent point for emigration during the period of the Indian wars. On his expedition to Illinois, Clark took possession of, and fortified Corn island, above the mouth of Beargrass, and on his return, that point was made his head-quarters. The security thus afforded to the neighborhood invited emigration, and in the spring of 1780, three hundred flat boats, with emigrant families, arrived at the falls. The population of the settlement was thus increased to six hundred inhabitants, located on the lands claimed by Connolly, then a refugee tory in Canada, and Campbell, who had been carried a prisoner thither by the Indians.

The Beargrass settlement thus became an important point in Kentucky, and accordingly, in May of that year, the legislature of Virginia passed an "act for establishing the town of Louisville, at the falls of Ohio." By that act the property of John Connolly, consisting of one thousand acres of land, was confiscated to the commonwealth, and vested in a board of trustees, to be sold for its benefit, in lots of a half acre each. All sales of lots were to be made at public auction, in fee, on the condition that the purchasers should erect on each of them a dwelling house, within two years after the date of the purchase. If that condition was not complied with, they might be sold again for the benefit of the town. The purchase money, to the amount of thirty dollars per acre, was to be paid to the commonwealth of Virginia; the remainder above that amount to the county of Jefferson. And the purchasers of these lots were thenceforth to be entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the unincorporated towns of the commonwealth of Virginia.

In December of that year, the plan of conquering Detroit was renewed again. In 1779, that conquest might have been effected by Clark, had he been supported by any spirit; in January, 1780, the project was discussed between Washington and Brodhead, and given up or deferred, as too great for the means of the Continental establishment; in the following October, so weak was that establishment, that Fort Pitt itself was threatened by the savages and British, while its garrison, destitute of bread, although there was an abundance in the country, were half disposed to mutiny. Under these circumstances, Congress being powerless for action, Virginia pro-

posed to carry out the original plan of her western general, and extend her operations to the lakes; we find, in consequence, that an application was made by Jefferson to the commander-in chief for aid, and that on the 29th of December, an order was given by him on Brodhead for artillery, tools, stores, and men.* How far the preparations for this enterprise were carried, and why they were abandoned, we have not been able to discover, but upon the 25th of April, 1781, Washington wrote to General Clark, warning him that Connolly,' who had just been exchanged, was expected to go from Canada to Venango, (Franklin, mouth of French creek,) with a force of refugees, and thence to Fort Pitt, with blank commissions for some hundreds of dissatisfied men believed to be in that vicinity.* From this it would seem probable that the Detroit expedition was not abandoned at that time.

Virginia, in accordance with the recommendation of Congress
1781.] already noticed, upon the 2d of January of this year, agreed to yield her western lands to the United States, upon certain conditions; among which were these: 1st. No person holding ground under a purchase from the natives to him or his grantors, individually, and no one claiming under a grant or charter from the British crown, inconsistent with the charter or customs of Virginia, was to be regarded as having a valid title; and 2d. The United States were to guarantee to Virginia all the territory south-east of the Ohio to the Atlantic, as far as the bounds of Carolina. These conditions Congress would not accede to, and the Act of Cession on the part of the Old Dominion failed, nor was anything further done until 1783.

Early in the same month in which Virginia made her first Act of Cession, a Spanish captain, with sixty-five men, left St. Louis for the purpose of attacking some one of the British posts of the north-west. Whether this attempt originated in a desire to revenge the English and Indian siege of St. Louis, in the previous year, or whether it was a mere pretense to cover the claims about that time set up by Spain to the western country, in opposition to the colonies, which she claimed to be aiding, it is perhaps impossible to say. But these facts—that the point aimed at, St. Joseph's, was far in the interior, and that this crusade was afterward looked to by the court of Spain as giving a ground of territorial right—make

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* Sparks' Washington, vi. 433; vii. 270, 343.

† Sparks' Washington, viii. 25.—This letter is not in the Index to Mr. Sparks' works.

it probable that the enterprise was rather a legal one against the Americans, than a military one against the English; and this conclusion is made stronger by the fact, that the Spaniards, having taken the utterly unimportant post of St. Joseph's, and having claimed the country as belonging to the King of Spain, by right of conquest, turned back to the west bank of the Mississippi again, and left the Long Knives to prosecute the capture of Detroit, as they best could.

That, the State of Virginia was preparing to do. Orders were given to the militia of Frederick, Berkely, Harrison, and the other western counties, to hold themselves in readiness to join General Clark in an expedition against Detroit, which he was preparing for the summer of that year.

During the year 1781, a series of predatory incursions was made over the Ohio, along the whole line of stations from Laurel Hill to Green river, marked by no decisive result, but characterized by the murderous spirit that belongs to all Indian wars. One of these scouting parties appeared in the neighborhood of the station at Shelbyville. The inhabitants, unable to defend it, attempted to remove to Beargrass, but were attacked by the Indians near Floyd's fork, and defeated. Colonel Floyd immediately started with a company to their relief, but on his arrival near the spot, fell into an ambuscade and was defeated with considerable loss. Floyd himself would have been taken but for the magnanimity of Captain Wells. Wells had been on unfriendly terms with Floyd, but finding him on foot and nearly exhausted in the flight, dismounted, gave him his horse, and ran beside him until they were out of danger.*

To guard against these incursions, and to avenge the cruelties of the savages, Colonel Brodhead arranged an expedition against the Indian towns on the Muskingum. It consisted of about five hundred men, among whom were the most experienced borderers of the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The place of rendezvous was Wheeling; from thence they crossed the river and marched rapidly towards the Indian towns with a view of surprising them. When they arrived at the river below Salem, Brodhead sent a message to Heckewelder, then a missionary at that place, asking provisions for his men, and a visit to his camp. His

*Butler's Kentucky, p. 119.

request was complied with, and Heckewelder repaired to Brodhead's quarters. Brodhead informed him that he was on an expedition against the Indian towns; and desired to know whether any of the Moravian Indians were absent in that direction. He was answered in the negative, and then declared that nothing would give him greater pain than to hear that any of them were molested by his troops, since these Indians had conducted themselves during the war in a way that did them honor. During the conference, however, Brodhead was notified that a portion of the army was preparing to destroy the Moravian towns. Brodhead immediately took measures to prevent their design.

The army proceeded to within a few miles of Coshocton, where they took an Indian prisoner, and wounded two others, who escaped and alarmed the villages. A forced march was made, and one of the villages on the east side of the river was surprised, and its inhabitants, some ten or twelve, were taken. Meanwhile, the river rose so much as to be impassable; and thus the villages across the river escaped destruction. Disappointed in their purpose, the borderers then bound sixteen of their prisoners to stakes, dispatched them with tomahawks, and scalped them. The next morning an Indian appeared on the opposite side of the river, and asked for the Big Captain. Brodhead presented himself, and asked what he wanted. "I want peace," said he. "Send over some of your chiefs," said Brodhead. "May be you kill?" asked the Indian. He was answered, "They shall not be killed." One of the chiefs then ventured over, and presented himself to Brodhead; when a borderer, named Wetzel, came up behind him, with his tomahawk concealed, and struck him a fatal blow on the back of his head. The army then began its retreat. The prisoners were given in charge of the militia, who murdered and scalped all of them, except a few women and children, who were taken to Fort Pitt, where they were afterward exchanged for an equal number of white prisoners.*

It is not certain that Brodhead was responsible for the cruelty and treachery practiced upon the Indians during this campaign. It is said, indeed, that he disapproved of and regretted them, and if so, can only be blamed for not enforcing a stricter discipline in his army. But the border wars of that period were prosecuted on both sides as wars of extermination, and the cruelties of Indian

* Doddridge's Notes, p. 291.

warfare that had been suffered by the white settlers had aroused so malignant a spirit of revenge that they soon became as remorseless, and often more brutal, than their savage enemies. Their expeditions against the Indians were mere marauding parties, held together only by the common thirst for revenge; and it is probable that any discipline calculated to restrain that feeling could not have been enforced. It is unfortunate for the reputation of Brodhead, that his name is associated with the massacre of prisoners, and the murder of ambassadors, but it is probable that he could not prevent, and therefore did not share, the guilt of those excesses.

Early in the summer of 1781, Gen. Geo. Rogers Clark wrote to Col. Archibald Lochry, the county lieutenant of Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, desiring him to raise one hundred or more volunteers, and one company of cavalry, to join his expedition.

Colonel Lochry consulted Captain Orr upon the propriety of such an enterprise, and the possibility of compliance with his request. "I believed," said he, "it was possible for such a force to be raised, and immediately volunteered to be one of the party." Holding a captain's commission of militia, Orr had no power to order them from home, but by his own exertions, and mostly at his own expense, raised a company of volunteer riflemen. Captains Stokely and Shannon commanded each a company of rangers, and Captain Campbell a company of horse. The party amounted to about one hundred and twenty or twenty-five men. Col. Lochry was the only field officer in command.

The force was rendezvoused at Carnahan's block house, eleven miles west of Hannastown, on the 24th of July, and on the next day set out for Fort Henry, (Wheeling,) by way of Pittsburgh, where it was arranged that they should join the army under Clark. Arriving there, Clark had gone twelve miles down the river, leaving for them some provisions and a traveling boat, with directions to follow him thither. After preparing some temporary boats for the transportation of the men and horses, which occupied ten days, they proceeded to join Clark. Arriving, they found he had gone down the river the day before, leaving a Major Craycroft, with a few men and a boat for the transportation of the horses, but without either provisions or ammunition, of which they had an inadequate supply. Clark had, however, promised to await their arrival at the mouth of the Kanawha, but on their reaching that point they found that he had been obliged, in order to prevent desertion among his men, to proceed down the river, leaving only a letter affixed to a pole, directing them to follow. Their provisions and

forage were nearly exhausted; there was no source of supply but the stores conveyed by Clark; the river was low, they were unacquainted with the channel, and could not therefore hope to overtake him. Under these embarrassing circumstances, Col. Lochry dispatched Captain Shannon with four men, in a small boat, with the hope of overtaking the main army, and of securing supplies, leaving his company under the command of Lieut. Isaac Anderson; but before they had proceeded far they were taken prisoners by the Indians, and with them was taken a letter to Clark, detailing the situation of Lochry's party. About the same time Lochry arrested a party of nineteen deserters from Clark's army, whom he afterward released, and they immediately joined the Indians.

The savages had been indeed apprised of the expedition, but had previously supposed that Clark and Lochry were proceeding together, and through fear of the cannon which Clark carried, refused to make an attack. Apprised now by the capture of Shannon and his men, and by the reports of the deserters, of the weakness of Lochry's party, they collected in force below the mouth of the Great Miami, with the determination to destroy them.

They placed their prisoners in a conspicuous position on the north shore of the river, near, it is said, the head of Lochry's island, and promised to spare their lives on condition they would hail their companions as they passed, and induce them to surrender.

They, however, wearied with their slow progress, and in despair of reaching Clark's army, landed on the 25th of August, about ten o'clock, at a very attractive spot on the same shore, at an inlet which has since borne the name of Lochry's creek,* a short distance above the point where the Indians were waiting them. Here they removed their horses ashore, and turned them loose, to enable them to feed sufficiently to keep them alive until they could be taken to the falls, some one hundred and twenty miles distant. One of the party had previously killed a buffalo, and all, except a few set to guard the horses, were engaged around the fires which they had kindled, in preparing a meal from it. Suddenly they were assailed by a volley of rifle balls from an overhanging bluff, covered with large trees, on which the Indians immediately appeared in great force. The men thus surprised seized their arms, and defended themselves as long as their ammunition lasted, and

* Lochry's creek empties into the Ohio between nine and ten miles below the mouth of the Miami, and Lochry's island, near the head of which the prisoners were confined to decoy their friends, is three miles below the creek.

then attempted to escape by means of their boats. But they were unwieldy, the water was low, and the force too much weakened to make them available, and the whole party, unable to escape or defend themselves, were compelled to surrender.

Immediately the Indians fell upon and massacred Col. Lochry and several other prisoners, but were restrained by the arrival of the chief who commanded them, the celebrated Brant,* who afterward apologized for the massacre. He did not approve, he declared, of such conduct, but it was impossible entirely to control his Indians; that the murder of Lochry and his men was perpetrated in revenge for the massacre of the Indian prisoners taken by Brodhead's army on the Muskingum, a few months before. At the time of their surrender, Lochry's party consisted of only one hundred and six men. Of these, forty-two were killed, and sixty-four were taken prisoners. The Indians engaged numbered three hundred or more, and consisted of various tribes. Among these the prisoners and plunder were divided, in proportion to the number of warriors of each engaged.

The next day they set out on their return to the Delaware towns. There they were met by a party of British and Indians, commanded by Col. Caldwell, and accompanied by the two Girtys and M'Kee, who professed to be on their way to the falls to attack Gen. Clarke. They remained there two days. Brant, with the greater part of the Indians who had captured them, returned with Caldwell toward the Ohio. A few only remained to take charge of the prisoners and spoils. These they separated, and took to the towns to which they had been assigned. There they remained in captivity until the next year, which brought the revolutionary struggle to a close. After the preliminary articles were signed, on the 30th of November, 1782, they were ransomed by the British officers in command of the northern posts, to be exchanged for British prisoners, and sent to the St. Lawrence. A few of them had previously escaped, a few deserted from Montreal, and the remainder, in the spring of 1783, sailed from Quebec to New York, and returned thence home by way of Philadelphia, having been absent twenty-two months. More than one-half of the number who left Pennsylvania under Col. Lochry never returned.†

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* It may be uncertain whether Brant was the leader of the Indians at this place. There is no other evidence that he was in the west at that time.

† This statement is derived from a MS. of Gen. Orr, of Kittanning, written from the recollection of his father, Captain Orr, who was in the party, and is corroborated by a

Kentucky was, previous to 1781, organized as a county of Virginia. In that year it was divided into three counties—Jefferson, Lincoln and Fayette. Courts were organized under the laws of Virginia, and a corps of civil and military officers elected. Surveyors for each of the new counties were appointed, whose duty it was to superintend the entry and location of land under the provisions of the law. One only of these was opened, and the inconvenience and delay thus occasioned to the emigrants, who were already settling the new lands, to which they were attracted by their fertility and cheapness, produced discontent. For already, in spite of the difficulties of the West, and the hostility of the Indians, population was beginning to pour into the region south of the Ohio. Particularly it is noticed, that there was in that year a large emigration of young unmarried women into that country, and the consequent establishment of many new families, and the growth of a better and more settled population. The pioneers of the West who then, and earlier, established themselves in all the region west of the mountains, were obliged to undergo many hardships, and to encounter much danger, and to endure much suffering.

For all that region was settled with tears and blood. The measures the colonial governments adopted for defense of the settlers were so ill-concerted, that they were nearly all that period exposed to the incursions of the savages; nor was their condition improved by the Declaration of Independence, for the continental authorities were so fully occupied with the war that they could afford them no relief. As a consequence, they grew up a brave, hardy race, with all the vices and virtues of a border life, and with habits, manners and customs necessary to their peculiar situation, and suited to their peculiar taste. Rev. Joseph Doddridge, D. D., whose early life was spent amidst the scenes and habits of the West, has well described the manners and customs of its early inhabitants. He says:

"A correct and detailed view of the origin of societies, and their progress from one condition or point of wealth, science and civili zation to another is interesting, even when received through the

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MS. of Ensign Hunter, who was also a sharer in it. Captain Orr was wounded, by having his arm broken in the engagement; was carried off prisoner to Sandusky, where he remained for several months. At length, finding they could not cure his wound, the Indians took him to the hospital at Detroit, whence he was transferred to Montreal, in the winter, and exchanged with other prisoners at the end of the war. Afterward, in 1805, he was appointed a judge of Armstrong county, Pa., which station he held till his death, in 1833, in his 89th year.

dusky medium of history, oftentimes but poorly and partially written. But when this retrospect of things past and gone is drawn from the recollections of experience, the impression it makes upon the heart must be of the most vivid and lasting kind.

"The following history of the state of society, manners and customs of our forefathers has been drawn from the latter source, and is given to the world with the knowledge that many of my contemporaries are still living, who, as well as myself, have witnessed all the scenes and events herein described, and whose memories will speedily detect and expose any errors it may contain.

"The municipal as well as ecclesiastical institutions of society, whether good or bad, in consequence of their continued use, give a corresponding cast to the public character of the society whose conduct they direct, the more so, because in the lapse of time the observance of them becomes a matter of conscience.

"This observation applies with full force to that influence of our early land laws which allowed four hundred acres, and no more, to a settlement right. Many of our first settlers seemed to regard this amount of the surface of the earth as the allotment of Divine Providence for one family, and believed that any attempt to get more, would be sinful. Most of them, therefore, contented themselves with that amount, although they might have which allowed but one settlement right to any one individual, by taking out the title papers in the names of others, to be afterward transferred to them as if by purchase. Some few, indeed, pursued this practice, but it was held in detestation.

"Owing to the equal distribution of real property directed by our land laws, and the sterling integrity of our forefathers in their observance of them, we have no districts of "sold land," as it is called; that is, large tracts of lands in the hands of individuals or companies who neither sell nor improve them, as is the case in Lower Canada and the north-western part of Pennsylvania. These unsettled tracts make huge blanks in the population of the country where they exist.

"The division lines between those whose lands adjoined were generally made in an amicable manner, before any survey of them was made by the parties concerned. In doing this, they were guided mainly by the tops of ridges and water-courses, but particularly the former. Hence, the greater number of farms in south-western Pennsylvania and Virginia, bear a striking resemblance to an amphitheater. The buildings occupy a low situation, and the tops of the surrounding hills are the boundaries of the tract to which the family mansion belongs.

"Our forefathers were fond of farms of this description, because as they said, they are attended with this convenience, 'that everything comes to the house down hill.' In the hilly parts of the State of Ohio, the land having been laid off in an arbitrary manner by straight parallel lines, without regard to hill or dale, the farms present a different appearance from those on the south side of the river. There the buildings as frequently occupy the tops of the hills as any other situation.

"Our people had become so accustomed to the mode of 'getting land for taking it up,' that for a long time it was generally believed that the land on the west side of the Ohio would ultimately be disposed of in the same way. Hence, almost the whole tract of country between the Ohio and the Muskingum was parceled out in tomahawk improvements, but these were not satisfied with a single four hundred acre tract. Many of them owned a great number of tracts of the best lands, and thus, in imagination, were as 'wealthy as a South Sea dream.' Some of these land jobbers did not content themselves with marking trees at the usual height with the initials of their names, but climbed up the large beech trees and cut the letters in their bark, from twenty to forty feet from the ground. To enable them to identify those trees at a future period, they made marks on other trees around as references.

"The settlement of a new country in the immediate neighborhood of an old one, is not attended with much difficulty, because supplies can readily be obtained from the latter; but the settlement of a country very remote from any cultivated region, is quite a different thing; because at the out-set, food, raiment, and the implements of husbandry are only obtained in small supplies and with great difficulty. The task of making new establishments in a remote wilderness in a time of profound peace, is sufficiently difficult; but when in addition to all the unavoidable hardships attendant on their business, those resulting from an extensive and furious warfare with savages, are superadded; toil, privations, and sufferings, are then carried to the full extent of the capacity of men to endure them.

"Such was the wretched condition of our forefathers in making their settlements here. To all their difficulties and privations the Indian war was a weighty addition. This destructive warfare they were compelled to sustain almost single handed, because the Revolutionary contest gave full employment for the military strength and resources on the east side of the mountain.

"The history of the manners and customs of our forefathers will appear like a collection of 'tales of olden times.' It is a homely narrative, yet valuable on account of its being real history.

"Then, the women did the offices of the household; milked the cows, cooked the mess, prepared the flax, spun, wove, and made the garments of linen or linsey; the men hunted, and brought in the meat; they planted, ploughed, and gathered in the corn; grinding it into meal at the hand-mill, or pounding it into hominy in the mortar, was occasionally the work of either, or the joint labor of both.

"The men exposed themselves alone to danger; they fought the Indians, they cleared the land, they reared the hut, or built the fort, in which the women were placed for safety. Much use was made of the skins of deer for dress; while the buffalo and bear skins were consigned to the floor, for beds and covering. There might incidentally, be a few articles brought to the country for sale, in a private way; but there was no store for supply. Wooden vessels, either *turned* or *coopered*, were in common use as table furniture.

"A tin cup was an article of delicate luxury, almost as rare as an iron fork. Every hunter carried his knife; it was no less the implement of a warrior; not unfrequently the rest of the family was left with but one or two for the use of all. A like workmanship composed the table and the stool; a slab, hewed with the axe, and sticks of a similar manufacture, set in for legs, supported both. When the bed was, by chance or refinement, elevated above the floor, and given a fixed place, it was often laid on slabs placed across poles, supported on forks, set in the earthen floor; or where the floor was puncheons, the bedstead was hewed pieces, pinned on upright posts, or let into them by auger holes. Other utensils and furniture, were of a corresponding description, applicable to the time.

"The food was of the most wholesome and nutritive kind. The richest milk, the finest butter, and best meat, that ever delighted man's palate, were here eaten with a relish which health and labor only know. Those were shared by friend and stranger in every cabin with profuse hospitality.

"Hats were made of the native fur; and the buffalo wool employed in the composition of cloth, as was also the bark of the wild nettle.

"There was some paper money in the country, which had not

depreciated one half nor even a fourth as much as it had at the seat of government. If there was any gold or silver, its circulation was suppressed. The price of a beaver hat, was five hundred dollars.*

"The hunting shirt was universally worn. This was a kind of loose frock, reaching half way down the thighs, with large sleeves, open before, and so wide as to lap over a foot or more when belted. The cape was large, and sometimes handsomely fringed with a raveled piece of cloth of a different color from that of the hunting shirt itself. The bosom of his dress served as a wallet to hold a chunk of bread, cakes, jerk, tow for wiping the barrel of the rifle, or any other necessary for the hunter or warrior. The belt which was always tied behind answered several purposes, besides that of holding the dress together. In cold weather the mittens, and sometimes the bullet-bag, occupied the front part of it. To the right side was suspended the tomahawk, and to the left the scalping knife in its leathern sheath.

"The hunting shirt was generally made of linsey, sometimes of coarse linen, and a few of dressed deer skins. These last were very cold and uncomfortable in wet weather. The shirt and jacket were of the common fashion. A pair of drawers or breeches and leggins, were the dress of the thighs and legs; a pair of moccasins answered for the feet much better than shoes. These were made of dressed deer skin. They were mostly made of a single piece, with a gathering seam along the top of the foot, and another from the bottom of the heel, without gathers, as high as the ankle joint or a little higher. Flaps were left on each side to reach some distance up the legs. These were nicely adapted to the ankles and lower part of the leg by thongs of deer skin, so that no dust, gravel, or snow, could get within the moccasin.

"The moccasins in ordinary use cost but a few hours labor to make them. This was done by an instrument denominated a moccasin awl, which was made of the back spring of an old clasp knife. This awl, with its buck-horn handle, was an appendage of every shot pouch strap, together with a roll of buckskin for mending the moccasins. This was the labor of almost every evening. They were sewed together and patched with deer skin thongs, or whangs as they were commonly called.

"In cold weather the moccasins were well stuffed with deers' hair, or dry leaves, so as to keep the feet comfortably warm; but

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*See Marshall's History of Kentucky, i., p. 123.

in wet weather it was usually said that wearing them was 'a decent way of going barefooted;' and such was the fact, owing to the spongy texture of the leather of which they were made.

"Owing to this defective covering of the feet, more than to any other circumstance, the greater number of our hunters and warriors were afflicted with the rheumatism in their limbs. Of this disease they were all apprehensive in cold or wet weather, and therefore always slept with their feet to the fire, to prevent or cure it as well as they could. This practice unquestionably had a very salutary effect, and prevented many of them from becoming confirmed cripples in early life.

"The fort consisted of cabins, block houses and stockades. A range of cabins commonly formed one side at least of the fort. Divisions, or partitions of logs, separated the cabins from each other. The walls on the outside were ten or twelve feet high, the slope of the roof being turned wholly inward. A very few of these cabins had puncheon floors, the greater part were earthen.

"The block houses were built at the angles of the fort. They projected about two feet beyond the outer walls of the cabins and stockades. Their upper stories were about eighteen inches every way larger in dimension than the under one, leaving an opening at the commencement of the second story, to prevent the enemy from making a lodgment under their walls. In some forts, instead of block houses, the angles of the fort were furnished with bastions. A large folding gate, made of thick slabs, nearest the spring, closed the fort. The stockades, bastions, cabins, and block house walls, were furnished with port-holes at proper heights and distances. The whole of the outside was made completely bullet proof.

"It may be truly said that necessity is the mother of invention; for the whole of this work was made without the aid of a single nail or spike of iron, and for this reason, such things were not to be had.

"In some places, less exposed, a single block house, with a cabin or two, constituted the whole fort.

"For a long time after the first settlement of this country, the inhabitants in general married young. There was no distinction of rank, and very little of fortune. On these accounts the first impression of love resulted in marriage; and a family establishment cost but a little labor, and nothing else.

"In the first years of the settlement of this country, a wedding engaged the attention of a whole neighborhood, and the frolic was anticipated by old and young with eager expectation. This is not

to be wondered at, when it is told that a wedding was almost the only gathering which was not accompanied with the labor of reaping, log rolling, building a cabin, or planning some scout or campaign.

"In the morning of the wedding-day, the groom and his attendants assembled at the house of his father, for the purpose of reaching the mansion of his bride by noon, which was the usual time for celebrating the nuptials; which for certain must take place before dinner.

"Let the reader imagine an assemblage of people, without a store, tailor, or mantuamaker within a hundred miles; and an assemblage of horses, without a blacksmith or saddler within an equal distance. The gentlemen dressed in shoepacks, moccasins, leather breeches, leggings, linsey hunting-shirts, and all home-made.

"The ladies dressed in linsey petticoats and linsey or linen bed-gowns, coarse shoes, stockings, handkerchiefs and buckskin gloves, if any. If there were any buckles, rings, buttons, or ruffles, they were the relics of old times, family pieces from parents or grandparents.

"The horses were caparisoned with old saddles, old bridles, or halters, and pack-saddles, with a bag or blanket thrown over them: a rope or string as often constituted the girth as a piece of leather.

"The march, in double file, was often interrupted by the narrowness and obstructions of our horse-paths, as they were called, for we had no roads: and these difficulties were often increased, sometimes by the good, and sometimes by the ill will of neighbors, by falling trees and tying grape vines across the way. Sometimes an ambuscade was formed by the way-side, and an unexpected discharge of several guns took place, so as to cover the wedding company with smoke.

"Let the reader imagine the scene which followed this discharge: the sudden spring of the horses, the shrieks of the girls, and the chivalric bustle of their partners to save them from falling. Sometimes, in spite of all that could be done to prevent it, some were thrown to the ground. If a wrist, elbow, or ankle happened to be sprained, it was tied with a handkerchief, and little more was thought or said about it.

"Another ceremony commonly took place before the party reached the house of the bride, after the practice of making whisky began, which was at an early period; when the party were about a

mile from the place of their destination, two young men would single out to run for the bottle; the worse the path, the more logs, brush, and deep hollows, the better, as these obstacles afforded an opportunity for the greater display of intrepidity and horsemanship.

"The English fox chase, in point of danger to the riders and their horses, is nothing to this race for the bottle. The start was announced by an Indian yell; logs, brush, muddy hollows, hill and glen, were speedily passed by the rival ponies. The bottle was always filled for the occasion, so that there was no use for judges; for the first who reached the door was presented with the prize, with which he returned in triumph to the company.

"On approaching them he announced his victory over his rival by a shrill whoop. At the head of the troop, he gave the bottle first to the groom and his attendants, and then to each pair in succession to the rear of the line, giving each a dram; and then putting the bottle in the bosom of his hunting-shirt, took his station in the company.

"The ceremony of the marriage preceded the dinner, which was a substantial backwoods feast of beef, pork, fowls, and sometimes venison and bear meat, roasted and boiled, with plenty of potatoes, cabbage, and other vegetables. During the dinner, the greatest hilarity always prevailed; although the table might be a large slab of timber, hewed out with a broadaxe, supported by four sticks set in auger holes, and the furniture some old pewter dishes and plates, the rest wooden bowls and trenchers; a few pewter spoons, much battered about the edges, were to be seen at some tables. The rest were made of horns. If knives were scarce, the deficiency was made up by the scalping knives which were carried in sheaths suspended to the belt of the hunting shirt.

"After dinner the dancing commenced, and generally lasted till the next morning. The figures of the dances were three and four handed reels, or square sets, and jigs. The commencement was always a square four, which was followed by what is called jigging it off; that is, two of the four would single out for a jig, and were followed by the remaining couple. The jigs were often accompanied with what was called cutting out; that is, when either of the parties became tired of the dance, on intimation, the place was supplied by some one of the company, without any interruption of the dance.

"In this way a dance was often continued till the musician was heartily tired of his situation. Toward the latter part of the night,

if any of the company, through weariness, attempted to conceal themselves, for the purpose of sleeping, they were hunted up, paraded on the floor, and the fiddler ordered to play, 'Hang on till to-morrow morning.'

"About nine or ten o'clock, a deputation of the young ladies stole off the bride, and put her to bed. In doing this, it frequently happened that they had to ascend a ladder instead of a pair of stairs, leading from the dining and ball room to the loft, the floor of which was made of clapboards, lying loose and without nails. This ascent, one might think, would put the bride and her attendants to the blush, but as the foot of the ladder was commonly behind the door, which was purposely opened for the occasion, and its rounds at the inner ends were well hung with hunting shirts, petticoats, and other articles of clothing, the candles being on the opposite side of the house, the exit of the bride was noticed but by few.

"This done, a deputation of young men in like manner stole off the groom, and placed him snugly by the side of his bride. The dance still continued; and if seats happened to be scarce, which was often the case, every young man, when not engaged in the dance, was obliged to offer his lap as a seat for one of the girls; and the offer was sure to be accepted.

"In the midst of this hilarity the bride and groom were not forgotten. Pretty late in the night, some one would remind the company that the new couple must stand in need of some refreshment: black Betty, which was the name of the bottle, was called for, and sent up the ladder, but sometimes black Betty did not go alone. I have many times seen as much bread, beef, pork, and cabbage sent along with her, as would afford a good meal for half a dozen hungry men. The young couple were compelled to eat and drink, more or less, of whatever was offered them.

"It often happened that some neighbors or relations, not being asked to the wedding, took offense; and the mode of revenge adopted by them on such occasions, was that of cutting off the manes, foretops, and tails of the horses of the wedding company.

"I will proceed to state the usual manner of settling a young couple in the world.

"A spot was selected on a piece of land of one of the parents, for their habitation. A day was appointed, shortly after their marriage, for commencing the work of building their cabin. The fatigue party consisted of choppers, whose business it was to fell the trees, and cut them off at proper lengths; a man with a team

for hauling them to the place, and arranging them, properly assorted, at the sides and ends of the building; a carpenter, if such he might be called, whose business it was to search the woods for a proper tree for making clapboards for the roof. The tree for this purpose must be straight grained, and from three to four feet in diameter. The boards were split four feet long, with a large frow, and as wide as the timber will allow. They were used without planing or shaving. Another division were employed in getting puncheons for the floor of the cabin; this was done by splitting trees, about eighteen inches in diameter, and hewing the faces of them with a broadaxe. They were half the length of the floor they were intended to make.

"The materials for the cabin were mostly prepared on the first day, and sometimes the foundation laid in the evening. The second day was allotted for the raising.

"In the morning of the next day the neighbors collected for the raising. The first thing to be done was the election of four corner men, whose business it was to notch and place the logs. The rest of the company furnished them with the timbers. In the meantime the boards and puncheons were collecting for the floor and roof, so that by the time the cabin was a few rounds high, the sleepers and floor began to be laid. The door was made by sawing or cutting the logs in one side, so as to make an opening about three feet wide. This opening was secured by upright pieces of timber, about three inches thick, through which holes were bored into the ends of the logs, for the purpose of pinning them fast. A similar opening, but wider, was made at the end for the chimney. This was built of logs, and made large to admit of a back and jambs of stone. At the square, two end logs projected a foot or eighteen inches beyond the wall, to receive the bunting poles, as they were called, against which the ends of the first row of clapboads was supported. The roof was formed by making the end logs shorter until a single log formed the comb of the roof; on these logs the clapboards were placed, the ranges of them lapping some distance over those next below them, and kept in their places by logs, placed at proper distances upon them.

"The roof, and sometimes the floor, were finished on the same day of the raising. A third day was commonly spent by a few carpenters in leveling off the floor, making a clapboard door and a table. This last was made of a split slab, and supported by four round logs set in auger holes. Some three legged stools were made in the same manner. Some pins stuck in the logs at the back of

the house supported some clapboards which served for shelves for the table furniture.

"A single fork, placed with its lower end in a hole in the floor, and the upper end fastened to a joist, served for a bedstead, by placing a pole in the fork with one end through a crack between the logs of the wall. This front pole was crossed by a shorter one within the fork, with its outer end through another crack. From the front pole, through a crack between the logs of the end of the house, the boards were put on which formed the bottom of the bed. Sometimes other poles were pinned to the fork a little distance above these, for the purpose of supporting the front and foot of the bed, while the walls were the supports of its back and head. A few pegs around the walls for a display of the coats of the women, and hunting shirts of the men, and two small forks or bucks' horns to a joist for the rifle and shot pouch, completed the carpenter work.

"In the meantime masons were at work. With the heart pieces of the timber of which the clapboards were made, they made billets for chunking up the cracks between the logs of the cabin and chimney—a large bed of mortar was made for daubing up those cracks; a few stones formed the back and jambs of the chimney.

"The cabin being finished, the ceremony of house-warming took place, before the young people were permitted to move into it.

"The house-warming was a dance of a whole night's continuance, made up of the relations of the bride and groom, and their neighbors. On the day following the young couple took possession of their new mansion.

"At house raisings, log rollings, and harvest parties, every one was expected to do his duty faithfully. A person who did not perform his share of labor on these occasions, was designated by the epithet of "Lawrence," or some other title still more opprobrious; and when it came to his turn to require the like aid from his neighbors, the idler soon felt his punishment, in their refusal to attend to his calls.

"Although there was no legal compulsion to the performance of military duty, yet every man of full age and size was expected to do his full share of public service. If he did not do so he was 'Hated out as a coward.' Even the want of any article of war equipments, such as ammunition, a sharp flint, a priming wire, a scalping knife or tomahawk, was thought highly disgraceful. A man who without a reasonable cause failed to go on a scout or

campaign when it came to his turn, met with an expression of indignation in the countenances of all his neighbors, and epithets of dishonor were fastened upon him without mercy.

"Debts, which make such an uproar in civilized life, were but little known among our forefathers at the early settlement of this country. After the depreciation of the continental paper they had no money of any kind; every thing purchased was paid for in produce or labor. A good cow and calf was often the price of a bushel of alum salt. If the contract was not punctually fulfilled, the credit of the delinquent was at an end.

"Any petty theft was punished with all the infamy that could be heaped on the offender. A man on a campaign stole from his comrade a cake out of the ashes, in which it was baking: he was immediately named 'The bread rounds.' This epithet of reproach was bandied about in this way: when he came in sight of a group of men, one of them would call 'Who comes there?' Another would answer, 'The bread rounds.' If any one meant to be more serious about the matter, he would call out, 'Who stole a cake out of the ashes?' Another replied, by giving the name of the man in full; to this a third would give confirmation, by exclaiming, 'That is true and no lie.' This kind of 'tongue-lashing' he was doomed to bear for the rest of the campaign, as well as for years after his return home.

"If a theft was detected in any of the frontier settlements, a summary mode of punishment was always resorted to. The first settlers, as far as I knew of them, had a kind of innate or hereditary detestation of the crime of theft, in any shape or degree, and their maxim was, that 'a thief must be whipped.' If the theft was of something of some value, a kind of jury of the neighborhood, after hearing the testimony, would condemn the culprit to Moses' Law, that is to forty stripes, save one. If the theft was of some small article, the offender was doomed to carry on his back the flag of the United States, which then consisted of thirteen stripes. In either case, some able hands were selected to execute the sentence, so that the stripes were sure to be well laid on.

"This punishment was followed by a sentence of exile. He then was informed that he must decamp in so many days, and be seen there no more on penalty of having the number of his stripes doubled.

"If a woman was given to tattling and slandering her neighbors, she was furnished, by common consent, with a kind of patent right to say whatever she pleased, without being believed. Her tongue was then said to be harmless, or to be no scandal.

"With all their rudeness, these people were given to hospitality, and freely divided their rough fare with a neighbor or stranger, and would have been offended at the offer of pay. In their settlements and forts, they lived, they worked, they fought and feasted, or suffered together in cordial harmony. They were warm and constant in their friendships. On the other hand, they were revengeful in their resentments; and the point of honor sometimes led to personal combats.

"If one man called another a liar, he was considered as having given a challenge which the person who received it must accept, or be deemed a coward, and the charge was generally answered on the spot with a blow. If the injured person was decidedly unable to fight the aggressor, he might get a friend to do it for him. The same thing took place on a charge of cowardice, or any other dishonorable action, a battle must follow, and the person who made the charge must fight, either the person against whom he made the charge, or any champion who choose to espouse his cause. Thus circumstanced, our people in early times were much more cautious of speaking evil of their neighbors than they are at present.

"Sometimes pitched battles occurred, in which time, place and seconds were appointed beforehand. I remember having seen one of those pitched battles in my father's fort, when a boy. One of the young men knew very well beforehand that he should get the worst of the battle, and no doubt repented the engagement to fight; but there was no getting over it. The point of honor demanded the risk of battle. He got his whipping; they then shook hands and were good friends afterward.

"The mode of single combats in those days was dangerous in the extreme; although no weapons were used, fists, teeth and feet were employed at will; but above all, the detestable practice of gouging, by which eyes were sometimes put out, rendered this mode of fighting frightful indeed; it was not, however, so destructive as the stiletto of an Italian, the knife of a Spaniard, the small sword of the Frenchman, or the pistol of the American or English duelist.

"The ministry of the gospel has contributed, no doubt, immensely to the happy change which has been effected in the state of our western society. At an early period of our settlements, three Presbyterian clergymen commenced their clerical labors in our infant settlements. They were pious, patient, laborious men, who collected their people into regular congregations, and did all for them that their circumstances would allow. It was no disparage-

ment to them, that their first churches were the shady groves, and their first pulpits a kind of tent, constructed of a few rough slabs, and covered with clapboards. "He who dwelleth not exclusively in temples made with hands," was propitious to their devotions. From the outset, they prudently resolved to create a ministry in the country, and accordingly established little grammar schools at their own houses, or in their immediate neighborhoods. The course of education which they gave their pupils was, indeed, not extensive; but the piety of those who entered into the ministry, more than made up the deficiency.

"At a later period, the Methodist Society began their labors in the western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania; their progress at first was slow, but their zeal and perseverance at length overcame every obstacle. The itinerant plan of their ministry is well calculated to convey the gospel throughout a thinly scattered population. Accordingly, their ministry has kept pace with the extension of our settlements. The little cabin was scarcely built, and the little field fenced in, before these evangelical teachers made their appearance among them, collected them into societies, and taught them the worship of God. Had it not been for the labors of these indefatigable men, our country, as to a great extent of its settlements, would have been at this day, a semi-barbaric region.

"With the Catholics, I have but little acquaintance, but have every reason to believe, that in proportion to the extent of their flocks, they have done well. Their clergy, with apostolic zeal, but in an unostentatious manner, have sought out and ministered to their scattered flocks throughout the country, and, as far as I know, with good success. The Society of Friends in the western country are numerous, and their establishments in good order. Their habits of industry and attention to useful arts and improvements, are highly honorable to themselves, and worthy of imitation. The Baptists in the State of Kentucky took the lead in the ministry, and with great success. The German, Lutheran and Reformed Churches have done well.

"The Episcopalian Church, which ought to have been *foremost* in gathering in their scattered flocks, have been the *last*, and done the least of any Christian community in the evangelical work. Taking the western country in its whole extent, at least one-half of its population, was originally of Episcopalian parentage; but, for want of a ministry of their own, have associated with other communities. They had no alternative but that of changing their profession, or living and dying without the ordinances of religion. It

can be no subject of regret, that those ordinances were placed within their reach by other hands, while they were withheld by those by whom, as a matter of right and duty, they ought to have been given. One single chorepiscopus, or suffragan bishop of a faithful spirit, who, twenty years ago, (1804) should have 'ordained them elders in every place' where they were needed, would have been the instrument of forming Episcopal congregations over a great extent of country, and which, by this time, would have become large, numerous and respectable; but the opportunity was neglected, and the consequent loss to this church is irreparable. So total a neglect of the spiritual interests of so many valuable people, for so great a length of time, by a ministry so near at hand, is a singular and unprecedented fact in ecclesiastical history, the like of which never occurred before.

"I beg that it may be understood, that with the distinguishing tenets of our religious societies I have nothing to do, nor yet with the excellencies or defects of their ecclesiastical institutions. They are noticed on no other ground than that of their respective contributions to the science and civilization of the country. The last, but not the least of the means of our present civilization, are our excellent forms of government, and the administration of the laws."

The year 1782 was stained by a great crime, the murder of the 1782.] Moravian converts on the Muskingum.* The Moravians, or United Brethren, originated as a distinctive society, in a revival of religion in Fulnec, in Moravia, about 1720; and were collected into a community at Bethelsdorp, in Upper Lusatia, by Count Zinzendorf, in 1722. The visit of Zinzendorf to Copenhagen, at the coronation of Christian VI., in 1731, made him acquainted with the condition of the slaves of the West Indies; and on his return to Bethelsdorp, the congregation determined to send missionaries to the Danish West Indies, to instruct the slaves. In 1732, two missionaries went out to St. Thomas, and sold themselves into slavery, to be able to reach the slaves. Such was the origin of the Moravian missions; they were thus commenced by a community who had been driven from their homes by persecution, and who then numbered only six hundred members. Nor did they

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* The principal authorities in relation to this subject, are Loskiel's History of the Moravian Missions in North America, and Heckewelder's Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren to the Delaware and Mohican Indians.

stop with one effort to convert the heathen. In nine years after, they had missions established in Greenland, St. Thomas, St. Croix, Surinam, Rio de Berbice, Lapland, Tartary, Algiers, Guinea, Ceylon, at the Cape of Good Hope, among the Indians of North America, and the negroes of South Carolina.

Ten of the Brethren were brought into Georgia, in 1735, by Count Zinzendorf, to preach the gospel to the Creeks. Five years later, they were expelled from the colony for refusing, in accordance with their faith, to bear arms in the war then raging between the English and Spaniards, and retired to Pennsylvania. On their arrival, they were offered a tract of land—a beautiful site on the left bank of the Lehigh, at the mouth of Manockisy creek, a few miles above its junction with the Delaware—which they purchased and named Bethlehem. Three years later, Whitfield offered to them a tract, ten miles north of Bethlehem, which he had purchased, and on which he had commenced to erect buildings for a school for colored children, and named Nazareth. This they accepted, finished, and settled.

In 1740, the first missionary, Christian Henry Rauch, was sent to the Indians of New York and Connecticut. His instructions were, the exemplification of the policy of the Brethren, and indicate clearly the spirit that influenced them. They were "not in any wise to interfere with the labors of other missionaries or ministers, or cause any disturbance among them, but silently to observe whether any of the heathen were, by the grace of God, prepared to receive and believe the word of life; and that, if even only one was to be found desirous of hearing, to him should the gospel be preached, for God must give the heathen ears to hear the gospel, and hearts to receive it."

The mission was established at Shekomeko, an Indian village on the borders of Connecticut, near the Stissik mountain. The Indians were barbarous, and debauched by spirituous liquors; the whites were hostile to the mission; yet Rauch persevered, and, in two years, twenty-nine converts were added to the Christian church. Zinzendorf visited the mission in 1742, and supplied it with assistants; and, in consequence, a new station was established at Scatticok, on Kent river, in Connecticut, where also converts were made, and a congregation was organized.

In the midst of this success, persecution arose; the whites, who at first had ridiculed their attempt to convert barbarians, were alarmed at their success. They were interfering with the liquor traffic, they were traitors to the government, they were concealed

papists, they were furnishing arms to the Indians to join the French. On these pretexts, they were arrested and examined by the governor of Connecticut, and, on proof of their innocence, discharged. Next, their meetings were forbidden, and they were brought to New York, for examination before the governor of that province. Again they were discharged, and allowed the privilege of living according to their religious tenets.

Their persecution did not stop here; they were, from motives of conscience, opposed to the taking of oaths, and on that account were accused of refusing to take, according to law, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. On these representations, they were required, by act of the Assembly of New York, to swear the prescribed oaths; positively forbidden to instruct the Indians, and, in default of obedience, were banished from that province, and retired to the more tolerant province of Pennsylvania, in 1744. Four years later, the Indian converts at Shekomeko, in the fear of being murdered by the whites, were compelled to abandon their village, and follow their teachers to Pennsylvania, upon the invitation of the governor of that province. Arrived at Bethlehem, they were received with great cordiality by the Brethren, and settled themselves at Friedenshutten, or "Tents of Peace," a small hamlet which they built for themselves, near Bethlehem. And, as emigration continued, they made another settlement at the mouth of the Mahoning, which they called Gnadenhutten, or "Tents of Grace."

The labors of the Brethren, at Bethlehem and Nazareth, were principally devoted to the Delawares, and were rewarded with an encouraging degree of success. At Friedenshutten, Gnadenhutten, and other hamlets around them, grew up Christian villages of the converts of the Moravians, who had laid aside the ferocity of their native character, the vices of their savage life, and the warlike spirit of their race, and who had, instead, adopted the pure and peaceful virtues of the Christian character, and yielded obedience to the requirements of the Christian morality. And amid the long suffering they were called to endure from their savage neighbors, the heathen Indians, and their scarcely less malignant enemies among the whites, they gave full evidence that that great change effected among them, by the self-denying labors of the Moravian Brethren, was a change of heart; and that the profession of the Christian faith they made was intelligent and sincere.

For a time, the Brethren were allowed peacably to pursue their labor of love, and their converts were permitted in peace to gather

around them, and receive their teachings; and so successful were they, that, in 1749, the congregation at Gnadenhutten alone numbered five hundred native members. But they were not allowed long to enjoy their quiet. When the war of 1754 broke out, the Brethren and their converts were placed in a very embarrassing situation. The Indians could form no clear idea of neutral Indian villages, in a war with the whites, and had no conception of any motive they might have for a neutrality, but a secret sympathy with the English; and, if they would not take up the hatchet with them, they were, on the border, in the way of their incursions. In the first instance, they sought to remove them to the wilderness, away from their teachers, and failing to do that, or to understand their true position, they became hostile. Nor were the whites better disposed. The old suspicions that destroyed the missions in New York were revived. They were concealed papists, in secret sympathy with the French, and furnished intelligence to them, and arms to the Indians.

Accordingly, the borderers determined on their destruction, and a mob, raised to burn their villages and massacre them, assembled at Bethlehem. But the treatment they received, and the spectacle of Christian resignation they beheld, disarmed them; and they abandoned their purpose, and returned to their homes. The wilder spirits of the border were not satisfied with less than the entire destruction of the Indian towns, and were preparing another more determined attack, when their eyes were opened by a horrible massacre perpetrated by the Indians. There was a hamlet of Christian Indians on the Lehigh, opposite Gnadenhutten. On the 24th of November, 1775, it was suddenly attacked, by night, by the Indians. The houses and other buildings were fired, the unresisting people were burned in them, or tomahawked and scalped, as they fled from them. Eleven perished, four only escaped. All hostile designs against them were now laid aside by the English colonists, they were gathered in from their settlements, and troops were stationed to protect them and their property; and, through the whole progress of the war, the Brethren and their people enjoyed the confidence of the whites, and the security of their protection.

The agency of Christian Frederic Post in conciliating the Indians to the English interest, has been noticed. Post emigrated from Germany with some Moravian Brethren, in 1742, and in the next year was appointed to join the mission at Shekomeko, where he

married a baptized Indian woman. The mission was broken up in the next year, but Post remained and preached the gospel to the Indians in Connecticut until 1749. During this period he supported himself by his labor as a joiner, enduring much persecution and abuse from the colonists. In that year he re-visited Germany, but soon returned to America, and labored as a missionary among the Indians at Wyoming, until the breaking out of the war of 1754, when he returned to Bethlehem.

While there he was appointed, on account of his courage and spirit, and especially his acquaintance with the Indian character, as an ambassador to the Delawares, Shawanese, and Mingoes, who were in alliance with the French. He set out on the 15th of July, 1758, in company with two Delaware Indians, and after encountering many difficulties and much danger, succeeded in detaching those Indians from the French interest. On the 25th of October, of the same year, he was commissioned to bear another message from the governor of Pennsylvania to the Indians on the Ohio, in advance of the march of the army of Forbes to the forks of Ohio; and succeeded, by his address, and the confidence he inspired, in preventing, at that critical time, a union of the Indians and French, and thus of compelling the abandonment of Fort Du Quesne. In 1761, he crossed the mountains again, visited the Indians further westward, on the Muskingum, to preach the gospel to them; obtained from them the privilege to establish a mission, and having built a house—the first, except the stations of the traders within the state of Ohio—on a spot designated by the Indians, he returned to seek an associate. The historian, Heckewelder, then a youth of nineteen, was chosen by the brethren to join the mission, and early in March, 1762, Post and Heckewelder set out for their station on the Tuscarawas, or upper Muskingum.

There they immediately commenced to clear a field, in order to cultivate food for their subsistence. The Indians became alarmed, a council was called, and Post summoned before them. "Brother," said they, "it appears to us that you must since have changed your mind, for instead of instructing us or our children, you are cutting down trees on our land; you have marked out a large spot of ground for a plantation, as the white people do everywhere; and by and by another and another may come, and do the same, and the next thing will be, that a fort will be built for the protection of these intruders; and thus our country will be claimed by the white people, and we driven further back, as has been the case ever since the white people came into this country. Say, do we not speak the

truth?" Post replied that he came indeed to teach them, but a teacher must live. He did not wish them to be burdened with his support, and therefore he designed to raise his own food. But he did not want a foot of their land, and his cultivating their land would give him no claim upon it.

The council, after consultation, replied, "You say you are come, at the instigation of the Great Spirit, to teach and to preach to us. So also say the priests at Detroit, whom our father, the king of the French, has sent among his Indian children. Well, this being the case, you as a preacher want no more land than one of those do, who are content with a garden lot to plant vegetables and pretty flowers in, such as the French priests also have, and of which the white people are all fond. As you are in the same employment with them, and as we never saw them cut down trees and cultivate the ground to get a living, we think that, since they look well, they look to another source than labor for their living. And we think that if, as you say, the Great Spirit wants you to preach to the Indians, he will cause the same to be done to you as he causes to be done for those priests we have seen at Detroit. We are agreed to give you a garden spot, even a larger spot of ground than they have at Detroit. It shall measure fifty steps each way, and if it suits, you are at liberty to plant in it what you please."

To this Post agreed, and, with Heckewelder, cleared and planted the little spot assigned him; and in the meanwhile, they subsisted on the game they could take, and the vegetables they could gather. During the summer, a conference was to be held with the Delawares, at Lancaster, and Post had been deputed by the governor of Pennsylvania, to accompany the chiefs thither. It had been the direction of the Brethren, that Heckewelder should return with him; but, to avoid the appearance of abandoning the post, he remained for a time. The series of encroachments and outrages that led to the war of 1763, had already stirred the resentment of the savages; and during the summer, they became so suspicious and unfriendly, that, at the advice of a trader, Heckewelder abandoned the station, and returned to Fort Pitt. On his way, he met Post returning to the Muskingum. The position of affairs in the Indian country was threatening; Post was especially suspected as an emissary of the whites, and, on consultation, the mission was finally abandoned. Heckewelder returned to Bethlehem; Post, in despair of success among the Indians of the north, retired to the Bay of Honduras, and established a mission among the Musquito Indians.

The Moravians and their converts enjoyed a little respite, only to be again exposed to greater persecutions. The war of 1763 was waged along the frontier with unexampled ferocity; and the border of Pennsylvania was occupied by a class of men, to whom an indiscriminate hatred of Indians was a ruling passion, and whom the many border wars had made almost as cruel as the Indians themselves. A band of peaceful Indians were settled at Conestoga. It was suspected that they were connected, in some way, with the hostile Indians, and the borderers assembled and massacred all they could find of them. The survivors were collected, and placed in the jail of Lancaster for protection. There they were massacred by the exasperated mob.

The popular rage next turned upon the Moravian converts. Several of them were murdered by a party of drunken rangers. They in turn were surprised and killed. In the excitement of the hour, the Moravian converts were suspected of the act; and a mob approached Wequetank, with the design of exterminating them. A storm defeated their plan of attack, and the converts, now sensible of their danger, immediately removed to Nazareth. To protect them and to allay the resentment of the borderers, they with their teachers were removed, by order of the Assembly, to Philadelphia, and confined on Province Island. The borderers, fired with implacable resentment, followed, an attack on the city was threatened, and the Moravians were sent to New York. The governor of that province refused to receive them within its borders, and they were taken back to Philadelphia and imprisoned for a year in the barracks. On the conclusion of the war, they were released, returned to the Susquehanna, and rebuilt their deserted and ruined villages.

The missionary spirit of the Moravians was not checked by these difficulties, and no sooner had they established themselves again, than they sent out their missionaries to teach the heathen Indians on the north and west. In the fall of 1767, the Rev. David Zeisberger, learning that some Indians on the Allegheny were desirous of having the gospel preached to them, went thither, in company with the assistant, Anthony, and a convert named Papunhank. He was at first regarded as a spy, but his demeanor disarmed suspicion, and he was received with especial kindness by a Seneca chief. Goschgosking, "the place of hogs," a Delaware town of three villages, situated on the Allegheny, some twenty-five or thirty miles above the mouth of French creek, was the place Zeisberger had chosen as the station he designed to occupy. The chief advi-

sed him not to settle there on account of the great wickedness of the people. That, to Zeisberger, was however an additional motive. He accordingly proceeded thither, was well received, and allowed to preach. The great depravity of the place was not however over stated by the Seneca chief. The missionary was shocked at the wickedness of the people; an Indian orator resisted the new doctrines of the white man, and it was with difficulty he received an invitation to come and settle among them.

In the spring of 1768, Zeisberger, with the assistant, Senseman, and three families from Friedenshutten, removed to Goschgosking. There they located themselves, built a chapel, planted corn, and commenced immediately the work of evangelization. In that, they were, as usual, successful. A great number of Indians resorted to their hamlet, and "the Brethren ceased not by day and by night to teach and preach Jesus." The old chief, Allemewi, believed their teachings, was baptized, and joined himself to them. Others followed his example, and soon a little village of believing Indians grew up around them. As usual, their success excited enmity. It was affirmed, if the missionaries were allowed to remain, the whites would come, build a fort, and take possession of the country; and messages were sent from the Six Nations to the Delawares, that they must, in order to be safe, either kill the missionaries, or drive them out of the country. The old women went about complaining that the corn was devoured by worms, that the game had began to flee the country, that neither chestnuts nor bilberries ripened any more; all which they ascribed to the fact that the Indians were changing their old way of living on account of what these white men had told them. The power of superstition was invoked. An Indian prophet, Wangomen, declaimed against the missionaries. He had been, he pretended, favored with a vision of the spirit land. The Indians there, were in the enjoyment of plenty and happiness, the whites were in want and misery. The Indians, in their natural state, were the most acceptable to the Great Spirit. The Great Spirit was displeased with the presence of these white teachers, and it was necessary to offer sacrifices to him to appease his wrath.

The missionaries felt that their lives were in danger, and accordingly they removed with their converts, in the spring of 1769, to Lawunakhannak, "the middle stream," fifteen miles distant from Goschgosking.

Here they built huts for their residence and a chapel for their worship. Allemewi and other converts settled around their dwel-

lings, more converts were added, and an abundant success seemed about to reward their labors. Among the many visitors to Lawunakhannak, was a distinguished Indian orator from the Delaware village of Kushkushkee, on the Big Beaver, named Glikkikan. The Indians there had heard of the new doctrines the white teachers were disseminating among the Indians on the Allegheny; and he was deputed by the chief, Pakanke, to go and refute them. When he arrived, he resolved first to hear the missionary, and then reply to his teachings. Zeisberger preached, and he listened with great attention. Anthony, the assistant, invited him and his company to dine with him, and explained to him, in simple but expressive language, the religion taught by the Moravians. Glikkikan was convinced, and in the presence of his friends, and of the chiefs of Goschgosking, declared his belief of the truth of the new religion. On his return to Kushkushkee, he honestly related the result of his mission, and bore an honorable testimony to the character of the missionaries, and to the truth of their doctrine. The influence of the example of Glikkikan produced an effect even on the Allegheny. Many of the people followed from Goschgosking and joined the congregation, more came to hear, and a new chapel was built for their accommodation. In the midst of this success, a difficulty arose between the Six Nations and the Cherokees. The Six Nations had broken the treaty with the Cherokees, and murdered several of them. In revenge the Cherokees took two prisoners, cut off their fingers, and sent them back with an insulting message. A war between the two nations ensued; the Christian Indians were located immediately between them, and the thoroughfare exposed to the hostility of both. Under these circumstances, they determined to accept the repeated invitations of Pakanke and Glikkikan, to settle on the Beaver, and made preparations to remove thither.

Accordingly, on the 17th of April, 1770, the congregation at Lawunakhannak broke up, and set out in sixteen canoes, passing down the Allegheny and Ohio to the mouth of the Beaver, which they entered and proceeded up to the falls. There they were compelled to unload their cargoes and transport their canoes by land. In this they were aided by Glikkikan, who had come from Kushkushkee, with horses for their use. On the 3d of May, they reached their destination, informed Pakanke of their arrival, and were welcomed to their new homes, according to the Indian ceremony, by the chiefs. On the site designated for them, the

Christian Indians immediately set to work, erected cabins, and opened farms. In a short time a settlement was formed, to which they gave the name of Languntoutenuenk, or Friedenstadt, "the town of peace."

Dr. I Pollock, of Newcastle, Pa., says in a letter to the publisher: "The sites of the principal establishments of the Moravians, on Beaver river, were at the Kushkushkee and Moravian towns, (Friedenstadt). These villages were both situated in what is now Lawrence county, Pennsylvania; the sites of them were well chosen in regard both to their comfort and health, being on the west side of the principal streams, and connected with alluvial bottom lands of surpassing fertility. Kushkushkee occupied an elevated plateau of rich bottom land on the south-west side of the Mahoning river, four miles above its junction, with the Shenango, where they constitute the Big Beaver river. It was four miles east of the Ohio State line, four miles west of New Castle, the seat of justice for Lawrence county, Pennsylvania, and six miles north-west from its sister establishment at the Moravian town. Several war paths converged here at the War Post, on the west side of the village, and 'the Kushkushkee trace,' long known and traveled by the early white settlers, passing by the 'Scalp Spring,' near the 'Forks of the Beaver,' and through the Moravian town, connected it with the Ohio river at the mouth of Beaver, and up along the Ohio to Logstown, and what is now Pittsburgh. The 'Moravian Town' was situated on a bluff on the west side of Beaver river, two miles below its 'forks,' and twenty miles up from its mouth.

"The societies formed at these two Indian towns by these pious and philanthropic missionaries, soon abandoned their savage habits and superstitious worship; and under the direction of these devoted men, cleared and cultivated several hundred acres of their rich bottom lands, the products of which, added to the abundant supply of fish afforded by their rivers, and of game from the chase, placed them above the fear of want, and gave them leisure for intellectual and moral culture. They had schools in which their children were assiduously taught; churches where they often convened for religious worship, and workshops in which the most necessary of the mechanical arts were taught and practiced. Among the first lessons taught them by their Christian teachers, was one that came directly in conflict with the fixed habits and immemorial usages of savage life. They must no longer learn and practice the 'Art of War.' They must be men of peace, no longer shed the blood of their brother man. They must no longer resent or retaliate

wrongs; all retribution must be left to the 'Great Spirit,' the common Father of all. These principles and practices, so uncongenial to immemorial modes of thinking and acting, were nevertheless embraced and adhered to. Their schools flourished; the teeming earth yielded to moderate cultivation an abundant supply of the necessaries of life, while their workshops furnished their common clothing, and the tools and utensils necessary for a peaceful life. Here was a young paradise blooming and fructifying in the wilderness.

"But mutation and instability are written on the face of all things earthly. This state of prosperity and felicity was destined to be of short duration. We have said that these associations of non-resistant Indians were parts of the Delaware tribe, who were frequently at war with the whites, and sometimes with the neighboring tribes; and failing to enlist these bands to assist in their wars, and not understanding or appreciating their motives, naturally entertained jealousies and unfriendly feelings toward them. Residing as they did, on the great war path, along which these tribes and other northern nations marched to attack the frontier settlements of the whites, or the tribes of the south; and near their grand rendezvous at the Scalp Spring and War Post, they were often pressed to join the hostile bands, and even threatened on their refusal. Finding themselves thus environed with difficulties and dangers, and that, located as they were, between their enemies, they could not maintain their neutrality but at the risk of extermination, they abandoned all their improvements and betook themselves to the wilderness, locating and renewing their improvements, and re-organizing their community on the waters of the Muskingum."

The history of the mission on the Beaver, is thus given by Loskiel:

"April 17th, 1770, the congregation of Lawunakhannak broke up, and set out in sixteen canoes, passing down the river Ohio by Pittsburgh, to the mouth of the Beaver creek; which they entered, and proceeded up to the falls, where they had to unload and transport their goods and canoes by land. One of these carrying places detained them two days. The frequent repetition of this troublesome work caused them to be very thankful when they met Glikkikan, with some horses from Kaskaskunk (Kushkushkee) for their use.

"Thus after a tedious journey, during which they had, however, held their daily meetings as often as their situation would permit,

refreshing their souls by the comfortable word of God, they at length arrived, on the 3d of May, in the country where they intended to build their new settlement. The spot appointed for them could not have been better chosen, and there was good land sufficient to supply an hundred families. They now informed Pakanke, the head chief in Kaskaskunk, and his council, of their arrival. During the formalities usual on such occasions both Brother Zeisberger, and the Indian deputies, delivered several copious speeches, to give the inhabitants of Kaskaskunk, from the very beginning, a just idea of their new neighbors, and Pakanke bid them welcome in the same number of speeches. Captain Glikkikan could now no longer bear to live at Kaskaskunk, but desired leave to dwell with the Brethren. The latter exhorted him well to consider, that in so doing he would exchange an honorable office, power, and friends, for reproach, contempt, and persecution. But his declarations were so firm and sincere, that it was impossible for them to refuse his request.

"The Indians were now diligently at work in their plantations, and dwelt in the meantime in bark huts. They also built a large hut for the meetings of the congregation, which were numerously attended by the people from Kaskaskunk. The settlement made by the Brethren here was called Languntoutenuenk, or Friedenstadt, 'the town of peace.'

"June 12th, the first baptism was administered in this place, to the wife of the blind Chief Solomon, who had formerly opposed her husband with great violence, but afterward became thoughtful, and anxious to obtain salvation. Glikkikan and others, who had never seen this transaction, were struck with wonder and amazement, and the whole assembly was so powerfully pervaded by the sensation of the presence of God, that the Brethren Zeisberger and Senseman were overcome with joy, and filled with renewed courage, boldly to maintain their post, even under the most grievous oppressions, and gladly to venture their lives in endeavoring to lead souls to Christ.

The Indians in the neighboring country were astonished, or rather alarmed, to see a people settle among them so much differing in manners and customs from the heathen, and to hear a doctrine preached, of which they never before had any idea. In some, this astonishment was soon changed into displeasure and animosity. Glikkikan's retiring from Kaskaskunk to Friedenstadt occasioned universal dissatisfaction. His friends spared no pains to prevent it by kind persuasions; but finding them useless, they

railed most bitterly against him, calling him a sorcerer, by which they even endangered his life. The old chief, Pakanke, who had always employed him as his speaker, and looked upon him as his right hand, altered his friendly behavior toward the Brethren, and denied his having invited them into the country, charging Glikkikan with it. He even attacked him publicly, and in great wrath said, 'And even you have gone over from this council to them. I suppose you intend to get a white skin? But I tell you, not even one of your feet will turn white, much less your body. Was you not a brave and honored man, sitting next to me in council, when we spread the blanket, and considered the belts of wampum lying before us? Now you pretend to despise all this, and think to have found something better. Some time or other you will find yourself deceived.' Glikkikan replied briefly thus: 'It is very true I have gone over to them, and with them I will live and die.' Though Colonel Croghan, an English officer, exhorted Pakanke not to oppose the brethren, but to suffer all those Indians who wished to hear the Gospel to go to them, adding, that they aimed at nothing but the real welfare and interest of the Indians; and though Pakanke promised fair, yet he remained an enemy, and many were deterred from coming to Friedenstadt.

"About this time a very bad epidemical disease prevailed among the Delawares, which took off great numbers, and was ascribed by the heathen to the power of magic. Many of the chiefs and counselors at Gekelemukpechuenk and other places, conceived a notion that they could not remedy this evil in any other way, than by unanimously resolving to receive and believe the word of God. As it was soon known that Pakanke was averse to the cause, the chief and council of Gekelemukpechuenk sent him a black belt of wampum of a fathom in length, with the following message: 'There is a contagion among us: many Indians die, and this evil has lasted some years: we shall all soon be destroyed, unless some help be procured. Convene a council upon this belt. Whoever does not receive this belt, shall be considered as an enemy and murderer of his people, and we shall know how to treat him according to his deserts.' This message being of mysterious import, Pakanke was left to guess its meaning. But he pretended not to understand that it implied that they should receive the Gospel as the only remedy.

"The Brethren found, meanwhile, that it would be highly necessary for the cause of the Gospel, to remove a misunderstanding which prevailed among the heathen to the prejudice of the Christian Indians. They asserted, that as soon as the latter changed

their mode of living, and refused to join in their vices, they likewise withdrew their contributions toward the support of the affairs of the nation, and would no more assist in furnishing the usual quantity of wampum, allowed for the use of the chiefs. The missionaries therefore took the necessary steps to procure a formal declaration from the believing Indians, in all places, to this effect: 'That though they never intended to interfere, either with the affairs of state, or with the wars of the savages, yet they were always willing to bear their share of the public burden, in times of peace, and to contribute toward the expenses attending all measures adopted for the welfare of the nation, which were not meant to molest either the white people or the Indian nations; but upon this positive condition, that the chiefs, counselors, and captains of all the different tribes, should never claim the least authority over the missionaries, but leave them at full liberty to go where they please, and in case of their return to Bethlehem, to send other Brethren in their room.' This declaration gave universal satisfaction, was answered by all the chiefs in very civil terms, and by some by formal embassies, and prevented much enmity, to which the believing Indians and their teachers might have otherwise been exposed.

"At Goschgoschuenk, Wangomen was appointed deputy, and sent by the council with a full and concise answer, couched in the most courteous terms, to Friedenstadt, and thence to Pakanke at Kaskaskunk, to inform him and his council of the adoption of the Brethren into the Monsy tribe, desiring him to send the message forward to the rest of the Delaware tribes, and with their consent to the Iroquois, Delamattenoos, and Shawanese, and to appoint and acknowledge the above-mentioned umpire, appointed to watch over the due observance of the covenant thus made between the Brethren and the Indian nations. Wangomen executed all these commissions with much punctuality, and appeared to have laid all enmity against the Brethren aside; he was even commissioned by old Pakanke, who also pretended to be reconciled to them, to go in person to Friedenshuetten, and invite the believing Indians to come to the neighborhood of Kaskaskunk and build a town for themselves, upon any spot of ground they might choose.

"In the meantime our Indians began, on the 23d of July, to build a regular settlement on the west side of the Beaver creek, erecting block houses, and working with such perseverance and diligence, that before winter they and their teachers were safely and conveniently housed. Then the statutes of the congregation

were made known to the inhabitants, and every thing regulated as in Friedenshuetten.

"October 28th, the missionary, John George Jungman, and his wife, arrived from Bethlehem, to have the care of this congregation, and brought a string of wampum from Colonel Croghan in Pittsburgh, to Pakanke, desiring him to receive the missionary and his wife with kindness, as they came merely from benevolent motives, to promote the welfare and prosperity of the Indians. This unsolicited kind interference of the colonel gave much pleasure to our Indians and their teachers, and made a good impression upon Pakanke. Brother Senseman returned to Bethlehem, in November, having been a faithful and useful assistant to brother Zeisberger, with whom he willingly shared distress and danger.

"Both missionaries rejoiced greatly at the gracious visitation of this country by the Lord. The power of the Holy Ghost was remarkably evident during the preaching of the precious Gospel of Christ Jesus, and the heart of one poor sinner after the other was opened, and led to accept of the gracious invitation which he gives to all that labor and are heavy laden. Glikkikan was so much moved by a discourse delivered in the daily meeting, that he afterward wept aloud on his way home. The heathen were astonished, that such a noted and valiant captain should weep in the presence of his former acquaintance; but the Brethren praised God for such visible proofs, that the word of the cross of Jesus can even break and melt the most stubborn and proud heart of a wild Indian. One of Pakanke's sons, having listened with attention to a sermon, said, 'I have understood all I have now heard, and your words have penetrated into my heart: now I believe that they are true.' An unbaptized Indian said to a visitor: 'Whoever will consider but for a moment, must plainly see that the doctrine of the Brethren is true; and even though our senses cannot rightly comprehend its meaning, yet our hearts feel something of its power, as often as we hear it.'

"Many people from distant places, especially from Shenenge, came to hear the comfortable gospel, which encourages sinners, with all their misery, to turn to their Redeemer.

"As to Friedenstadt itself, the peace of God, brotherly love, and a desire to cleave to and love God our Saviour, prevailed most powerfully in the congregation. The baptized improved daily in a Christian walk and conversation, and greatly valued their high and heavenly calling. One of them said to a strange Indian: 'I cannot indeed speak much to you at present, but I will give you an

opportunity to hear the precious words of our Saviour, with which the most delicious food in the world is not to be compared for sweetness;' and then brought him to the chapel. A noted sorcerer, who came to see Friedenstadt, stood listening to an Indian sister, who was boldly declaring the gospel to some female visitors; and afterward said that he had a great inclination to try his legerdemain tricks upon her, and to do her an injury. When she heard this, she said: 'I do not fear his threats; for if any one could even take away my life by such practices, I should then go home to my Saviour, where I should enjoy much greater happiness than in this life.'

"The labor of the Spirit of God was likewise so evident in the children, and the Lord perfected praise even out of the mouths of babes in such a manner, that the missionaries were filled with astonishment. Among the unbaptized and catechumens, the awakening was solid and general, and their longing after grace and the remission of sins in the blood of Jesus appeared on all occasions. The missionaries were more particularly rejoiced to see that the above-mentioned Captain Glikkikan, and a chief called Genaskund, who retired with them from Goschgoschuenk, were the most humble and contrite among all the unbaptized, confessing with great openness their sinful and abominable manner of living among the heathen, praying God for mercy and forgiveness as the most undeserving prodigals, and earnestly requesting to be baptized. They both received this favor on the 24th of December, and remained living and distinguished examples of that divine truth, that no sinner is so proud and depraved but he may be thoroughly humbled, changed, and converted to God by the power of the blood of Jesus.

"In the spring of 1771, Wangomen came to Friedenshuetten, to deliver the above-mentioned message from the principal chiefs of the Delaware nations to the Indian congregation, and also to invite them and the congregation in Tschechschequannink to the Allegheny, that is, to the country on the Ohio. The chiefs declared that they would receive the believing Indians into their arms as friends, and permit them to choose a tract of land, where they might live together, as Christians, in peace and safety; and that they should bring their white teachers with them, who should be considered as being of the same color with the Indians.

"At the particular request of the chiefs, Brother Zeisberger gave a letter of recommendation to the deputies, assuring the Indian congregation, that this invitation concealed no bad design, but

rather that the chiefs, being now truly desirous that they and their young people might hear the gospel, wished on that account alone that Brethren might reside among them; our Indians, however, mistrusted the contents of this message, and therefore gave the following short answer to Wangomen and the other delegates: 'We rejoice that Pakanke and the other chiefs have thought on us with so much kindness. But we are as yet too heavy to rise, and when we have lightened ourselves, we will send word to the chiefs.' Some time after, Chief Netawatwees, in Gekelemukpechuenk, repeated this invitation in a pressing manner, which occasioned our Indians to consider more particularly about it, especially as the Wyandots had likewise invited them to remove to their land on the Ohio, assuring them that they would not sell the ground under their feet, as the Iroquois had done.

"However, no resolution was taken till the month of May, when Friedenshuetten was visited by the Brethren Christian Gregor and John Loretz, who some time ago arrived from Europe, to hold a visitation in all the Brethren's settlements in North America. Bishop Nathaniel Seidel accompanied them from Bethlehem, a man known and highly respected by many of our Indians, who expressed extraordinary joy at their visit. The joy of the two European Brethren was great indeed. They saw here for the first time, a flock of Christian Indians, and could not sufficiently praise and thank God our Saviour, for the gracious work begun among these nations, supported amidst so many and heavy trials, and miraculously preserved, although exposed to so many threatening and imminent dangers.

"They devoted their whole time and labor to the service of the two congregations in Friedenshuetten and Tschechschequannink, conversed with every individual, and delivered several powerful discourses, especially during the Whitsuntide holidays, the interpreters translating their words with great exactness. They baptized several Indians, visited every family, and both their conversation with individuals, their public ministry and their benevolent behavior, tended to the edification and blessings of all the inhabitants. They likewise examined into every particular relating to the inward and outward state of the mission, and in this view held several conferences with the missionaries and the Indian assistants. The above mentioned invitation given to our people by the Delawares was also maturely considered, and the conference, with the concurrence of the Indian congregation, came to a resolution, that next autumn some families should remove from hence to Frieden-

stadt, that some regard might be shown to the message; but as to the emigration of the whole congregation, that should be considered and finally decided in Bethlehem. On the return of these visitors and their company to Bethlehem, the Indians took leave of them with the most cordial expression of love and gratitude, recommending themselves to the prayers and remembrance of all their brethren in Europe.

"David Zeisberger was soon after called from Friedenstadt to Bethlehem, to attend a conference, in which the whole situation of the mission among the Indians was maturely weighed and considered. The Brethren were convinced that the Indian congregations at Friedenshuetten and Tschechschequannink would not be able to maintain themselves long in these places, partly because the Iroquois had sold the land, and various troublesome demands upon them were continually renewed, partly on account of a contest between the New Englanders and the Indians of Wajomick, by which Friedensheutten was much disturbed by occasion of its vicinity. Besides this, the Sennekas, by their bad behavior, gave our Indians much trouble, the white people being too apt to suspect the latter as accomplices. One of the most powerful arguments in favor of their emigration was this, that the number of European settlers daily increased, both above and below Friedenshuetten, and the rum trade tended to seduce the young people. A final resolution was therefore taken, to advise the Indian congregation to accept of the proposal repeatedly made to them, to remove to the Ohio, and to consider it as proceeding from a gracious direction of the providence of God.

"Brother Zeisberger, upon his return, mentioned this advice to the Indians at Friedenshuetten and Tschechschequannink, and both congregations resolved to remove in the following spring, and first to go to Friedenstadt. Some families went thither immediately, in order to lay out plantations of Indian corn, both for themselves and the congregations that were to accompany them.

"In the meantime, many people followed the Brethren from Goschgoschuenk, on the Ohio, to the Beaver creek, some of whom settled in Kaskaskunk; others, who showed an earnest wish to be converted, and promised to live in conformity to the rules of the congregation, obtained leave to live at Friedenstadt.

"The Brethren were at this time incessantly troubled by the most daring lies, propagated by the savages, who even counterfeited letters and messages from the chiefs to them. In the beginning of the year 1771, a very peremptory message of this kind was brought to

Friedenstadt, as coming from the chief and council at Gekelemukpechuenk; demanding that an Indian woman, lately converted to the truth, and baptized by the Brethren, should be sent back immediately, or she should be taken away by force. This message appearing dangerous in its consequences, Brother Zeisberger himself set out on the 5th of March, with three Indian brethren, for Gekelemukpechuenk.

"On the road they experienced great hardships, in wading through tracts of deep snow and much water, and did not arrive there until the 13th. They lodged in the house of the head chief, Netawatwees, where they met with a kind reception, and had soon an opportunity of preaching Jesus and him crucified to the inhabitants, who assembled in great numbers to hear the missionary. Brother Zeisberger then requested a meeting of the council, and read to them the above-mentioned letter. It was then discovered that neither the chief nor the council knew any thing of it, but that one of the counselors present had written it on his own authority, and signed it with two fictitious names. Being thus detected, he was publicly confounded; the whole council expressed great indignation at the contents of the letter, and agreed perfectly with the declaration of the missionary and the Indian brethren, that as they could and would not detain any Indian in their settlement against his will, either by persuasion or force, so no Indian ought to be compelled to leave them, the Indians being altogether a free people, who in all things might act according to their own minds.

"After this, Brother Zeisberger staid several days in Gekelemukpechuenk, and found many attentive hearers, but likewise many avowed enemies, who, though they dared not publicly to contradict the missionary himself, raged with immoderate fury against his Indian assistants, and their testimony. One said to Isaac: 'What do you come here for, spreading your new doctrines among our people? I have a good mind to kick you altogether out of doors. And even if all the Indians should embrace your doctrine, I certainly would not.' This opposition arose chiefly from the insinuations of the above-mentioned Indian preachers, who had so strenuously recommended emetics, as a sure mode of cleansing from sin, that in this town the practice was general. The missionary endeavored to convince the people, that though an emetic might benefit their stomachs, yet it could never cleanse their hearts, but that the blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, applied in faith to our sin-sick souls, was alone able to cleanse and

change them. Having recommended these people in fervent prayer to the mercy of God our Saviour, he returned with his company to Friedenstadt.

"He had scarcely left Gekelemukpechuenk, when a renowned heathen preacher arrived, and spread great confusion among the people, by declaring that the missionary was even known among the whites as a noted seducer of the Indians, who, whenever he had drawn a large party aside, sent them over the great ocean, and sold them for slaves, where they were harnessed to the plough, and whipped on to their work. By these lying insinuations he gained such an ascendency over the timid minds of the Indians, that he soon became the leader of a large party, and the Brethren were soon convinced, that to plant the gospel in the country, to which the congregations at Friedenshuetten and Tschechschequannink were now invited, would be attended with great difficulties. Brother Ziesberger says in one of his letters: 'Here God must work a miracle, for Satan has many strongholds, which he has well fortified.'

"In Kaskaskunk, the enmity against the Brethren became more general, especially as the lies spread in Gekelmukpechuenk soon found their way thither, and though it afterward happened, that their author, and Indian preacher, lost his senses, and ran about the woods raving mad, yet the enmity against the Brethren, and all who attended their meetings, did not subside in the least.

"To this, we may add the dreadful rumors of war, heard about this time; for which several murders, committed by the white people, seemed to hold out sufficient provocation. Many people were on these accounts led to forsake their dwellings, and to remove to Kaskaskunk and its neighborhood. Thus Friedenstadt was soon surrounded by troops of savages, from whom nothing but disturbance could be expected; which, alas, they too soon experienced. Some, who staid only a few days at Friedenstadt, proved exceedingly troublesome, by their drunken and riotous behavior, and even threatened to murder all the inhabitants, and destroy the settlement.

"Brother Zeisberger, who by this time was well known among various Indian tribes, was a marked object of their hatred and malice, and frequently in danger of being shot. Some malicious people came one evening very late to Friedenstadt, and would positively compel the inhabitants to get drunk. When they found all their efforts vain, they threatened to murder, first the teachers, and then the whole congregation, and made such a hideous roar, that

the Indian sisters fled into the woods, and the Brethren were obliged to keep a strong and strict watch around the dwelling of the missionaries.

"Notwithstanding all these troubles, the work of God prevailed and increased in Friedenstadt, and the congregation grew in grace and number. May the 27th, 1771, the foundation-stone of the chapel was laid, and on the 20th of June, the building was dedicated unto the Lord, with praise, thanksgiving, and prayer, as a place where the Gospel should be preached to the poor. The number of constant hearers daily increased; among these, there was one who had lost his scalp in the war, and one of the same party which destroyed the Brethren's house on the Mahony, in the year 1755. This man was often so moved in hearing the Gospel, that he shed floods of tears. Another visitor expressed a great desire to know which was the true way to happiness. He said: 'The Quakers maintain that their doctrine is true, the English church asserts the same of theirs, and the Brethren say that the word they preach is the word of God.' The Indian assistants told him, that if he was truly desirous to be informed, he should come to Jesus, who, through God blessed forever, became a man, and had been wounded for our transgressions. He would then soon learn to know him, and receive a certainty in his heart, concerning the way to salvation: but that afterward it was required to be obedient to his commandments.

"After much opposition and hesitation, Chief Pakanke, hitherto an enemy of the Gospel, resolved at last to go to Friendenstadt. He staid there several days, heard the Gospel with great attention, changed his sentiments, and even exhorted his children to go to the Brethren, hearken to their words, and believe on Jesus.

"October 21st, Brother John Heckewelder, who was appointed assistant missionary, and November 27th, the four families expected from Friedenshuetten, arrived safe at Friedenstadt. All rejoiced at the resolution of the two congregations to follow them hither, and willingly offered their assistance in making plantations, and planting Indian corn for them.

"As the enmity of the greater part of the inhabitants of Kaskaskunk and other savage neighbors rather increased, and the latter encroached more and more upon the borders of Friedenstadt, the believing Indians petitioned the chief and council at Kaskaskunk for protection, but were told that their request could not be granted. This was in the beginning of the year 1772. At the same time the Brethren received a kind message from the chief

and council at Gekelemukpechuenk, inviting them and the two congregations at Friedenshuetten and Tschechschequannink to come and settle in their country, near the river Muskingum, upon whatever tracts of land they might choose. Upon mature consideration, it was found most expedient that Brother Zeisberger should first take a journey to view the country on the Muskingum, and there fix upon a spot suitable for a settlement, that he should then consult and settle every thing relating to this affair with the chiefs at Gekelemukpechuenk, and soon after remove to the new place with a few families from Friedenstadt, and establish a regular mission there; but that the congregations at Friedenshutten and Tschechschequannink should first go and dwell in or near Friedenstadt, until it should be proper for them to move to the Muskingum.

"Brother Zeisberger set out on this expedition on the 11th of March, 1772, with a few Indian brethren, and on the 16th discovered a large tract of land situated not far from the banks of the Muskingum, about thirty miles from Gekelemukpechuenk, with a good spring, a small lake, good planting grounds, much game, and every other convenience for the support of an Indian colony. This place was about seventy miles from Lake Erie, and seventy-five miles west of Friedenstadt. It appeared, that formerly a large fortified Indian town stood on this spot, some ramparts and the ruins of three Indian forts being still visible. After this discovery he went to Gekelemukpechuenk, and informed the council that the converted Indians had thankfully accepted of their invitation, desiring that the tract of land he had just now discovered might be given to them. In answer to this request he heard with great pleasure, that this was the very spot of ground destined by the chiefs and council for them. They also determined, in a solemn manner, that all the lands, from the entrance of the Gekelemukpechuenk creek into the river Muskingum to Tuscarawi should belong to the converted Indians, and that no other Indians should be permitted to settle upon them: further, that all Indians dwelling on the borders of this country should be directed to behave peaceably toward them and their teachers, and neither disturb their worship, nor prevent people from going to them to hear the word of God.

"Zeisberger praised the Lord for his gracious help in the execution of this important commission, and having again visited the above-mentioned country, took possession of it in the name of the Christian Indians, who were uncommonly rejoiced by the account of his success, given on his return to Friedenstadt.

"Five families, consisting in all of twenty-eight persons, were now appointed to begin the new settlement, and were willing to undertake it. Brother Zeisberger set out with them on the 14th of April, 1772, and after a safe but tedious journey, arrived May 3d at the new land on the Muskingum. The day following they marked out their plantations, erected field-huts, and were all diligently employed in clearing land and planting."

The place they chose for the new settlement on the Muskingum, was about seventy miles south-west from Friedenstadt, and about an equal distance from Lake Erie. It appeared that formerly a large Indian town stood on the spot, some ramparts and ruins of three Indian forts being still visible. The mission of the Moravians to the Indians in North America had existed for thirty years, and during that period there had been baptized seven hundred and twenty Indians. The first settlement they made on the Muskingum was called Schönbrun, "a beautiful clear spring," and was located about three miles south of New Philadelphia, in Tuscarawas county, Ohio. Shortly afterward they settled also at Gnadenhutten, seven miles south of Schönbrun, and Salem, a few miles below Gnadenhutten. In 1776, a new settlement named Lichtenau was made, thirty miles from Schönbrun; and around these grew up other villages and hamlets of Christian Indians, who had adopted the civilization and the faith of the Moravians. The chiefs of the tribe were favorably disposed, the people manifested a great interest, the Moravian church steadily increased, and the knowledge of the Moravian teachings spread among the children of the wilderness.

For a while too, they were beyond the border and away from the influence and hostility of the white men, and away from the embarrassment of the border wars.

The war of 1774 in no way affected them, other than it excited the fear that the war might extend to their country, and both the missionaries and their people were prepared to escape to the Cuyahoga river, if the whites had been beaten at the battle of Point Pleasant. During the years that followed, the Brethren were allowed peaceably to pursue their labor, in the confidence of the people and under the protection of the council of the Delaware tribe.

But their peace was soon broken. They were between two parties in the war of Independence. Detroit was the head-quarters of the British, and Fort Pitt of the Americans. The Wyandots and part

of the Delawares were the partisans of the British; the Christian villagers were neutral, in accordance with their principles. While they declined the alliance of either party, they felt obliged by their religion to extend the duties of hospitality to both. It thus became exceedingly difficult to preserve any neutrality between the contending parties. It was necessary, in order to avoid their hostility, to furnish provisions to the Indian war parties on their way to attack the whites; it was an act of Christian benevolence to extend sympathy to their prisoners, and, in that way, they were suspected of partiality to the British interest. It was contrary to their religion to take up the hatchet so persistently offered them by the warlike Indians, and their motives for refusing could only be interpreted by the warriors as a sympathy with the Americans. On the one hand, therefore, a party of Americans crossed the Ohio in the fall of 1777, with the design of destroying the Moravian towns, but were met and defeated by a party of Wyandots. On the other hand, the commandant at Detroit sent them a message in 1778, declaring that he would compel all the Indians, Christian or not, to fight the Americans, and if they did not obey his orders, all missions among them should be at an end.

They were fully warned of the dangerous position they occupied, but failed to realize the extent of their danger. A chief of the Wyandots visited them in the spring of 1781, to advise them of their peril, and to persuade them to seek a place of greater safety.

"My cousins," said he, "you Christian Indians in Gnadenhutten, Schönbrun and Salem, I am concerned on your account, as I see you live in a dangerous situation. Two mighty and angry gods stand opposite to each other with their mouths open, and you stand between them and are in danger of being crushed by the one or the other or both of them, and crumbled with their teeth."

"Uncle," replied they, "and you Shawanese, our nephews, we have not hitherto seen our situation so dangerous as not to stay here. We live in peace with all mankind and have nothing to do with the war. We desire and request no more than that we may be permitted to live in peace and quiet. We will preserve your words and consider them, and send you, uncle, an answer."

McKee, Girty and Elliot were especially hostile to the missionaries, and were continually seeking to excite the heathen Indians to murder Zeisberger, and destroy the mission. Girty, indeed, led a party at one time from Sandusky, to capture and murder the venerable missionary, and had even taken him prisoner, but he was rescued by a band of friendly Delawares, and saved. Girty and

his associates, however, continued to excite the Indians to rid themselves of the missionaries. Under their influence, the Six Nations sent a message to the Chippewas and Ottawas, asking them to murder the Christian Indians. They declined, and the same message was sent to the Wyandots. They too were unwilling to bear the odium of the act; but a party of them, after great persuasion, was induced by Elliot to accompany him to the Christian settlement. Arrived there, Elliot professed great friendship to the missionaries, to conceal his purpose. His design was to murder the Christians; but his Indians could not be trusted to perform the work. He therefore contented himself with taking the missionaries prisoners to Sandusky, and with compelling the Christian Indians to abandon their improvements and remove thither. Accordingly they abandoned their villages, and the corn in their fields, taking with them only their cattle and some provisions, and on the 11th of September set out, in obedience to the orders of the Indians, to proceed to Sandusky. Mary Heckewelder, the daughter of the missionary, who was born on the 16th of April, 1781, and is supposed to be the first white child born north of the Ohio, says:

"Soon after my birth, times becoming very troublesome, the settlements were often in danger from war parties; and finally, in the beginning of September, of the same year, we were all made prisoners. First, four of the missionaries were seized by a party of Huron warriors, and declared prisoners of war; they were then led into the camp of the Delawares, where the death-song was sung over them. Soon after they had secured them, a number of warriors marched off for Salem and Schönbrun.

"About thirty savages arrived at the former place in the dusk of the evening, and broke open the mission house. Here they took my mother and myself prisoners, and having led her into the street, and placed guards over her, they plundered the house of everything they could take with them and destroyed what was left. Then, going to take my mother along with them, the savages were prevailed upon, through the intercession of the Indian females, to let her remain at Salem till the next morning—the night being dark and rainy and almost impossible for her to travel so far—they, at last, consented on condition that she should be brought into the camp the next morning, which was accordingly done, and she was safely conducted by our Indians to Gnadenhutten.

"After experiencing the cruel treatment of the savages for some time, they were set at liberty again, but were obliged to leave their flourishing settlements, and forced to march through a dreary

wilderness to Upper Sandusky. We went by land through Goseachguenk to the Walhonding, and then partly by water and partly along the banks of the river, to Sandusky creek.

"All the way I was carried by an Indian woman, carefully wrapt in a blanket, on her back. Our journey was exceedingly tedious and dangerous; some of the canoes sunk, and those that were in them lost all their provisions and everything they had saved. Those that went by land drove the cattle, a pretty large herd. The savages now drove us along, the missionaries with their families usually in their midst, surrounded by their Indian converts. The roads were exceedingly bad, leading through a continuation of swamps.

"Having arrived at Upper Sandusky, they built small huts of logs and bark to screen them from the cold, having neither beds nor blankets, and being reduced to the greatest poverty and want; for the savages had by degrees stolen almost every thing, both from the missionaries and Indians, on the journey. We lived here extremely poor, often-times very little or nothing to satisfy the cravings of hunger; and the poorest of the Indians were obliged to live upon their dead cattle, which died for want of pasture."

The missionaries were carried prisoners to Detroit, and examined before the commandant. Nothing appeared to implicate them in the revolutionary interest, except the fact of translating letters to the Indians from the officers at Fort Pitt, and after strict inquiry, they were set at liberty, treated with kindness, and permitted to return to their flock at Sandusky. No sooner had they arrived thither, than Girty again began to plot their destruction. To further his purpose, he forged a letter in the name of the half-king, to the commandant at Detroit, charging the missionaries with being in correspondence with the Americans at Pittsburgh, and demanding their removal again to Detroit. On this pretext, an order was sent to Girty to bring them back. They were immediately sent off under the charge of Lavallie, a Frenchman, who treated them on the way with especial kindness. At Lower Sandusky, they were transferred to the custody of Girty, and on their way from there to Detroit, suffered all the indignity and abuse his savage nature was capable of inflicting.

The British commandant received them kindly, assured them that he was convinced of their innocence, and that he had sent for them only to protect them. They remained there under his protection for a time; and, convinced that they could not safely reoccupy the settlement on the Muskingum, they chose a location

for a new settlement on the west side of the Huron river, about thirty miles above Detroit. Thither they removed, gathered their Indian converts around them, and built a village, to which they gave the name of New Gnadenhutten.

Meanwhile, the Christian Indians, who had been carried in the fall to Sandusky, were exposed to great suffering, for want of sufficient food and of protection from the inclemency of the winter. In order to relieve the distress of the congregation, about one hundred and fifty of them, including men, women, and children, returned, in February, 1782, to the Muskingum, to gather the corn that had been left in the fields, and carry it to Sandusky for their support. Intelligence of their return soon reached the white settlements; and a party of eighty or ninety men rendezvoused on the Mingo bottom, under the command of Col. David Williamson, and marched immediately to the Muskingum, for the purpose of destroying the settlements, and of massacring the Christian Indians.

As soon as Colonel Gibson heard of their design, he dispatched messengers to the Indians, to warn them of their danger, but they arrived too late. They were, however, advised by a white man, who had escaped from the savages, to save themselves by an immediate flight. But the warning was disregarded, and they determined to trust to what they supposed was the friendly feeling of the Americans.

The historian Loskiel details at length the story of their massacre, the most infamous act in the border war of that period, and the most disgraceful event in the history of the country:

"Meanwhile the murderers marched first to Gnadenhutten; where they arrived on the 6th of March. About a mile from the settlement, they met young Shebosch, the son of Brother Shebosch, in the woods, fired at him, and wounded him so much that he could not escape. He then, according to the account of the murderers themselves, begged for his life; representing that he was Shebosch, the son of a white Christian man. But they paid no attention to his entreaties, and cut him to pieces with their hatchets. They then approached the Indians, most of whom were in their plantations, and surrounded them almost imperceptibly; but feigning a friendly behavior, told them to go home, promising to do them no injury. They even pretended to pity them on account of the mischief done to them by the English and the savages; assuring them of the protection and friendship of the Americans.

The poor, believing Indians, knowing nothing of the death of young Shebosch, believed every word they said, went home with them, and treated them in the most hospitable manner. They likewise spoke freely concerning their sentiments, as Christian Indians who had never taken the least share in the war. They were now informed that they should not return to Sandusky, but go to Pittsburgh; where they would be out of the way of any assault made by the English or the savages. This they heard with resignation; concluding that God would perhaps choose this method to put an end to their present sufferings. Prepossessed with this idea, they cheerfully delivered their guns, hatchets, and other weapons, to the murderers; who promised to take care of them, and in Pittsburgh to return every article to its rightful owner. Our Indians even showed them all those things which they had secreted in the woods, assisted in packing them up, and emptied all their beehives for these pretended friends.

"In the meantime the assistant, John Martin, went to Salem, and brought the news of the arrival of the white people to the believing Indians; assuring them that they need not be afraid to go with them, for they were come to carry them to a place of safety, and to afford them protection and support. The Salem Indians did not hesitate to accept of this proposal; believing that God had sent the Americans to release them from their disagreeable situation at Sandusky, and imagining that, when they had arrived at Pittsburgh, they might soon find a safe place to build a settlement, and easily procure advice and assistance from Bethlehem. Thus John Martin, with two Salem Brethren, returned to Gnadenhutten, to acquaint both their Indian brethren and the white people with their resolution. The latter expressed a desire to see Salem, and a party of them was conducted thither, and received with much friendship. Here they pretended the same good will and affection toward the Indians as at Gnadenhutten; and easily persuaded them to return with them. By the way they entered into much spiritual conversation with our Indians; some of whom spoke English well, giving these people, who feigned great piety, proper and spiritual answers to many questions concerning religious subjects. The assistants, Isaac Glickhican, a converted Indian chief, and Israel, were no less sincere and unreserved in their answers to some political questions started by the white people; and thus the murderers obtained a full and satisfactory account of the present situation and sentiments of the Indian congregation.

"In the meantime, the defenseless Indians at Gnadenhutten

were suddenly attacked and driven together by the white people; and without resistance seized and bound. The Salem Indians now met the same fate. Before they entered Gnadenhutten, they were at once surprised by their conductors, robbed of their guns, and even of their pocket knives, and brought bound into the settlement. Soon after this, the murderers held a council, and resolved by a majority of votes, to murder them all the very next day. Those who were of a different opinion wrung their hands, calling God to witness that they were innocent of the blood of these harmless Christian Indians. But the majority remained unmoved, and only differed concerning the mode of execution. Some were for burning them alive, others for taking their scalps; and the latter was at last agreed upon; upon which one of the murderers was sent to the prisoners, to tell them that, as they were Christian Indians, they might prepare themselves in a Christian manner, for they must all die to-morrow.

"It may easily be conceived how great their terror was, at hearing a sentence so unexpected. However, they soon recollected themselves; and patiently suffered the murderers to lead them into two houses, in one of which the Brethren, and in the other the Sisters and children, were confined like sheep ready for slaughter. They declared to the murderers, that though they could call God to witness that they were perfectly innocent, yet they were prepared and willing to suffer death. But as they had, at their conversion and baptism, made a solemn promise to the Lord Jesus Christ, that they would live unto him, and endeavor to please him alone in this world, they knew that they had been deficient in many respects, and therefore wished to have some time granted, to pour out their hearts before him in prayer, and to crave his mercy and pardon. This request being complied with, they spent their last night here below in prayer, and in exhorting each other to remain faithful unto the end.

"One brother, named Abraham, who, for some time past, had been in a lukewarm state of heart, seeing his end approaching, made the following public confession before his brethren: 'Dear Brethren! It seems as if we should all soon depart unto our Saviour, for our sentence is fixed. You know that I have been an untoward child; and have grieved the Lord and my brethren by my disobedience, not walking as I ought to have done. But still, I will now cleave to my Saviour with my last breath, and hold him fast, though I am so great a sinner. I know assuredly, that he will forgive me all my sins, and not cast me out.' The Brethren assured

him of their love and forgiveness; and both they and the Sisters spent the latter part of the night in singing praises to God their Saviour, in the joyful hope that they would soon be able to praise him without sin.

"When the day of their execution arrived, namely, the 8th of March, two houses were fixed upon, one for the Brethren, and another for the Sisters and children; to which the wanton murderers gave the name of *slaughter-houses*. Some of them went to the Indian Brethren, and showed great impatience that the execution had not yet begun; to which the Brethren replied that they were all ready to die, having commended their immortal souls to God; who had given them that divine assurance in their hearts, that they should come to him and be with him forever.

"Immediately after this declaration, the carnage commenced. The poor innocent people, men, women, and children, were led, bound two and two together with ropes, into the above-mentioned slaughter-houses, and there scalped and murdered.

"According to the testimony of the murderers themselves, they behaved with uncommon patience, and went to meet their death with cheerful resignation. The above-mentioned Abraham was the first victim." "One of the party took up a cooper's mallet, which lay in the house, saying, 'how exactly this will answer for the business!' He then began with Abraham, and continued knocking down one after the other until he had counted fourteen whom he had killed with his own hands. He now handed the instrument to one of his fellow-murderers, saying, 'my arm fails me; go on in the same way; I think I have done pretty well.'"

"A Sister, called Christina, who had formerly lived with the Sisters at Bethlehem, and spoke English and German well, fell on her knees before the captain of the gang, and begged for her life; but was told that he could not help her.

"Thus ninety-six persons magnified the name of the Lord, by patiently meeting a cruel death. Sixty-two were grown persons, among whom were five of the most valuable assistants; and thirty-four were children.

"Only two youths, each between fifteen and sixteen years old, escaped almost miraculously from the hands of the murderers. One of them, seeing that they were in earnest, was so fortunate as to disengage himself from his bonds; then slipping unobserved from the crowd, he crept through a narrow window into the cellar of that house in which the Sisters were executed. Their blood soon penetrated through the flooring; and, according to his account, ran

in streams into the cellar, by which it appears probable that most, if not all of them, were not merely scalped, but killed with hatchets or swords. The lad remained concealed till night; and providentially no one came down to search the cellar. He then, with much difficulty, climbed up the wall to the window, crept through, and escaped into a neighboring thicket.

"The other youth's name was Thomas. The murderers struck him only one blow on the head, took his scalp and left him. But after some time he recovered his senses, and saw himself surrounded by bleeding corpses. Among these he observed one Brother, named Abel, moving and endeavoring to raise himself up. But he remained lying still, as though he were dead, and this caution proved the means of deliverance; for soon after, one of the murderers coming in and observing Abel's motions, killed him with two or three blows. Thomas lay quite still till dark; though suffering the most exquisite torment. He then ventured to creep toward the door; and observing nobody in the neighborhood, got out and escaped into the woods, in which he concealed himself during the night. These two youths afterward met in the woods, and God preserved them from harm on their journey to Sandusky; though they purposely took a long circuit, and suffered great hardships and danger. Before they left the neighborhood of Gnadenhutten, they observed the murderers, from behind the thicket, making merry after their successful enterprise; and at last setting fire to the two slaughter-houses filled with corpses.

"The remainder of the Indian congregation, who were at Schönbrun, escaped from the bloody hands of the white murderers. Messengers going to Gnadenhutten found young Shebosch lying dead and scalped by the way-side; and looking forward, saw many white people in and about Gnadenhutten. The congregation at Schönbrun immediately took to flight, and ran into the woods. They now hesitated a long while, not knowing whither to turn, or how to proceed. Thus, when the murderers arrived at Schönbrun, the Indians were still near, observing every thing that happened there, and might easily have been discovered. But here the murderers seemed, as it were, struck with blindness. Finding nobody at home, they examined the woods about the town, but without success. They then destroyed and set fire to the settlement; and, having done the same at Gnadenhutten and Salem, they set off with the scalps of their victims, about fifty horses, a number of blankets, and other articles, and marched back to Pittsburgh.

"To describe the grief and terror of the Indian congregation, on hearing that so large a number of its members were so cruelly massacred, is impossible. Parents wept and mourned for the loss of their children, husbands for their wives, wives for their husbands, children for their parents, brothers for their sisters, and sisters for their brothers. And having now also lost their teachers, who used to sympathize with and participate in all their sorrows, and to strengthen their reliance upon the faithfulness of God, their grief was almost insupportable. But they murmured not, nor did they call for vengeance upon the murderers, but prayed for them; and their greatest consolation was a full assurance, that all their beloved relations were now at home, in the presence of the Lord, and in full possession of everlasting happiness."

The success of the expedition of Williamson, excited the borderers to prepare another invasion of the Indian country, to finish the destruction of the Christian Indians by the massacre of the fugitives at Sandusky. It was set on foot immediately after the return of Williamson's party from the Muskingum. The number of men who volunteered for the campaign was four hundred and eighty, composed of the greater number of Williamson's men, of the Virginia borderers on the Ohio, and of one company from Washington county, Pennsylvania. They rendezvoused at the Mingo bottoms, on the 25th of May. Here an election for commander was held; Colonels Williamson and Crawford were the candidates. Crawford was elected, and accepted the office, it is said, with reluctance.

The army marched along Williamson's trail, and arrived at the ruins of the Moravian towns on the fourth day of their march. There some Indians were discovered, but they escaped. They had been observing the motions of the troops ever since they had crossed the river; they had learned the objects of the expedition, and even the threat that "no quarter should be given to any Indian, whether man, woman or child," had been copied, carried to Sandusky, and read to them.

On the 4th of June, they arrived at the Moravian village on the Sandusky river, but it was abandoned. Here many of the men were anxious to abandon the enterprise and return home; but a council of the officers was held, and it was determined to advance for another day in the direction of Sandusky, then forty miles distant. They had not proceeded far when the advance was suddenly attacked by a large force of Indians, concealed in the grass. The

battle lasted without cessation till dark, and the army rested in position during the night, and the next day a council of the officers was held. The Indians were apparently increasing every hour, and it was resolved to retreat during the next night. After dark the army was disposed in order for retreat, when several shots were fired by the Indians, and many of the men thinking that the movement of the army was discovered, left the main body in disorder and attempted to escape in the darkness. The Indians followed the main army but a short distance and turned to pursue the stragglers. More than a hundred of these were killed or taken.

Crawford would probably have made good his retreat, but that he lingered behind in anxiety for his son, whom he supposed was yet in the rear. After wandering two days in the woods with Dr. Knight, both were taken by a party of Delawares, and conducted to the Old Wyandot town. Here Captain Pipe, with his own hands, painted the prisoners black, a certain premonition of the doom that awaited them. From thence they were taken to the New Wyandot town, passing on the way the mangled remains of a number of their fellow captives. At the new town, the place appointed for the execution of Crawford, they found the noted Simon Girty. It had been decided that Crawford should die by the most aggravated torture, to atone in some degree for the murders by Williamson and his men at Gnadenhutten. After he was bound to the fatal post, the surviving Christian Indians were called upon to come forth and take vengeance on the prisoner; but they had withdrawn, and their savage relations stepped forward in their stead. Before the work of torture was commenced, Captain Pipe addressed the Indians at some length, and in the most earnest manner, at the close of which they all joined in a hideous yell, and prepared for the work in hand. The fire was kindled, when it occurred to poor Crawford, that among the sachems he had a particular friend, named Wingemund. "Where is my friend Wingemund?" he asked, "I wish to see him." It is true that this chief had been the warm friend of Colonel Crawford, by whom he had been entertained at his own house. Under these circumstances, Crawford indulged a faint degree of hope, that if he could see the chief, his life might yet be saved. Wingemund was not far distant, having, in fact, retired from the place of execution, that he might not behold what he could not prevent. He was sent for, however, and an interesting and even affecting conversation ensued between himself and the prisoner. This conversation was

commenced by Crawford, who asked the chief if he knew him. He replied that he believed he did, and asked—"Are you not Colonel Crawford?" "I am," replied the Colonel, and the conversation was thus continued—the chief discovering much agitation and embarrassment, and ejaculating—"So!—Yes!—Indeed!"

"*Colonel Crawford.* Do you not recollect the friendship that always existed between us, and that we were always glad to see each other?

"*Sachem.* Yes, I remember all this; and that we have often drunk together, and that you have been kind to me.

"*Col. C.* Then I hope the same friendship still continues.

"*Sachem.* It would, of course, were you where you ought to be, and not here.

"*Col. C.* And why not here? I hope you would not desert a friend in time of need; now is the time for you to exert yourself in my behalf, as I should do for you were you in my place.

"*Sachem.* Col. Crawford, you have placed yourself in a situation which puts it out of my power, and that of others of your friends, to do any thing for you.

"*Col. C.* How so, Captain Wingemund?

"*Sachem.* By joining yourself to that execrable man, Williamson and his party. The man who, but the other day, murdered such a number of the Moravian Indians, knowing them to be friends; knowing that he ran no risk in murdering a people who would not fight, and whose only business was praying.

"*Col. C.* But, I assure you, Wingemund, that had I been with him at the time, this would not have happened. Not I alone, but all your friends, and all good men, reprobate acts of this kind.

"*Sachem.* That may be, yet these friends, these good men, did not prevent him from going out again to kill the remainder of those inoffensive, yet foolish Moravian Indians. I say *foolish*, because they believed the whites in preference to us. We had often told them they would one day be so treated, by those people who called themselves their friends. We told them there was no faith to be placed in what the white men said; that their fair promises were only intended to allure, that they might the more easily kill us, as they have done many Indians before they killed those Moravians.

"*Col. C.* I am sorry to hear you speak thus. As to Williamson's going out again, when it was known that he was determined on it, I went out with him to prevent him from committing fresh murders.

"*Sachem.* This the Indians would not believe, were I to tell them so.

"*Col. C.* And why would they not believe it?

"*Sachem.* Because it would have been out of your power to prevent his doing what he pleased.

"*Col. C.* Out of my power? Have any Moravian Indians been killed or hurt since we came out?

"*Sachem.* None. But you first went to their town, and finding it empty and deserted, you turned on the path toward us. If you had been in search of warriors only, you would not have gone thither. Our spies watched you closely. They saw you while you were embodying yourselves on the other side of the Ohio. They saw you cross that river; they saw where you encamped at night; they saw you turn off from the path to the deserted Moravian town; they knew you were going out of your way; your steps were constantly watched; and you were suffered quietly to proceed until you reached the spot where you were attacked.

"*Col. C.* (With emotion.) What do they intend to do with me?

"*Sachem.* I tell you with grief. As Williamson, with his whole cowardly host, ran off in the night at the whistling of our warriors' balls, being satisfied that now he had no Moravians to deal with, but men who could fight, and with such he did not wish to have any thing to do; I say, as he has escaped, and they have taken you, they will take revenge on you in his stead.

"*Col. C.* And is there no possibility of preventing this? Can you devise no way to get me off? You shall, my friend, be well rewarded, if you are instrumental in saving my life.

"*Sachem.* Had Williamson been taken with you, I and some friends, by making use of what you have told me, might, perhaps, have succeeded in saving you; but as the matter now stands, no man would dare to interfere in your behalf. The king of England himself, were he to come to this spot with all his wealth and treasure, could not effect this purpose. The blood of the innocent Moravians, more than half of them women and children, cruelly and wantonly murdered, calls aloud for *revenge.* The relatives of the slain, who are among us, cry out and stand ready for *revenge.* The Shawanese, our grand-children, have asked for your fellow-prisoner; on him they will take *revenge.* All the nations connected with us cry out, *revenge! revenge!* The Moravians, whom you went to destroy, having fled instead of avenging their Brethren, the offense has become national, and the nation itself is bound to take *revenge.*

"*Col. C.* My fate is then fixed, and I must prepare to meet death in its worst form.

"*Sachem.* Yes, Colonel. I am sorry for it, but I cannot do any thing for you. Had you attended to the Indian principle, that good and evil cannot dwell together in the same heart, so a good man ought not to go into evil company, you would not have been in this lamentable situation. You see now, when it is too late, after Williamson has deserted you, what a bad man he must be. Nothing now remains for you but to meet your fate like a brave man. Farewell, Colonel Crawford! They are coming. I will retire to a solitary spot."*

On turning away from his friend, whom it was not in his power to assist, it is said the old Sachem was affected to tears, and could never afterward speak of the incident without deep emotion. The moment the chief had left the colonel, a number of the executioners rushed upon him, and commenced the work of torture, which was in progress three hours before the victim fell upon his face, and expired with a groan. During the proceedings against him, he was continually and bitterly upbraided for the conduct of the white men at Gnadenhutten. If not himself a participator in that atrocious affair, they reproached him for having now come against them with the worst kind of murderers—such as even the Indians had not among them.

"Indians," said they, "kill their enemies, but not their friends. When once they have stretched forth their hand, and given that endearing name, they do not kill. But how was it with the believing Indians on the Muskingum? You professed friendship for them. You hailed and welcomed them as such. You protested they should receive no harm from you. And what did you afterward to them? They neither ran from you, nor fired a single shot on your approach. And yet you called them warriors, knowing they were not such. Did you ever hear warriors pray to God, and sing praises to him, as they did? Could not the shrieks and cries of the innocent little children excite you to pity, and to save their lives? No! you did not! You would have the Indians believe you are Christians, because you have the Great Book among you, and yet you are murderers in your hearts! Never would the unbelieving Indians have done what you did, although the Great Spirit has not put his Book into their hands as into yours. The Great Spirit

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* Heckewelder's Indian Nations.

taught you to read all that he wanted you to do, and what he forbade that you should do. These Indians believed all that they were told was in that Book, and believing, strove to act accordingly. We knew you better than they did. We often warned them to beware of you, and your pretended friendship; but they would not believe us. They believed nothing but good of you, and for this they paid with their lives."*

The son of Crawford and Dr. Knight were both present at the scene. Young Crawford was immediately afterward tortured. Knight was taken to be burned at a Shawanese town, about forty miles distant, but escaped on the way, and returned to the settlements. He thus describes the death of the unfortunate Crawford:

"Monday morning, the 10th of June, we were paraded to march to Sandusky, about thirty-three miles distant; they had eleven prisoners of us, and four scalps, the Indians being seventeen in number.

"Colonel Crawford was very desirous to see a certain Simon Girty, who lived with the Indians, and was on this account permitted to go to town the same night, with two warriors to guard him, having orders at the same time to pass by the place where the Colonel had turned out his horse, that they might, if posssible, find him. The rest of us were taken as far as the old town, which was within eight miles of the new.

"Tuesday morning, the 11th, Colonel Crawford was brought out to us on purpose to be marched in with the other prisoners. I asked the Colonel if he had seen Mr. Girty? He told me he had, and that Girty had promised to do every thing in his power for him, but, that the Indians were very much enraged against the prisoners; particularly Captain Pipe, one of the chiefs; he likewise told me that Girty had informed him that his son-in-law, Colonel Harrison, and his nephew, William Crawford, were made prisoners by the Shawanese, but had been pardoned. This Captain

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* Heckewelder's Narrative of the Moravian Missions. "There was further a circumstance much against this unfortunate man, which enraged the Indians to a high degree. It was reported that the Indian spies sent to watch their movements, on examining a camp which Crawford and Williamson had left, west of the Ohio, had found on trees peeled for the purpose, the words, written with coal and other mineral substances—'*No quarters to be given to any Indian, whether man, woman, or child.*' When the Indians find inscriptions on trees or other substances, they are in the habit of making exact copies of them, which they preserve until they find some one to read or interpret them. Such was the fact in the present case, and the inscription was sufficient to enrage them."—*Idem.*

Pipe had come from the town about an hour before Colonel Crawford, and had painted all the prisoners' faces black. As he was painting me he told me that I should go to the Shawanese towns and see my friends. When the Colonel arrived, he painted him black also, told him he was glad to see him, and that he would have him shaved when he came to see his friends at the Wyandot town. When we marched, the Colonel and I were kept back between Pipe and Wyngenim, the two Delaware chiefs; the other nine prisoners were sent forward with another party of Indians. As we went along we saw four of the prisoners lying by the path, tomahawked and scalped; some of them were at the distance of half-a-mile from each other. When we arrived within half-a-mile of the place where the Colonel was executed, we overtook the five prisoners that remained alive; the Indians had caused them to sit down on the ground, as they did also the Colonel and me, at some distance from them. I was there given in charge to an Indian fellow to be taken to the Shawanese towns.

"In the place where we were now made to sit down, there was a number of squaws and boys, who fell on the five prisoners and tomahawked them. There was a certain John McKinly amongst the prisoners, formerly an officer in the 13th Virginia regiment, whose head an old squaw cut off, and the Indians kicked it about upon the ground. The young Indian fellows came often where the Colonel and I were, and dashed the scalps in our faces. We were then conducted along toward the place where the Colonel was afterward executed; when we came within about half-a-mile of it, Simon Girty met us, with several Indians on horseback; he spoke to the Colonel, but as I was about one hundred and fifty yards behind, could not hear what passed between them.

"Almost every Indian we met, struck us either with sticks or their fists. Girty waited till I was brought up, and asked, was that the Doctor? I told him yes, and went toward him, reaching out my hand, but he bid me begone, and called me a damned rascal, upon which the fellows who had me in charge pulled me along. Girty rode up after me and told me I was to go to the Shawanese towns.

"When we went to the fire the Colonel was stripped naked, ordered to sit down by the fire, and then they beat him with sticks and their fists. Presently after I was treated in the same manner. They then tied a rope to the foot of a post about fifteen feet high, bound the Colonel's hands behind his back and fastened the rope to the ligature between his wrists. The rope was long enough for

him to sit down or walk round the post once or twice, and return the same way. The Colonel then called to Girty, and asked if they intended to burn him? Girty answered, yes. The Colonel said he would take it all patiently. Upon this, Captain Pipe, a Delaware chief, made a speech to the Indians, viz: about thirty or forty men, sixty or seventy squaws and boys.

"When the speech was finished they all yelled a hideous and hearty assent to what had been said. The Indian men then took up their guns, and shot powder into the Colonel's body, from his feet as far up as his neck. I think that not less than seventy loads, were discharged upon his naked body. They then crowded about him, and to the best of my observation, cut off his ears; when the throng had dispersed a little, I saw the blood running from both sides of his head in consequence thereof.

"The fire was about six or seven yards from the post to which the Colonel was tied; it was made of small hickory poles, burnt quite through in the middle, each end of the poles remaining about six feet in length. Three or four Indians by turns would take up, individually, one of these burning pieces of wood and apply it to his naked body, already burnt black with the powder. These tormentors presented themselves on every side of him with the burning faggots and poles. Some of the squaw s took broad boards upon which they would carry a quantity of burning coals and hot embers and throw on him, so that in a short time he had nothing but coals of fire and hot ashes to walk upon.

"In the midst of these extreme tortures, he called to Simon Girty and begged of him to shoot him; but Girty making no answer, he called to him again. Girty, then, by way of derision, told the Colonel he had no gun, at the same time turning about to an Indian who was behind him, laughed heartily, and by all his gestures seemed delighted at the horrid scene.

"Girty then came up to me and bade me prepare for death. He said, however, I was not to die at that place, but to be burnt at the Shawanese towns. He swore by G—d I need not expect to escape death, but should suffer it in all its enormities.

"He then observed that some prisoners had given him to understand, that, if our people had him they would not hurt him; for his part, he said, he did not believe it, but desired to know my opinion of the matter, but, being at the time in great anguish and distress for the torments the Colonel was suffering before my eyes, as well as the expectation of undergoing the same fate in two days, I made little or no answer. He expressed a great deal of ill-will

for Colonel Gibson, and said he was one of his greatest enemies, and more to the same purpose, to all which I paid very little attention.

"Colonel Crawford, at this period of his suffering, besought the Almighty to have mercy on his soul, spoke very low, and bore his torments with the most manly fortitude. He continued in all the extremities of pain for an hour and three-quarters or two hours longer, as near as I can judge, when at last, being almost exhausted, he lay down on his belly; they then scalped him, and repeatedly threw the scalp in my face, telling me, "that was my great captain." An old squaw, (whose appearance every way answered the ideas people entertain of the Devil,) got a board, took a parcel of coals and ashes and laid them on his back and head, after he had been scalped; he then raised himself upon his feet and began to walk round the post; they next put a burning stick to him as usual, but he seemed more insensible of pain than before.

"The Indian fellow who had me in charge, now took me away to Captain Pipe's house, about three-quarters of a mile from the place of the Colonel's execution. I was bound all night, and thus prevented from seeing the last of the horrid spectacle. Next morning, being June 12th, the Indian untied me, painted me black, and we set off for the Shawanese towns, which he told me was somewhat less than forty miles distant from that place. We soon came to the place where the Colonel had been burnt, as it was partly in our way; I saw his bones lying amongst the remains of the fire, almost burnt to ashes; I suppose after he was dead they laid his body on the fire. The Indian told me that was my big Captain, and gave the scalp halloo."

During the year 1782, the war was waged on both sides with the greatest animosity and the most relentless severity. In May, a party of twenty-five Indians appeared before Estill's station, on Kentucky river, killed one man, wounded another, and destroyed all the cattle in the neighborhood. On their retreat, Captain Estill pursued them with a company of twenty-five men, and overtook them on Hinkston's fork of Licking, about two miles below the Little Mountain. The Indians were on one side of the stream, the whites on the other, both sheltered by trees; the numbers, position and bravery of both parties were equal. It was impossible for either to retreat or advance without equal danger. The equal contest lasted for an hour, and one-fourth of each party were killed and several wounded, without giving any advantage to either. Estill

saw that it was impossible to dislodge the Indians by an attack in front, and equally impossible to maintain his position or to retreat; and accordingly he ordered Lieutenant Miller, with six men, to cross the creek above, and attack the Indians in flank. The chief detected at once the maneuver, and immediately with his men crossed the creek, and fell upon the whites, weakened by this division, with the tomahawk; killed Estill, and eight of his men, and drove back the remainder. Miller never executed his order, but with his men fled precipitately, and left the survivors to escape as they best could from the savages.

The defeat and death of Estill, produced a profound impression upon the settlers of Kentucky. His popularity and his bravery had endeared him to them, and his loss under the circumstances, perhaps more than any other single event, aroused the Kentuckians to deeper hostility against the savages.

Nor did the red men, on their part, show any signs of losing their animosity. Elliot, McKee and Girty urged them on, with a fury that is not easy to account for. Again the woods teemed with savages, and no one was safe from attack beyond the walls of a station. The influence of the British, and the constant pressure of the Long Knives upon the red men, had produced a union of the various tribes of the north-west, who seemed to be gathering again to strike a fatal blow at the frontier settlements, and had they been led by a Philip, a Pontiac, or a Tecumthe, it is impossible to estimate the injury they might have inflicted.

August was half gone, before the anticipated storm burst upon the pioneers in its full force, when, upon the night of the 14th of that month, the main body of the Indians, five or six hundred in number, gathered silently around Bryant's station, a post on the bank of the Elkhorn, about five miles from Lexington. The garrison of this post had heard, on the evening of the 14th, of the defeat of a party of whites not far distant, and during that night were busy in preparations to march, with day-break, to the assistance of their neighbors. All night long their preparations continued, and what little sound the savages made as they approached, was unheard amid the comparative tumult within.

In the morning the woodsmen rose from their brief slumbers, took their arms, and were on the point of opening their gates to march, when the crack of rifles, mingled with yells and howls, told them, in an instant, how narrowly they had escaped captivity or death. Rushing to the loop-holes and crannies, they saw about a

hundred red men, firing and gesticulating in full view of the fort. The young men, full of rage at Estill's defeat, wished instantly to rush forth upon the attackers, but there was something in the manner of the Indians so peculiar, that the older heads at once suspected a trick, and looked anxiously to the opposite side of the fort, where they judged the main body of the enemy were probably concealed. Nor were they deceived. The savages were led by Simon Girty. This white savage had proposed, by an attack upon one side of the station with a small part of his force, to draw out the garrison, and then intended, with the main body, to fall upon the other side, and secure the fort; but his plan was defeated by the over-acting of his red allies, and the sagacity of his opponents. The garrison, however, had still a great difficulty to encounter; the fort was not supplied with water, and the spring was at some distance, and in the immediate vicinity of the thicket in which it was supposed the main force of the Indians lay concealed. The danger of going or sending for water was plain, the absolute necessity of having it was equally so; and how it could be procured, was a difficult question.

At length a plan, equally sagacious and bold, was hit upon, and carried into execution by as great an exertion of womanly presence of mind, as can, perhaps, be found on record. If the savages were, as was supposed, concealed near the spring, it was believed they would not show themselves until they had reason to believe their trick had succeeded, and the garrison had left the fort on the other side. It was, therefore, proposed to all the females to go with their buckets to the spring, fill them, and return to the fort, before any sally was made against the attacking party.

The danger to which they must be exposed was not to be concealed, but it was urged upon them that this must be done, or all perish; and that if they were steady, the Indians would not molest them; and to the honor of their sex be it said, they went forth in a body, and directly under five hundred rifles, filled their buckets, and returned in such a manner as not to suggest to the quick-sighted savages that their presence in the thicket was suspected.

This done, a small number of the garrison were sent forth against the attackers, with orders to multiply their numbers to the ear by constant firing, while the main body of the whites took their places to repel the anticipated rush of those in concealment. The plan succeeded perfectly. The whole body of Indians rushed from their ambuscade as they heard the firing upon the opposite side of the fort, and were received by a fair, well-directed discharge of all

the rifles left within the station. Astonished and horror-stricken, the assailants turned to the forest again as quickly as they had left it, having lost many of their number.

In the morning, as soon as the presence of the Indians was ascertained, and before their numbers were suspected, two messengers had broken through their line, bearing to Lexington tidings of the seige of Bryant's station, and asking succors. These succors came about two in the afternoon; sixteen men being mounted, and thirty or more on foot. The savages expected their arrival, and prepared to destroy them, but the horsemen, by rapid riding, and enveloped in dust, reached the fort unharmed, and of the footmen, after an hour's hard fighting, only two were killed and four wounded. The Indian's courage rarely supports him through long-continued exertion; and Girty found his men so far disheartened by their failures—that of the morning in the attempt to take the fort, and that in the afternoon to destroy the troops from Lexington—that before night they talked of abandoning the seige.

This their leader was very unwilling to do; and thinking he might frighten the garrison into surrender, he managed to get within speaking distance, and there, from behind a large stump, commenced a parley. He told the white men who he was, assured them of his great desire that they should not suffer, and informing them that he looked hourly for reinforcements with cannon, against which they could not hope to hold out, begged them to surrender at once; if they did so, no one should be hurt, but if they waited till the cannon came up, he feared they would all fall victims. The garrison looked at one another with uncertainty and fear; against cannon they could do nothing, and cannon had been used in 1780. Seeing the effect of Girty's speech, and disbelieving every word of it, a young man named Reynolds, took it upon himself to answer the renegade.

"You need not be so particular," he cried, "to tell us your name; we know your name and you too. I've had a villainous, untrustworthy cur-dog, this long while, named Simon Girty, in compliment to you; he's so like you—just as ugly and just as wicked. As to the cannon, let them come on; the country's roused, and the scalps of your red cut-throats, and your own too, will be drying on our cabins in twenty-four hours. And if by any chance, you or your allies do get into the fort, we've a big store of rods laid in on purpose to scourge you out again."

The method taken by Reynolds was much more effectual than any argument with his comrades would have been, and Girty had

to return to the Indian council-fire unsuccessful. But he and the chiefs well knew that though their reinforcements and cannon were all imaginary, the expected aid of the whites was not. Boone, Todd and Logan would soon be upon them; the ablest and boldest of the pioneers would cut them off from a retreat to the Ohio, and their destruction would be insured. On the other hand, if they now began to retire, and were pursued, as they surely would be, they could choose their own ground, and always fight with their way home clear behind them. All night they lay still, their fires burning, but when day broke, the whole body of savages was gone.

By noon of the 18th of August, about one hundred and eighty men had gathered at Bryant's station, among them were Boone and his son. After counting the fires, and noticing other signs, they determined on immediate pursuit, without waiting for the arrival of Colonel Logan and his party; accordingly, on the 18th, the whole body set forward under the command of Colonel John Todd. The trail of the savages was as plain as could be wished; indeed, to Boone and the more reflecting, it was clear that the retiring army had taken pains to make it so, and the sagacious woodsmen at once concluded that a surprise at some point was intended, and that point Boone was confident was the Lower Blue Licks, where the nature of the ground eminently favored such a plan. With great caution the little army proceeded until, upon the following day, they reached the Licking river, at the point designated by Boone as the one where an attack might be expected; and as they came in sight of the opposite bank, they discovered upon its bare ridge a few Indians, who gazed at them a moment and then passed into the ravine beyond.

The hills about the Blue Licks are even now almost wholly without wood, and the scattered cedars which at present lend them some green, did not exist in 1782. Ascending the ridge of the hill above the spring, a point is reached where two ravines, thickly wooded, run down from the bare ground to the right and left, affording a place of concealment for a very large body of men, who could thence attack on front and flank and rear, any who were pursuing the main trace along the higher ground; in these ravines Boone, who was looked to by the commanders for counsel, said that the Indians were probably hidden. He proposed, therefore, that they should send a part of their men to cross the Licking further up, and fall upon the Indians in the rear, while the remaining troops attacked them in front.

While Boone's plan was under discussion by the officers of the pursuing party, "Major Hugh McGary," according to the common account, "broke from the council, and called upon the troops who were not cowards to follow him, and thus collecting a band, went without order, and against his orders, into the action, and in consequence of this act a general pursuit of officers and men took place, more to save the desperate men that followed McGary, and from the dread of being called cowards, than from a hope of a successful fight with the Indians."

Col. Boone, in a letter to the Governor of Virginia, dated August 30th, 1782, makes the following statement in regard to the action. "We formed our columns in one single line, and marched up in their front within about forty yards before there was gun fired. Colonel Trigg commanded on the right, myself on the left, Major McGary in the centre, and Major Harlan the advance party in the front. From the manner in which we had formed, it fell to my lot to bring on the attack. This was done with a very heavy fire on both sides, and extended back of the line to Col. Trigg, where the enemy was so strong that they rushed up and broke the right wing at the first fire. Thus the enemy got in our rear, and we were compelled to retreat, with the loss of seventy-seven of our men and twelve wounded."

Elsewhere he says: "The savages observing us, gave way, and we, being ignorant of their numbers, passed the river. When the enemy saw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage of us in situation, they formed the line of battle, from one bend of Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. An exceedingly fierce battle immediately began, for about fifteen minutes, when we, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of sixty-seven men, seven of whom were taken prisoners."

Governor Morehead, however, has derived from the accounts of eye-witnesses, some particulars, which, if correct, will reconcile the common story with Boone's statement. He says:

"Scarcely had Boone submitted his opinions, when Major McGary 'raised the war-whoop,' and spurring his horse into the river, called vehemently upon all who were not cowards to follow *him*, and *he* would show them the enemy. Presently the army was in motion. The greater part suffered themselves to be led by McGary—the remainder, perhaps a third of the whole number, lingered a while with Todd and Boone in council. All at length passed over, and at Boone's suggestion, the commanding officer ordered another halt.

"The pioneer then proposed a second time that the army should remain where it was, until an opportunity was afforded to reconnoiter the suspected region. So reasonable a proposal was acceded to, and two bold and experienced men were selected to proceed from the Lick along the Buffalo, to a point half a mile beyond the ravines, where the road branched off in different directions. They were instructed to examine the country with the utmost care on each side of the road, especially the spot where it passed between the ravines, and upon the first appearance of the enemy to repair in haste to the army. The spies discharged the dangerous and and responsible task. They crossed over the ridge—proceeded to the place designated beyond it, and returned in safety, without having made any discovery. No trace of the enemy was to be seen. The little army of one hundred and eighty-two men now marched forward—Colonel Trigg was in command of the right wing, Boone of the left, McGary in the centre, and Major Harlan with the party in front." *

After this disastrous defeat, the sorest calamity that ever befell Kentucky, those who escaped, on foot, plunged into the thickets, and made their way to Bryant's station, thirty-six miles distant, and the nearest place of shelter.

Colonel Logan, and his party, were met by the fugitives, within six miles of the station, to which he returned until the most of them had arrived. Of the one hundred and eighty-two persons who went out to the battle, about one-third were killed, twelve wounded, and seven carried off prisoners, who were put to the torture when they reached the Indian towns.

In this short, but severe action, Todd, Trigg, Harlan, and Boone's son, all fell. It was a sad day for Kentucky. The feelings and fears of the Fayette county settlers may be inferred from the following extract from Boone's letter to Virginia: when he felt anxiety, what must they have suffered!

"By the signs, we thought the Indians had exceeded four hundred; while the whole of the militia of this county does not amount to more than one hundred and thirty. From these facts, your Excellency may form an idea of our situation. I know that your own circumstances are critical, but are we to be wholly forgotten? I hope not. I trust about five hundred men may be sent to our assistance immediately. If these shall be stationed as

* Morehead's Address.

our county lieutenants shall deem necessary, it may be the means of saving our part of the country; but if they are placed under the direction of General Clark, they will be of little or no service to our settlement. The Falls lie one hundred miles west of us, and the Indians north-east; while our men are frequently called to protect them. I have encouraged the people in this country all that I could, but I can no longer justify them or myself to risk our lives here under such extraordinary hazards. The inhabitants of this county are very much alarmed at the thoughts of the Indians bringing another campaign into our country this fall. If this should be the case, it will break up these settlements."

In regard to this expedition, the following statement is made by an individual who was in the party of the enemy, and who afterward emigrated from Canada, and settled in the Miami valley:

"In the summer of 1782, the British commandant at Detroit ordered Major Caldwell to take Simon Girty, a few traders, a company of provincial militia, together with whatever Indians could be collected at Detroit, and by the way and with these forces, to attack and destroy the settlements the rebels were making south of the Ohio. Caldwell collected his men, was joined by a party of Indians at Detroit, and by other parties on the Maumee, on the Great Miami, and from other points along the line of march. When he reached the Ohio, his forces, thus increased, amounted to about four hundred men. It was Caldwell's intention to attack the station at Beargrass (Louisville,) first; but receiving information that Clark was there, and that the place was supplied with cannon, he changed his plan, and led his forces up the Kentucky river, and thence to Bryant's station. Before they arrived there they were discovered, and the inhabitants were so well fortified, that a siege of two days and a half made no impression upon them, and gave no hope that they could be compelled to surrender.

"Under these circumstances, Caldwell withdrew his forces from the station, and fell back as far as the Blue Licks, where game was supposed to be sufficiently abundant to support them, until he could find some other and weaker point of attack. At first the Indians were unwilling to alarm the buffaloes, by encamping too near the Licks; but Caldwell, a vigilant and efficient commander, suspecting the Kentuckians were in pursuit, over-ruled their objection, and selected a position near the Licks most favorable for defense. They had not been twenty-four hours in their new location, before the Long Knives came. They were supposed to number about two hundred men, many of whom fought on horse-

back, and appeared to have several commanders. All of them, who were fairly brought into action, fought desperately; but it seemed that they were more blind than brave. For, in a battle of one hour only, their loss was sixty-five killed, and many wounded. Of these several were carried off by their companions, and the remainder were massacred by the Indians. Many more of the Kentuckians must have fallen, had the Indians continued to fight, instead of scrambling after spoils, and even fighting among themselves for choice rifles, which were found near the dead, and, in some instances, wounded men. Immediately after the battle, as provisions were very scarce, and the savages unwilling to remain embodied, and even hard to control under any circumstances, Major Caldwell retired with his troops to Canada, and the Indians, after crossing the Ohio, separated, and returned to their homes."

"Several years after the battle of the Blue Licks, a gentleman of Kentucky fell in company with M'Gary, at one of the circuit courts. M'Gary acknowledged that he was the immediate cause of that defeat, and assigned his reasons with great heat for urging on the battle. He said, that in the hurried council that was held at Bryant's, on the 18th of the month, he had strenuously urged Todd and Trigg to halt for twenty-four hours, assuring them that, with the aid of Logan, they would be able to follow the Indians even to Chillicothe, if necessary; and that their numbers then were too weak to encounter them alone. He offered to pledge his head that the Indians would not return with such precipitation as was supposed, but would afford ample time to collect more force, and give them battle with a prospect of success. He added that Col. Todd scouted his arguments, and declared that if a single day was lost, the Indians would never be overtaken, but would cross the Ohio and disperse; that now was the time to strike them while they were in a body; that to talk of their numbers was nonsense—the more the merrier; that for his part he was determined to pursue without a moment's delay, and did not doubt that there were brave men enough on the ground to enable him to attack them with effect.

"M'Gary declared he felt somewhat nettled at the manner in which his advice had been received; that he thought Todd and Trigg jealous of Logan, who, as senior colonel, would be entitled to the command on his arrival; and that they, in their eagerness to have the honor of the victory to themselves, were rashly throwing themselves into a condition which would endanger the safety of the country. 'However, sir,' said he, 'when I saw the gentlemen so keen for a fight, I gave way and joined in the pursuit as wil-

lingly as any, but when we came in sight of the enemy, and the gentlemen began to talk of 'numbers,' 'position,' 'Logan,' and 'waiting,' I burst into a passion, cursed them for a set of cowards, who would not be wise till they were scared into it, and swore that since they had come so far for a fight, they should fight, or I would disgrace them forever. That when I spoke of waiting for Logan on the day before, they had scouted the idea, and hinted something about 'courage,' that now it would be shown who had courage or who were cowards, that could talk big when the enemy were at a distance, but turned pale when the danger was near. I then dashed into the river, and called upon all who were not cowards to follow."*

The battle of the Blue Licks aroused the people of Kentucky to the determination of inflicting a signal vengeance on the Indians; and, at the request of the people, General Clark, who possessed their entire confidence, took command of a mounted expedition against the hostile towns on the Miami river. The brigade consisted of two divisions, one under Col. Logan, to rendezvous at Bryant's station; the other under Col. Floyd, to rendezvous at the falls. They were united at the Licking, and from thence Clark, with a force of one thousand and fifty men, marched rapidly up the Miami one hundred and thirty miles, before the Indians discovered their approach.

"We surprised," says Clarke, "the principal Shawanese town on the evening of the 10th of November.† Immediately detaching strong parties to different quarters, in a few hours two-thirds of the town was laid in ashes, and every thing they were possessed of destroyed, except such articles as might be useful to the troops. The enemy had no time to secrete any part of their property which was in the town. The British trading post‡ at the head of the Miami, and carrying place to the waters of the lake, shared the same fate, at the hands of a party of one hundred and fifty horse, commanded by Col. Benjamin Logan. The property destroyed was of great amount, and the quantity of provisions burned surpassed all idea we had of the Indian stores. The loss of the enemy was ten scalps,

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* Life of Boone.

† There is some uncertainty in the date of this expedition. Other authorities usually represent it as having taken place in September.

‡ Supposed to have been the trading post known as Loramie's store, on Loramie's creek Shelby county, Ohio.

seven prisoners, and two whites retaken; ours was one killed and one wounded. After lying part of four days at their towns, and finding all attempts to bring the enemy to a general engagement fruitless, we retired, as the season was advancing, and the weather threatening. We might probably have got many more scalps and prisoners, could we have known in time whether we were discovered or not. We took for granted that we were not, until getting within three miles, some circumstances happened which caused me to think otherwise. Col. John Floyd was then ordered to advance with three hundred men, to bring on an action or attack the town, while Major Wells, with a party of horse, had previously been detached by a different route, as a party of observation. Although Col. Floyd's motions were so quick as to get to the town but a few minutes later than those who discovered his approach, the inhabitants had sufficient notice to effect their escape to the woods, by the alarm cry which was given on the first discovery. This was heard at a great distance, and repeated by all that heard it, consequently our parties only fell in with the rear of the enemy."

This expedition, though attended with little loss, practically closed the Indian wars in the West. The principal resources of the savages were cut off. Their towns were destroyed, and they were convinced that the white settlements could not be broken up. No formidable invasion of Kentucky was afterward attempted. The incursions of scalping parties ceased to harass the country, and the people began to feel some security in their homes.

The frontiers of Pennsylvania suffered greatly during the same year, from the hostility of the Indians. In the summer, an expedition of three hundred British soldiers, and five hundred Indians, was sent from Canada to attack Fort Pitt. The detachment proceeded to Lake Chatauque, and had actually embarked in canoes to descend the Allegheny, when information of the strength and repairs of that post was received, through their spies; and, in consequence, the enterprise was abandoned, and the British returned to Canada. Detached parties of the Indians were sent out, however, to harass the settlements on the borders of Pennsylvania. One of these, under the command of the famous Seneca chief, Guyasutha, attacked and burned Hannastown, the seat of justice for Westmoreland county. A detailed account of that inroad is furnished in the Greensburg Argus, of 1836:

"About three miles from Greensburg, on the old road to New Alexandria, there stand two modern-built log tenements, to one of

which a sign-post and a sign is appended, giving due notice that at the *Seven Yellow Stars*, the wayfarer may partake of the good things of this world. Between the tavern and the Indian gallows-hill on the west, once stood Hannastown, the first place west of the Allegheny mountains where justice was dispensed, according to the legal forms, by the white man. The county of Westmoreland was established by the provincial legislature on the 26th of February, 1773, and the courts directed to be held at Hannastown. It consisted of about thirty habitations, some of them cabins, but most of them aspiring to the name of houses, having two stories, of hewed logs. There was a wooden court-house, and a jail of the like construction. A fort, stockaded with logs, completed the civil and military arrangements of the town. The first prothonotary and clerk of the courts was Arthur St. Clair, Esq., afterward general in the revolutionary army. Robert Hanna, Esq., was the first presiding justice in the courts; and the first Court of Common Pleas was held in April, 1773. Thomas Smith, Esq., afterward one of the judges on the supreme bench, brought quarterly, from the east, the most abstruse learning of the profession, to puzzle the backwoods lawyers; and it was here that Hugh Henry Breckenridge, afterward also a judge on the supreme bench, made his debut, in the profession which he afterward illustrated and adorned by his genius and learning. The road first opened to Fort Pitt, by General Forbes and his army, passed through the town. The periodical return of the court brought together a hardy, adventurous, frank, and open-hearted set of men from the Redstone, the Georges creek, the Youghiogheny, the Monongahela, and the Catfish settlements, as well as from the region, still, in its circumscribed limits, called 'Old Westmoreland.' It may well be supposed that on such occasions there was many an uproarious merry-making. Such men, when they occasionally met at courts, met joyously. But the plough has long since gone over the place of merry-making; and no log or mound of earth remains to tell where justice had her scales.

"On the 13th of July, 1782, a party of the townsfolk went to O'Conner's fields, about a mile and a half north of the village, to cut the harvest of Michael Huffnagle. The summer of 1782 was a sorrowful one to the frontier inhabitants. The blood of many a family had sprinkled their own fields. The frontier north-west of the town was almost deserted; the inhabitants had fled for safety and repose toward the Sewickley settlement. At this very time there were a number of families at Miller's station, about two

miles south of the town. There was, therefore, little impediment to the Indians, either by way of resistance, or even of giving warning of their approach. When the reapers had cut down one field, one of the number who had crossed to the side next to the woods, returned in great alarm, and reported that he had seen a number of Indians approaching. The whole reaping party ran for the town, each one intent upon his own safety. The scene which then presented itself may more readily be conceived than described. Fathers seeking for their wives and children, and children calling upon their parents and friends, and all hurrying in a state of consternation to the fort. Some criminals were confined in jail, the doors of which were thrown open. After some time it was proposed that some person should reconnoiter, and relieve them from uncertainty. Four young men, David Shaw, James Brison, and two others, with their rifles, started on foot through the highlands, between that and Crabtree creek, pursuing a direct course toward O'Conner's fields; whilst Capt. J——, who happened to be in the town, pursued a more circuitous route on horseback.

"The captain was the first to arrive at the fields, and his eye was not long in doubt, for the whole force of the savages was there mustered. He turned his horse to fly, but was observed and pursued. When he had proceeded a short distance, he met the four on foot—told them to fly for their lives—that the savages were coming in great force—that he would take a circuitous route and alarm the settlements. He went to Love's, where Frederick Beaver now lives, about a mile and a quarter east of the town, and assisted the family to fly, taking Mrs. Love on the horse behind him. The four made all speed for the town, but the foremost Indians obtained sight of them, and gave them hot pursuit. By the time they had reached the Crabtree creek, they could hear the distinct footfalls of their pursuers, and see the sunbeams glistening through the foliage of the trees upon their naked skins. When, however, they got into the mouth of the ravine that led up from the creek to the town, they felt almost secure. The Indians, who knew nothing of the previous alarm given to the town, and supposed that they would take it by surprise, did not fire, lest that might give notice of their approach; this saved the lives of David Shaw and his companions. When they got to the top of the hill, the strong instinct of nature impelled Shaw to go first into the town, and see whether his kindred had gone into the fort, before he entered it himself. As he reached his father's threshold and saw all within desolate, he turned and saw the savages, with their

tufts of hair flying in the wind, and their brandished tomahawks, for they had emerged into the open space around the town, and commenced the war-whoop. He resolved to make one of them give his death halloo, and raising his rifle to his eye, his bullet whizzed true, for the stout savage at whom he aimed bounded into the air and fell upon his face. Then, with the speed of an arrow, he fled to the fort, which he entered in safety. The Indians were exasperated when they found the town deserted, and after pillaging the houses, they set them on fire. Although a considerable part of the town was within rifle range of the fort, the whites did but little execution, being more intent on their own safety than solicitous about destroying the enemy. One savage, who had put on the military coat of one of the inhabitants, paraded himself so ostentatiously that he was shot down. Except this one, and the one laid low by Shaw, there was no evidence of any other execution, but some human bones found among the ashes of one of the houses, where they, it was supposed, burnt those that were killed. There were not more than fourteen or fifteen rifles in the fort; and a company having marched from the town some time before, in Lochry's ill-fated campaign, many of the most efficient men were absent; not more than twenty or twenty-five remained. A maiden, Jennet Shaw, was killed in the fort; a child having run opposite the gate, in which there were some apertures through which a bullet from the Indians occasionally whistled, she followed it, and as she stooped to pick it up, a bullet entered her bosom—she thus fell a victim to her kindness of heart. The savages, with their wild yells and hideous gesticulations, exulted as the flames spread, and looked like demoniacs rejoicing over the lost hopes of mortals.

"Soon after the arrival of the marauders, a large body of them was observed to break off, by what seemed concerted signals, and march toward Miller's station. At that place there had been a wedding the day before. Love is a delicate plant, but will take root in the midst of perils in gentle bosoms. A young couple, fugitives from the frontier, fell in love and were married. Among those who visited the bridal festivity, were Mrs. H———, and her two beautiful daughters, from the town. John Brownlee, who then owned what is now the fine farm of Frederick J. Cope, and his family, were also there. This individual was well known in frontier forage and scouting parties. His courage, activity, generosity, and manly form, won for him among his associates, as they win everywhere, confidence and attachment. Many of the Indians were acquainted with his character, some of them probably had

seen his person. There were in addition to the mansion, a number of cabins, rudely constructed, in which those families who had been driven from their homes resided. The station was generally called Miller's town. The bridal party were enjoying themselves in the principal mansion, without the least shadow of approaching danger. Some men were mowing in the meadow—people in the cabins were variously occupied—when suddenly the war-whoop, like a clap of thunder from a cloudless sky, broke upon their astonished ears. The people in the cabins and those in the meadow, mostly made their escape. One incident always excites emotions in my bosom when I have heard it related. Many who fled took an east course, over the long steep hills which ascend toward Peter George's farm. One man was carrying his child, and assisting his mother in the flight, and when they got toward the top of the hill, the mother exclaimed they would be murdered, that the savages were gaining space upon them. The son and father put down and abandoned his child that he might more effectually assist his mother. Let those disposed to condemn, keep silence until the same struggle of nature takes place in their own bosoms. Perhaps he thought the savages would be more apt to spare the innocence of infancy than the weakness of age. But most likely it was the instinct of feeling, and even a brave man had hardly time to think under such circumstances. At all events, Providence seemed to smile on the act, for at the dawn of the next morning, when the father returned to the cabin, he found his little innocent curled upon his bed, sound asleep, the only human thing left amidst the desolation. Let fathers appreciate his feelings: whether the Indians had found the child and took compassion on it, and carried it back, or whether the little creature had been unobserved, and when it became tired of its solitude, had wandered home through brush and over briers, will never be known. The latter supposition would seem most probable from being found in its own cabin and on its own bed.

"At the principal mansion, the party were so agitated by the cries of women and children, mingling with the yell of the savage, that all were for a moment irresolute, and that moment sealed their fate. One young man of powerful frame grasped a child near him, which happened to be Brownlee's, and effected his escape. He was pursued by three or four savages. But his strength enabled him to gain slightly upon his followers, when he came to a rye field, and taking advantage of a thick copse, which by a sudden turn intervened between him and them, he got

on the fence and leaped far into the rye, where he lay down with the child. He heard the quick tread of the savages as they passed, and their slower steps as they returned, muttering their guttural disappointment. That man lived to an honored old age, but is now no more. Brownlee made his way to the door, having seized a rifle; he saw, however, that it was a desperate game, but made a rush at some Indians who were entering the gate. The shrill clear voice of his wife, exclaiming, 'Jack, will you leave me?' instantly recalled him, and he sat down beside her at the door, yielding himself a willing victim. The party were made prisoners, including the bridegroom and bride, and several of the family of Miller. At this point of time, Captain J———, was seen coming up the lane in full gallop. The Indians were certain of their prey, and the prisoners were dismayed at his rashness. Fortunately he noticed the peril in which he was placed in time to save himself. Eagerly bent upon giving warning to the people, his mind was so engrossed with that idea, that he did not see the enemy until he was within full gun-shot. When he did see them, and turned to fly, several bullets whistled by him, one of which cut his bridle rein, but he escaped. When those of the marauders who had pursued the fugitives returned, and when they had safely secured their prisoners and loaded them with plunder, they commenced their retreat.

"Heavy were the hearts of the women and maidens as they were led into captivity. Who can tell the bitterness of their sorrow? They looked, as they thought, for the last time upon the dear fields of their country, and of civilized life. They thought of their fathers, their husbands, their brothers, and, as their eyes streamed with tears, the cruelty and uncertainty which hung over their fate as prisoners of savages overwhelmed them in despair. They had proceeded about half-a-mile, and four or five Indians near the group of prisoners in which was Brownlee, were observed to exchange rapid sentences among each other and look earnestly at him. Some of the prisoners had named him; and, whether it was from that circumstance or because some of the Indians had recognized his person, it was evident that he was a doomed man. He stooped slightly to adjust his child on his back, which he carried in addition to the luggage which they had put on him; and, as he did so, one of the Indians who had looked so earnestly at him stepped to him hastily and buried a tomahawk in his head. When he fell, the child was quickly dispatched by the same individual. One of the women captives screamed at this butchery, and the

same bloody instrument and ferocious hand immediately ended her agony of spirit. God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, and He enabled Mrs. Brownlee to bear that scene in speechless agony of woe. Their bodies were found the next day by the settlers, and interred where they fell. The spot is marked to this day in Mechling's field. As the shades of evening began to fall, the marauders met again on the plains of Hannastown. They retired into the low grounds about the Crabtree creek, and there regaled themselves on what they had stolen. It was their intention to attack the fort the next morning before the dawn of day.

"At nightfall thirty yeomen, good and true, had assembled at George's farm, not far from Miller's, determined to give, that night, what succor they could to the people in the fort. They set off for the town, each with his trusty rifle, some on horseback and some on foot. As soon as they came near the fort the greatest caution and circumspection was observed. Experienced woodsmen soon ascertained that the enemy was in the Crabtree bottom, and that they might enter the fort. Accordingly, they all marched to the gate, and were most joyfully welcomed by those within. After some consultation, it was the general opinion that the Indians intended to make an attack the next morning; and, as there were but about forty-five rifles in the fort, and about fifty-five or sixty men, the contest was considered extremely doubtful, considering the great superiority of numbers on the part of the savages. It became, therefore, a matter of the first importance to impress the enemy with a belief that large reinforcements were arriving. For that purpose the horses were mounted by active men and brought full trot over the bridge of plank that was across the ditch which surrounded the stockading. This was frequently repeated. Two old drums were found in the fort, which were new braced, and music on the fife and drum was kept occasionally going during the night. While marching and counter-marching, the bridge was frequently crossed on foot by the whole garrison. These measures had the desired effect. The military music from the fort, the trampling of the horses, and the marching over the bridge, were borne on the silence of the night over the low lands of the Crabtree and the sounds carried terror into the bosoms of the cowardly savages. They feared the retribution which they deserved, and fled shortly after midnight in their stealthy and wolf-like habits. Three hundred Indians, and about sixty white savages, in the shape of refugees, (as they were then called,) crossed the Crabtree that day, with the intention of destroying Hannastown and Miller's station.

"The next day a number of the whites pursued the trail as far as the Kiskiminetas, without being able to overtake them.

"The little community, which had now no homes but what the fort supplied, looked out on the ruins of the town with the deepest sorrow. It had been to them the scene of heartfelt joys—embracing the intensity and tenderness of all which renders the domestic hearth and family altar sacred. By degrees they all sought themselves places where they might, like Noah's dove, find rest for the soles of their feet. The lots of the town, either by sale or abandonment, became merged in the adjoining farm; and the labors of the husbandman soon effaced what time might have spared. Many a tall harvest have I seen growing upon the ground; but never did I look upon its waving luxuriance without thinking of the severe trials, the patient fortitude, the high courage which characterized the early settlers."

The settlements in Western Virginia also suffered from the inroads of the savages and their British allies. The expeditions of Williamson and Crawford aroused the fury of the Indians, and in retaliation, their war parties ravaged the whole border along the Ohio and Monongahela. Individuals and families, at exposed points, were frequently surprised and massacred, under circumstances of most revolting barbarity; scalping parties were constantly prowling around the block houses, and the settlements were kept in constant alarm.

On the 11th of September, a force of three hundred British and Indians, under the command of George Girty, appeared before Fort Henry, then containing only twenty-seven men, of whom eighteen only, it is said, were fit for service. Girty demanded an immediate surrender of the fort, to which the inmates returned a contemptuous answer, and defied him to do his worst. Soon after dark the attack commenced, and the besiegers made a desperate attempt to storm the fort; but they were kept at bay by a small cannon, which had been taken out of the Monongahela after the destruction of Fort Du Quesne. The contest lasted during the whole night. Repeated efforts were made to fire the fort, but the hemp and wood that were piled against it were wet, and could not be made to burn. Once during the night a part of the decayed stockade gave way and fell; but the incident was not noticed by the Indians, and it was immediately repaired.

The attack was suspended at daybreak, and the British and

Indians retired beyond the reach of the guns of the fort.* On the next night it was renewed, and maintained without intermission during the whole night. About ten o'clock of the second day, the Indian spies discovered the approach of a reinforcement of seventy men, approaching for the relief of the garrison; and the whole force of British and Indians immediately crossed the river and disappeared.

Immediately afterward, a party of Indians invaded the settlements on Buffalo creek, and appeared before Rice's fort, then containing only six men. The savages surrounded it, and demanded its surrender; but they were answered with defiance. Soon after dark they commenced an attack, and set fire to some out-buildings within thirty yards of the pickets. But the course of the wind saved the fort, and the Indians finding they could make no impression on it, gave up the attempt and left the place.

No other invasion of the Virginia and Pennsylvania settlements occurred; scalping parties, indeed, during the autumn, prowled around the block houses on the borders; the winter, as usual, was passed in quiet, and the peace of the next year abated the predatory war that had so long disturbed the frontier of those States.

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* It was at this time that the "gunpowder exploit" occurred, according to Mrs. Cruger's statement. See De Hass' Western Virginia, p. 270.

PERIOD IV.

1783—1789.

Provisional articles of peace between the United States of America
1783.] and Great Britain were signed at Paris, on the 30th November, 1782. This was followed by an armistice, negotiated at Versailles, on the 20th of January, 1783, declaring a cessation of hostilities; and finally a definitive treaty of peace was concluded at Paris, on the 3d of September, 1783, and ratified by Congress on the 14th of January, 1784. The war between the United States and Great Britain was virtually closed by the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, at Yorktown, in Virginia, on the 19th of October, 1781. By the second article of the definitive treaty of 1783, the boundaries of the United States were defined and established as follows:

"From the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz: that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river to the Highlands; along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north westernmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence, by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraguy; thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the isles Royal and Philipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of the said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most north-western point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along

the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Appalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river to the Atlantic ocean. East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth, in the Bay of Fundy, to its source; and from its source, directly north, to the aforesaid Highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence: comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean; excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia."

But the cessation of hostilities with England was not, necessarily, the cessation of warfare with the native tribes; and while all hoped that the horrors of the border contests in the West were at an end, none competent to judge, failed to see the probability of a continued and violent struggle. Virginia, at an early period, in October, 1779, had, by law, discouraged all settlements on the part of her citizens, north-west of the Ohio;* but the spirit of land speculation was stronger than law, and the prospect of peace gave new energy to that spirit; and how to throw open the immense region beyond the mountains without driving the natives to desperation, was a problem which engaged the ablest minds.

Washington, on the 7th of September, 1783, writing to James Duane, in Congress, enlarged upon the difficulties which lay before that body in relation to public lands. He pointed out the necessity which existed for making the settlements compact, and proposed that it should be made even felony to settle or survey lands west of a line to be designated by Congress, which line, he added, might extend from the mouth of the Great Miami to Mad river, thence to

* Revised Statutes of Virginia, ii, 378.

Fort Miami on the Maumee, and thence northward so as to include Detroit; or, perhaps, from the Fort down the river to Lake Erie. He noticed the propriety of excluding the Indian agents from all share in the trade with the red men, and showed the wisdom of forbidding all purchases of land from the Indians, except by the sovereign power—Congress or the State Legislature, as the case might be. Unless some such stringent measures were adopted, he prophesied renewed border wars, which would end only after great expenditure of money and of life.*

But before the Continental Congress could take any efficient steps to secure the West, it was necessary that those measures of cession which commenced in 1780–81, should be completed. New York had, conditionally, given up her claims on the 1st of March, 1781,† and Congress had accepted her deed, but Virginia had required from the United States, a guarantee of the territories retained by her, which they were not willing to give, and no acceptance of her provision to cede had taken place. Under these circumstances, Congress, on the 18th of April, again pressed the necessity of cessions, and, on the 13th of September, six days after Washington's letter above referred to, stated the terms upon which they would receive the proposals of the Ancient Dominion.‡ To these terms the Virginians acceded, and, on the 20th of December, authorized their delegates to make a deed to the United States of all their right in the territory north-west of the river Ohio—

"Upon condition, that the territory so ceded shall be laid out and formed into States, containing a suitable extent of territory, not less than one hundred, nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit; and that the States so formed shall be distinct republican States, and admitted members of the Federal Union, having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other States.

"That the reasonable and necessary expenses incurred by this State in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining forts and garrisons within, and for the defense, or in acquiring any part of the territory so ceded or relinquished, shall be fully reimbursed by the United States, and that one Commissioner shall be appointed by Congress, one by this Commonwealth, and another by those two Commissioners, who, or a majority of them, shall be authorized and empowered to adjust and liquidate the account of the necessary and

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* Spark's Washington, viii. 477. † Land Laws, 95. ‡ Old Journals, iv. 189–267.

reasonable expenses incurred by this State, which they shall judge to be comprised within the intent and meaning of the act of Congress of the tenth of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, respecting such expenses.

"That the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskies, St. Vincents, and the neighboring villages, who have professed themselves citizens of Virginia, shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties.

"That a quantity not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, promised by this State, shall be allowed and granted to the then Colonel, now General George Rogers Clark, and to the officers and soldiers of his regiment, who marched with him when the posts of Kaskaskies and St. Vincents were reduced, and to the officers and soldiers that have since been incorporated into the said regiment to be laid off in one tract, the length of which not to exceed double the breadth, in such place, on the north-west side of the Ohio, as a majority of the officers shall choose, and to be afterward divided among the said officers and soldiers in due proportion, according to the laws of Virginia.

"That in case the quantity of good land on the south-east side of the Ohio, upon the waters of the Cumberland river, and between the Green river and Tennessee river, which have been reserved by law for the Virginia troops upon continental establishment, should, from the North Carolina line, bearing in further upon the Cumberland lands than was expected, prove insufficient for their legal bounties, the deficiency should be made up to the said troops in good lands, to be laid off between the rivers Scioto and Little Miami, on the north-west side of the river Ohio, in such proportions as have been engaged them by the laws of Virginia.

"That all the lands within the territory so ceded to the United States, and not reserved for, or appropriated to, any of the before mentioned purposes, or disposed of in bounties to the officers and soldiers of the American army, shall be considered a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become members of the confederation or federal alliance of the said States, Virginia inclusive, according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully and bona fide disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever."

And, in agreement with these conditions, a deed was made March 1, 1784. But it was not possible to wait the final action of Virginia,

before taking some steps to soothe the Indians, and extinguish their title. On the 22d of September, therefore, Congress forbade all purchases of, or settlements on Indian lands,* and on the 15th of October, the Commissioners to treat with the natives were instructed—

To require the delivery of all prisoners:

To inform the Indians of the boundaries between the British possessions and the United States:

To dwell upon the fact that the red men had not been faithful to their agreements:

To negotiate for all the land east of the line proposed by Washington, namely, from the mouth of the Great Miami to Mad river, thence to Fort Miami on the Maumee, and thence down the Maumee to the Lake:

To hold, if possible, *one convention with all the tribes:*

To learn all they could respecting the French of Kaskaskia, &c.

To confirm no grants by the natives to individuals; and,

To look after American stragglers beyond the Ohio, to signify the displeasure of Congress at the invasion of the Indian lands, and the western boundary line being made to run due north from the lowest point of the Falls of the Ohio to the northern limits of the to prevent all further intrusions.

Upon the 19th of the following March, these instructions were changed, at the suggestion of a committee headed by Mr. Jefferson; United States, and the Commissioners being told to treat with the nations at *various* places and *different* times.

Meanwhile, steps had been taken by the Americans to obtain possession of Detroit and the other western posts, but in vain. On the 12th of July, Washington sent Baron Steuben to Canada, for that purpose, with orders, if he found it advisable, to embody the French of Michigan into a militia, and place the fort at Detroit in their hands. But when the Baron presented himself near Quebec, General Haldimand, while he received him very politely, refused the necessary passports, saying that he had received no orders to deliver up the posts along the Lakes. This measure failing, Cassaty, a native of Detroit, was sent thither in August to learn the feelings of the people, and to do what he might to make the American side popular.

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* Old Journals, iv. 275.

About the same time, Virginia, having no longer any occasion for a western army, and being sadly pressed for money, withdrew her commission from George Rogers Clark, with thanks, however, "for his very great and singular services."

His dismission was dated on the 2d of July, 1783, and Benjamin Harrison, the Governor of Virginia, wrote to General Clark a letter which contains the following extract:

"The conclusion of the war, and the distressed situation of the State, with respect to its finances, call on us to adopt the most prudent economy. It is for this reason alone, I have come to a determination to give over all thoughts for the present of carrying on offensive war against the Indians, which you will easily perceive will render the services of a general officer in that quarter unnecessary, and will, therefore, consider yourself out of command.

"But, before I take leave of you, I feel myself called upon, in the most forcible manner, to return you my thanks, and those of my council, for the very great and singular services you have rendered your country, in wresting so great and valuable a territory out of the hands of the British enemy, repelling the attacks of their savage allies, and carrying on successful war in the heart of their country. This tribute of praise and thanks, so justly due, I am happy to communicate to you as the united voice of the executive."

In October of the same year, the legislature of Virginia made a donation to General Clark, and to the soldiers that had served under him in the conquest of Illinois, of one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land north of the Ohio, to be located where they might choose. They chose the lands on the north side of the Ohio, and accordingly an act was passed "to establish the town of Clarksville, at the falls of the Ohio, in the county of Illinois." A board of trustees was created by the act, in whom the title of the town site was vested in trust. They were directed to sell lots of half an acre each at public auction, subject to the condition that the purchasers should build upon each of them a dwelling-house, "twenty feet by eighteen, with a brick or stone chimney," within three years from the day of sale. The trustees located the town immediately at the foot of the falls; its position at the head of navigation for keel-boats on the lower part of the Ohio, was supposed to have given it great advantages for a commercial town, and it was for a long time regarded as the rival of Louisville. But the want of enterprise among its early citizens, combined with other causes, long since divested it of its seeming importance, and it has sunk into insignificance.

While these various steps, bearing upon the interest of the whole West, were taken by Congress, Washington and the Assembly of Virginia, Kentucky herself was organizing upon a new basis—Virginia having united the three counties, with their separate courts, into one district, having a court of common law and chancery for the whole territory that now forms the State, and to this district restored the name, Kentucky. The sessions of the court thus organized resulted in the foundation of Danville, which in consequence for a season became the centre and capital of the District.

It might have been reasonably hoped that peace with the mother 1784.] country would have led to comparative prosperity within the newly formed nation. But such was not the case. Congress had no power to compel the States to fulfill the provisions of the treaty which had been concluded, and Britain was not willing to comply on her side with all its terms, until evidence was given by the other party that no infraction of them was to be feared from the rashness of democratic leaders. Among the provisions of that treaty were the following:

"It is agreed that creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in sterling money, of all bona fide debts heretofore contracted.

"It is agreed that the Congress shall earnestly recommend it to the Legislatures of the respective States, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects, and also of the estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts in the possession of his Majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States. And that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go to any part of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months, unmolested in their endeavors to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights and properties, as may have been confiscated; and that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should universally prevail. And that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States, that the estates, rights and properties, of such last mentioned persons, shall be restored to them, they refunding to any

persons who may now be in possession, the bona fide price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights or properties, since the confiscation. And it is agreed that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

"That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons for, or by reason of, the part which he or they may have taken in the present war; and that no person shall, on that account, suffer any future loss or damage, either in his person, liberty, or property; and that those who may be in confinement on such charges, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

"There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic Majesty and the said States, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other, wherefore, all hostilities, both by sea and land, shall from henceforth cease: all prisoners, on both sides, shall be set at liberty; and his Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets, from the said United States, and from every post, place, and harbor, within the same; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein; and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers, belonging to any of the said States, or their citizens, which, in the course of the war, may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper States and persons to whom they belong."

That these stipulations were wise and just, none, perhaps, doubted; but they opened a door for disputes, out of which immediately those disagreements between England and America arose, which for so long a time kept alive the hopes and enmities of the Indians, contending, as they were, for their native lands and the burial places of their fathers. The origin of the difficulty was an alleged infraction of the provisional treaty, signed November 30th, 1782, on the part of the British, who showed an intention to take away with them from New York, certain negroes claimed as the "property of the American inhabitants," none of which, by the terms both of that and the definitive treaty, were to be removed.

Against this intention, Washington had remonstrated, and Con-

gress resolved in vain: in reply to all remonstrances, it was said that the slaves were either booty taken in war, and as such, by the laws of war, belonged to the captors, and could not come within the meaning of the treaty; or, were freemen, and could not be enslaved. It was undoubtedly true in regard to many of the negroes, that they were taken in war, and as such, if property at all, the booty of the captors; but it was equally certain that another portion of them consisted of runaways, and by the terms of the treaty, as the Americans interpreted it, should have been restored or paid for.

It was in April, 1783, that the purposes of England, in relation to the negroes became apparent; in May, the commander-in-chief and Congress tried, ineffectually, to bring about a different course of action. Upon the 3d of September, the definitive treaty was signed at Paris; on the 25th of November, the British left New York, carrying the negroes claimed by the Americans with them; while upon the 4th of the following January, 1784, the treaty was ratified by the United States, and on the 9th of April by England.

Under these circumstances, Virginia and several other States saw fit to decline compliance with the article respecting the recovery of debts; refused to repeal the laws previously existing against British creditors; and upon the 22d of next June, after the ratification of peace by both parties, the Old Dominion expressly declined to fulfill the treaty in its completeness. This refusal, or neglect, which was equivalent to a refusal, on the part of the States to abide strictly by the treaty, caused England, on the other hand, to retain possession of the western posts, and threatened to involve the two countries again in open warfare.

The merits of the controversy are thus set forth in the correspondence of Mr. Adams, then minister at London, with Lord Carmarthen, the English Secretary of State.

In a communication addressed to Carmarthen, on the 8th of December, 1785, Mr. Adams says:

"Although a period of three years has elapsed since the signature of the preliminary treaty, and of more than two years since that of the definitive treaty, the posts of Oswegatchy, Oswego, Niagara, Presqu' Isle, Sandusky, Detroit, Michilimackinack, with others not necessary to be particularly enumerated, and a considerable territory round each of them, all within the incontestible limits of the United States, are still held by British garrisons, to the loss and injury of the United States. The subscriber, therefore,

in the name and behalf of the said United States, and in obedience to their express commands, has the honor to require of his Britannic Majesty's Ministry, that all his Majesty's armies and garrisons be forthwith withdrawn from the United States, from all and every of the posts and fortresses herein before enumerated, and from every other post, place, and harbor within the territory of the United States, according to the true intention of the treaties aforesaid."

On the 28th of February, 1786, Lord Carmarthen, in an answer to Mr. Adams, said:

"I have to observe to you, sir, that it is his Majesty's fixed determination, upon the present as well as every other occasion, to act in perfect conformity to the strictest principles of justice and good faith. The seventh article both of the provisional and of the definitive treaties between his Majesty and the United States clearly stipulates the withdrawing, with all convenient speed, his Majesty's armies, garrisons, and fleets, from the said United States, and from every post, place, and harbor within the same; and no doubt can possibly arise respecting either the letter or spirit of such an engagement. The fourth article of the same treaties as clearly stipulates, that creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in sterling money, of all bona fide debts heretofore contracted.

"The little attention paid to the fulfilling this engagement on the part of the subjects of the United States in general, and the direct breach of it in many particular instances, have already reduced many of the King's subjects to the utmost degree of difficulty and distress; nor have their applications for redress, to those whose situations in America naturally pointed them out as the guardians of the public faith, been as yet successful in obtaining them that justice, to which, on every principle of law as well as of humanity, they were clearly and indisputably entitled. The engagements entered into by treaty ought to be mutual and equally binding on the respective contracting parties. It would, therefore, be the height of folly as well as injustice, to suppose one party alone obliged to a strict observance of the public faith, while the other might remain free to deviate from its own engagements, as often as convenience might render such deviation necessary, though at the expense of its own national credit and importance. I flatter myself, however, sir, that justice will speedily be done to British creditors; and, I can assure you, sir, that whenever America shall manifest a real determination to fulfill her part of the treaty, Great

Britain will not hesitate to prove her sincerity to co-operate in whatever points depend upon her for carrying every article of it into real and complete effect."

In the answer from Lord Carmarthen to Mr Adams, the government of the United States saw the ostensible grounds on which Great Britain continued to keep possession of the important military and trading posts at Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinack. There were other considerations, however, which, at this period, influenced in no slight degree, the policy of the British Ministry. The fur trade, a very profitable branch of commerce, was carried on almost exclusively by Englishmen and Canadians, who were subjects of Great Britain, and who, by intermarriages with squaws, and a pacific course of trade, had acquired considerable influence over all the Indian tribes of the country north-west of the Ohio. These advantages were too well understood, and too highly appreciated, by Great Britain, to be given up by that government while it could show either a good reason or a plausible pretext for retaining them; and, of course, the British Cabinet viewed with feelings of disapprobation and jealousy, the efforts of the government of the United States to subjugate the Indian tribes and to lay the foundations of independent states in the vast territories on the north-western side of the river Ohio. Such were the views and sentiments of the British Ministers in 1791, when Governor St. Clair was collecting an army at Fort Washington, for the purpose of establishing a strong military post at the Miami village, in the midst of various tribes of Indians who were nominally under the protection of Great Britain.*

The political condition of Kentucky was a source of great inconvenience to its people. During the war, they had been compelled to defend themselves against the continual incursions of the savages, without any adequate aid from the parent state. In consequence, the whole male population had become a citizen soldiery, and the necessities of their situation supplied to them the lack of an adequate civil and military organization. But on the return of peace, the extension of the law of Virginia, without any legislation suited to their peculiar circumstances, exposed them to many inconveniences, and produced much delay, and even injustice, in the administration of civil affairs.

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* Dillon's Indiana, p. 297.

In the fall of 1784, these inconveniences were severely felt. A report was circulated that the Cherokees were about to attack the settlements in Kentucky, and the people were greatly alarmed for their safety. Col. Logan attempted to raise a force for the defense of the country, but on examination it was discovered that there were no military laws in force within the district. Under these circumstances, it was determined to invite a meeting of representatives from all the settlements, to take whatever measures were deemed expedient for the defense of the country. The meeting assembled at Danville, and adopted a circular address to each militia company in the district, recommending the election of delegates from each company, to meet at Danville on the 27th of December, to discuss more fully the measures necessary to be adopted for their relief.

Twenty-five delegates appeared in the convention. There was a great diversity in their opinions. Some of them believed that it was only necessary to apply for suitable legislative aid from the State of Virginia; it was urged by others, that the great distance from the State capital was an insuperable difficulty in the way of their connection with the parent State, and that the evils that were felt could only be removed by a separation from it, and an admission as an independent State into the Union. The latter opinion prevailed; the convention adopted a resolution expressing its opinion "in favor of applying for an act to render Kentucky independent of Virginia," and adjourned after a session of two days.*

The survey and location of the military lands in Kentucky, under the laws of Virginia, were commenced in the same year. The number of soldiers in the Virginia continental line was eleven hundred and twenty-four. To these, as provided in the terms of cession, was allotted a tract of land within the district of Kentucky, estimated at two millions five hundred thousand acres; and to the State line, a tract estimated at three millions five hundred thousand acres. To both these lines was guaranteed the privilege of locating lands on the north side of the Ohio, between the Miami and Scioto rivers, when the good lands within the district assigned them were exhausted. Richard C. Anderson was chosen surveyor by the continental line, opened his office at Louisville on the 20th of July,

* Marshall's Kentucky, i. 190.

and the first entry of lands in behalf of the line, south of the Ohio, was made on the first of August, 1784 The first entry north of the Ohio was made on the first of August, 1787.*

The return of peace invited emigration, and the posts and settlements that were maintained throughout the war in Western Pennsylvania, Western Virginia, and Kentucky, now received a large increase of population.

The population of all the settlements of Kentucky in 1783, was about twelve thousand.† The suspension of Indian hostilities, and the inviting character of the soil and climate, attracted a great number of settlers from the Atlantic states, and especially from Virginia; and in the spring of 1784, its population had increased to more than twenty thousand. The principal settlements were on Kentucky river, on the sources of Salt river, on the tributaries of the Licking, and at the falls of the Ohio. They were divided into three counties—Jefferson on the west, Lincon on the south, and Fayette on the north—united together under the laws of Virginia, into one judicial district, known as the district of Kentucky. Many new settlements were made by the emigrants, and the population of the stations, now changed into agricultural communities, was largely increased.

In 1784, the population of the district was further increased by emigrants from Virginia and North Carolina, to thirty thousand, and the district began to assume the character of a prosperous community. Agriculture began to flourish; schools and churches were established; and a trade with the Atlantic states was opened.

In the spring of the preceding year, merchandise from Philadelphia and Baltimore was first transported in wagons across the mountains, by way of Ligonier and Cumberland, to Redstone and Pittsburgh, and thence shipped in flat boats to Daniel Brodhead, at Louisville, who immediately opened a store at that point. In 1784, another was opened by James Wilkinson, at Lexington. At that period, Louisville contained, it is said, sixty-three houses finished, thirty-seven partly finished, twenty-two raised, but not covered, and more than one hundred cabins.

Pittsburgh was, at that period, the principal town in the West. In 1764, immediately after the close of the Indian war, Col. Camp-

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* American State Papers, xvi. 7. † Monette, ii. 143.

bell laid out a town consisting of four squares, outside of the walls of Fort Pitt, to which he gave the name of Pittsburgh. The treaty with the Six Nations in 1768, conveyed to the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, all the lands east of the Allegheny, below Kittanning, and all the country south of the Ohio, within the limits of Penn's charter. Accordingly, early in 1769, the manor of Pittsburgh, consisting of five thousand seven hundred and sixty-six acres, was surveyed and withdrawn from market for the private property of the Penn family. When Washington visited it in 1770, he described it as a town of about twenty log houses, on the Monongahela, about three hundred yards from the fort. At the revolution, the Penns adhered to the royal cause, and in consequence, all their proprietary right in Pennsylvania, except such manors as had been surveyed and returned to the land office before the Declaration of Independence, were confiscated to the Commonwealth. The manor of Pittsburgh was one of these, and thus remained in the possession of the family. In the spring of 1784, arrangements were made by Tench Francis, the agent of the Penns, to lay out the manor in lots, in order to offer it for sale. George Wood and Thomas Vickroy were employed to make the survey. The lots were then offered for sale, were readily purchased, and a village immediately sprung up. In the same year it was visited and described by Arthur Lee, who was then on his way to the treaty at Fort McIntosh. To him, it seems to have presented a very unpromising appearance, and he expresses his belief, "that the place will never be very considerable." He, however, overlooked the fact, even at that day marked by more acute observers, that its location, climate, scenery and surroundings, would in after days make it a city of great importance and of great wealth.

In the spring of 1781, H. H. Brackenridge, Esq., afterward a distinguished member of the bar in Western Pennsylvania, and subsequently a judge of the Supreme Court of that State, emigrated from Philadelphia and located himself in Pittsburgh.

In 1786, John Scull and Joseph Hall embarked all their means in the establishment of a newspaper at that point; and on the 29th of July, the first number of the Pittsburgh Gazette, the first paper established west of the mountains, was issued. In that number, an article was published from the pen of Mr. Brackenridge, "on the situation of the town of Pittsburgh, and the state of society at that place."*

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* Craig's History of Pittsburgh, p. 190.

"The Allegheny river running from the north-east, and the Monongahela from the south-west, meet at the angle of about thirty-three degrees, and form the Ohio. This is said to signify, in some of the Indian languages, bloody; so that the Ohio river may be translated the River of Blood. The French have called it La Belle Riviere, that is, the Beautiful or Fair River, but this is not intended by them as having any relation to the name Ohio.

"It may have received the name Ohio about the beginning of the present century, when the Six Nations made war upon their fellow savages in these territories, and subjected several tribes.

"The word Monongahela is said to signify, in some of the Indian languages, the *Falling-in-Banks*, that is, the stream of the Falling-in, or Mouldering Banks.

"At the distance of about four or five hundred yards from the head of the Ohio, is a small island, lying to the north-west side of the river, at the distance of seventy yards from the shore. It is covered with wood, and at the lowest part is a lofty hill, famous for the number of wild turkeys which inhabit it. The island is not more in length than one-quarter of a mile, and in breadth about one hundred yards. A small space on the upper end is cleared and overgrown with grass. The savages had cleared it during the late war, a party of them attached to the United States having placed their wigwams and raised corn there. The Ohio, at the distance of about one mile from its source, winds round the lower end of the island, and disappears. I call the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela the source of the Ohio.

"It is pleasant to observe the conflict of these two waters where they meet: when of an equal height the contest is equal, and a small rippling appears from the point of land at their junction to the distance of about five hundred yards. When the Allegheny is master, as the term is, the current keeps its course a great way into the Monongahela, before it is overcome and falls into the bed of the Ohio. The Monongahela, in like manner having the mastery, bears away the Allegheny, and with its muddy waters discolors the crystal current of that river. This happens frequently, inasmuch as these two rivers, coming from different climates of the country, are seldom swollen at the same time. The flood of the Allegheny rises perhaps the highest. I have observed it to have been at least thirty feet above the level, by the impression of the ice on the branches of trees which overhang the river, and had been cut at the breaking up of the winter, when the snow and

frost, melting toward the north-east, throw themselves down with amazing rapidity and violence in a mighty deluge. The current of the Allegheny is in general more rapid than that of the Monongahela, and though not broader or of greater depth, yet, from this circumstance throws forward a greater quantity of water in the same space of time. In this river, at the distance of about a mile above the town of Pittsburgh, is a beautiful little island, which, if there are river gods and nymphs, they may be supposed to haunt. At the upper end of the island, and toward the western shore, is a small ripple, as it is called, where the water, bubbling as if it sprung from the pebbles of a fountain, gives vivacity and an air of cheerfulness to the scene.

"The fish of the Allegheny are harder and firmer than those of the Monongahela or Ohio, owing, as is supposed, to the greater coldness and purity of the water. The fish in general of those rivers are good. They are, the pike, weighing frequently fifteen or twenty pounds; the perch, much larger than any I have ever seen in the bay of Chesapeake, which is the only tide from whence I have ever seen perch; there is also the sturgeon, and many other kinds of fish.

"It is a high amusement to those who are fond of fishing, to angle in those waters, more especially at the time of a gentle flood, when the frequent nibbles of the large and small fishes entertain the expectation, and sometimes gratify it by a bite; and when those of the larger size are taken, it is necessary to play them a considerable time before it can be judged safe to draw them in. I have seen a canoe half loaded in a morning by some of those most expert in the employment, but you will see in a spring evening the banks of the rivers lined with men fishing at intervals from one another. This, with the streams gently gliding, the woods, at a distance, green, and the shadows lengthening toward the town, forms a delightful scene. Fond of the water, I have been sometimes highly pleased in going with a select party, in a small barge, up or down the rivers, and landing at a cool spring, to enjoy the verdant turf, amidst the shady bowers of ash-wood, sugar-tree, or oak, planted by the hand of nature, not art.

"It may be said by some who will read this description which I have given, or may be about to give, that it is minute and useless, inasmuch as they are observations of things well known. But let it be considered, that it is not intended for the people of this country, but for those at a distance, who may not yet be acquainted with

the natural situation of the town of Pittsburgh, or having heard of it, may wish to be more particularly informed. Who knows what families of fortune it may induce to emigrate to this place?

"There is a rock known by the name of M'Kee's rock, at the distance of about three miles below the head of the Ohio. It is the end of a promontory, where the river bends to the north-west, and where, by the rushing of the floods, the earth has been cut away during several ages, so that now the huge overhanging rocks appear, hollowed beneath, so as to form a dome of majesty and grandeur, near one hundred feet in height. Here are the names of French and British officers engraved, who in former times, in parties of pleasure, had visited this place. The town of Pittsburgh, at the head of the Ohio, is scarcely visible from hence, by means of an intervening island, the lower end of which is nearly opposite the rocks. Just below them, at the bending of the river, is a deep eddy water, which has been sounded by a line of thirty fathoms, and no bottom found. Above them is a beautiful extent of bottom, containing five or six hundred acres, and the ground rising to the inland country with an easy ascent, so as to form an extensive landscape. As you ascend the river from these rocks, to the town of Pittsburgh, you pass by on your right hand the mouth of a brook known by the name of the Saw-mill run. This empties itself about half a mile below the town, and is overlooked by a building on its banks, on the point of a hill which fronts the east, and is first struck by the beam of the rising sun. At a small distance from its mouth is a saw-mill, about twenty perches below the situation of an old mill built by the British, the remains of some parts of which are yet seen.

"At the head of the Ohio stands the town of Pittsburgh, on an angular piece of ground, the two rivers forming the two sides of the angle. Just at the point stood, when I first came to this country, a tree, leaning against which I have often overlooked the wave, or committing my garments to its shade, have bathed in the transparent tide. How have I regretted its undeserved fate, when the early winter flood tore it from the roots, and left the bank bare.

"On this point stood the old French fort known by the name of Fort Du Quesne, which was evacuated and blown up by the French in the campaign of the British under Gen. Forbes. The appearance of the ditch and mound, with the salient angles and bastions still remains, so as to prevent that perfect level of the ground which otherwise would exist. It has been long overgrown with the finest

verdure, and depastured on by cattle; but since the town has been laid out it has been enclosed, and buildings are erected.

"Just above these works is the present garrison, built by Gen. Stanwix, and is said to have cost the crown of Britain £60,000. Be that as it may, it has been a work of great labor and of little use—for, situated on a plain, it is commanded by heights and rising grounds on every side, and some at less than the distance of a mile. The fortification is regular, constructed according to the rules of art, and about three years ago put into good repair by Gen. Irwin, who commanded at this post. It has the advantage of an excellent magazine, built of stone; but the time is come, and it is hoped will not again return, when the use of this garrison is at an end. There is a line of posts below it on the Ohio river, to the distance of three hundred miles. The savages come to this place for trade, not for war, and any future contest that we may have with them, will be on the heads of the more northern rivers that fall into the Mississippi.

"The bank of the Allegheny river, on the north-west side of the town of Pittsburgh, is planted with an orchard of apple trees, with some pear trees intermixed. These were brought, it is said, and planted by a British officer, who commanded at this place early on the first occupation of it by the crown of England. He has deserved the thanks of those who have since enjoyed it, as the fruit is excellent, and the trees bear in abundance every year. Near the garrison on the Allegheny bank, were formerly what were called the king's artillery gardens, delightful spots, cultivated highly to usefulness and pleasure, the soil favoring the growth of plants and flowers, equal with any on the globe. Over this ground the ancient herbs and plants springing up underneath the foot, it is delightful still to walk, covered with the orchard shade.

"On the margin of this river once stood a row of houses, elegant and neat, and not unworthy of the European taste, but they have been swept away in the course of time, some for the purpose of forming an opening to the river from the garrison, that the artillery might incommode the enemy approaching and deprived of shelter; some torn away by the fury of the rising river, indignant of too near a pressure on its banks. These buildings were the receptacles of the ancient Indian trade, which, coming from the westward, centred in this quarter: but of these buildings, like decayed monuments of grandeur, no trace remains. Those who, twenty years ago, saw them flourish, can only say, here they stood.

"From the verdant walk on the margin of this beautiful river, you have a view of an island about a mile above, round which the river twines with a resplendent brightness; gliding on the eastern bank, it would wish to keep a straight direction, once supposed to be its course: but thrown beneath, it modestly submits, and falls toward the town. When the poet comes with his enchanting song to pour his magic numbers on this scene, this little island may aspire to live with those in the Ægean sea, where the song of Homer drew the image of delight, or where the Cam or Isis, embracing in their bosoms gems like these, are sung by Milton, father of the modern bards.

"On the west side of the Allegheny river, and opposite the orchard, is a level of three thousand acres, reserved by the state to be laid out in lots for the purpose of a town. A small stream, at right angles to the river, passes through it. On this ground it is supposed a town may stand; but on all hands it is excluded from the praise of being a situation so convenient as on the side of the river where the present town is placed; yet it is a most delightful grove of oak, cherry and walnut trees: but we return and take a view of the Monongahela, on the southern side of the town.

"This bank is closely set with buildings, for the distance of near half a mile, and behind this range the town chiefly lies, falling back on the plains between the two rivers. To the eastward is Grant's hill, a beautiful rising ground, discovering marks of ancient cultivation; the forests having long ago withdrawn, and shown the head and brow beset with green and flowers. From this hill two crystal fountains issue, which in the heat of summer continue with a limpid current to refresh the taste. It is pleasant to celebrate a festival on the summit of this ground. In the year 1781, a bower had been erected, covered with green shrubs. The sons and daughters of the day assembling, joined in the festivity, viewing the rivers at a distance, and listening to the music of the military on the plain beneath them. When the moonlight rising from the east had softened into gray, the prospect, a lofty pile of wood enflamed, with pyramidical rising, illuminated both the rivers and the town, which far around reflected brightness. Approaching in the appearance of a river god, a swain begirt with weeds natural to these streams, and crowned with leaves of the sugar tree, hailed us, and gave prophetic hints of the grandeur of our future empire. His words I remember not, but it seemed to me for a moment, that the mystic agency of deities well known in Greece and Rome, was not a fable; but that powers unseen haunt the woods and rivers, who

take part in the affairs of mortals, and are pleased with the celebration of events that spring from great achievements, and from virtue.

"This is the hill, and from whence it takes its name, where in the war which terminated in the year 1763, Grant, advancing with about eight hundred Caledonians or Highland Scotch troops, beat a reveille a little after sunrise to the French garrison, who, accompanied with a number of savages, sallied out and flanking him unseen from the bottom on the left and right, then covered with wood, ascended the hill, tomahawked and cut his troops to pieces, and made Grant himself prisoner. Bones and weapons are yet found on the hill—the bones white with the weather, the weapons covered with rust.

"On the summit of this hill is a mound of earth, supposed to be a catacomb or ancient burying place of the savages. There can be no doubt of this, as on the opening some of the like tumuli, or hills of earth, bones are found. In places where stones are plenty, these mounds are raised of stones, and skeletons are found in them. To the north-east of Grant's hill, there is one still higher, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, which is called the Quarry hill, from the excellent stone quarry that has been opened in it. From this hill there is an easy descent the whole way to the town, and an excellent smooth road, so that the stones can be easily procured to erect any building at Pittsburgh. From the Quarry hill you have a view of four or five miles of the Allegheny river, along which lies a fine bottom, and in high cultivation, with different inclosures and farm-houses, the river winding through the whole prospect.

"This hill would seem to stand as that whereon a strong redoubt might be placed, to command the commerce of the Allegheny river, while directly opposite, on the Monongahela side, to the south-east, stands a hill of the same height and appearance, known by the name of Ayres' hill, so called from a British engineer of that name, who gave his opinion in favor of this ground as that whereon the fort ought to be constructed, as being the highest ground, and which must command the rivers, and the plain with the inferior rising grounds on which the town is built. The hill has been cultivated on the summit by a Highland regiment, who built upon it, though the buildings are now gone, and the brow of the hill is still covered with wood.

"From Ayres' hill issue several fountains, falling chiefly toward the north, into a small brook, which increasing, encircles the foot

of the hill, and takes its course through several beautiful little meads into the Monongahela river. On this brook, before it takes its turn to the Monongahela, in a delightful little valley, and in the neighborhood of some plum-trees, the natives of the country, was the ancient risidence of a certain Anthony Thompson, the vestiges of whose habitation still remain; an extent of ground cleared by him lies to the north, accustomed to long cultivation, and now thrown out a common. The best brick may be made from this ground, the fine loam and sand of which the soil consists, and the water just at hand, highly favoring the object.

"As you ascend from this valley, through which a main leading road passes from the country, you see the Monongahela, and approaching Grant's hill on the right, you have the point of view from whence the town is seen to the best advantage. It is hid from you until by the winding of the road you begin to turn the point of the hill; you then see house by house on the Monongahela side opening to your view, until you are in front of the main town, in a direct line to the confluence of the rivers. Then the buildings on the Allegheny show themselves, with the plain extending to the right, which had been concealed. You have in the meantime a view of the rising grounds beyond the rivers, crowned with lofty woods. I was once greatly struck on a summer morning, viewing from the ground the early vapor rising from the river. It hung midway between the foot and summit of the hill, so that the green above had the appearance of an island in the clouds.

"It may be here observed, that at the junction of these two rivers, until eight o'clock of summer mornings, a light fog is usually incumbent: but it is of a salutary nature, inasmuch as it consists of vapor not exhaled from stagnant water, but which the sun of the preceding day had extracted from trees and flowers, and in the evening had sent back in dew, so that rising with a second sun in fog, and becoming of aromatic quality, it is experienced to be healthful.

"The town of Pittsburgh, as at present built, stands chiefly on what is called the third bank; that is the third rising of the ground above the Allegheny water. For there is the first bank, which confines the river at the present time; and about three hundred feet removed is a second, like the falling of a garden; then a third, at the distance of about three hundred yards; and lastly, a fourth bank, all of easy inclination, and parallel with the Allegheny river. These banks would seem in successive periods to have been the margin of the river, which gradually has changed its course, and

has been thrown from one descent to another, to the present bed where it lies. In digging wells the kind of stones are found which we observe in the Allegheny current, worn smooth by the attrition of the water. Shells also intermixed with these are thrown out. Nature, therefore, or the river, seems to have formed the bed of this town as a garden with level walks, and fallings of the ground. Hence the advantage of descending gardens on these banks, which art elsewhere endeavors, with the greatest industry, to form. Nor is the soil less happy than the situation. The mold is light and rich. The finest gardens in the known world may be formed here.

"The town consists at present of about an hundred dwelling houses, with buildings appurtenant. More are daily added, and for some time past it has improved with an equal but continual pace. The inhabitants, children, men and women, are about fifteen hundred;* this number doubling almost every year, from the accession of people from abroad, and from those born in the town. As I pass along, I may remark that this new country is in general highly prolific; whether it is that the vegetable air, if I may so express it, constantly perfumed with aromatic flavor, and impregnated with salts drawn from the fresh soil, is more favorable to the production of men and other animals than decayed grounds.

"There is not a more delightful spot under heaven to spend any of the summer months than at this place. I am astonished that there should be such repairing to the Warm Springs in Virginia, a place pent up between the hills, where the sun pours its beams concentrated as in a burning-glass, and not a breath of air stirs; where the eye can wander scarcely half a furlong, while here we have the breezes of the river, coming from the Mississippi and the ocean; the gales that fan the woods, and are sent from the refreshing lakes to the northward; in the meantime the prospect of extensive hills and dales, whence the fragrant air brings odors of a thousand flowers and plants, or of the corn and grain of husbandmen, upon its balmy wings. Here we have the town and country together. How pleasant it is in a summer evening, to walk out upon these grounds, the smooth green surface of the earth, and the woodland shade softening the late fervid beams of the sun; how pleasant by a crystal fountain is a tea party under one of those hills, with the rivers and the plains beneath.

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* "This estimate of the population here is a most extravagant one, being about fifteen to a house; which is incredible."—*Craig.*

"Nor is the winter season enjoyed with less festivity than in more populous and cultivated towns. The buildings warm; fuel abundant, consisting of the finest coal from the neighboring hills, or of ash, hickory, or oak, brought down in rafts by the rivers. In the meantime, the climate is less severe at this place than on the other side of the mountain, lying deep in the bosom of the wood; sheltered on the north-east by the bending of the Allegheny heights, and on the south-west warmed by the tepid winds from the bay of Mexico and the great southern ocean.

"In the fall of the year, and during the winter season, there is usually a great concourse of strangers at this place, from the different States, about to descend the river to the westward, or to make excursions into the uninhabited and adjoining country. These, with the inhabitants of the town spend the evening in parties at the different houses, or at public balls, where they are surprised to find an elegant assembly of ladies, not to be surpassed in beauty and accomplishments perhaps by any on the continent.

"It must appear like enchantment to a stranger, who after traveling an hundred miles from the settlements, across a dreary mountain, and through the adjoining country, where in many places the spurs of the mountain still continue, and cultivation does not always show itself, to see, all at once, and almost on the verge of the inhabited globe, a town with smoking chimneys, halls lighted up with splendor, ladies and gentlemen assembled, various music, and the mazes of the dance. He may suppose it to be the effect of magic, or that he is come into a new world where there is all the refinement of the former, and more benevolence of heart."

Redstone* was perhaps at that period next in importance to Pittsburgh. In 1759 Col. Burd was dispatched with two hundred men, to extend Braddock's road to the Monongahela, in order to open a better communication with Fort Pitt. At the mouth of Redstone creek, on the site of an ancient fortification, then known as Redstone Old Fort, he built a fort which he named Fort Burd. How long Fort Burd was maintained is not known. The site of it, however, continued to receive the name of Redstone, and early became a point of rendezvous for emigrants to Kentucky. As early as 1770, the site of Redstone was claimed by Cresap, under a tom-

* Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania.

ahawk right, and after his location there it became the head-quarters of the spies in the Indian wars that followed. The protection afforded by the posts and block-houses erected along the Monongahela, attracted settlers, and soon a very considerable population found its way into the valley of that river, and especially around Redstone. The importance of the point was greatly increased by the emigration that set in from the region east of the mountains, after the close of the war, along Braddock's road to Redstone, and thence by the river to Limestone, now Maysville, and other points in Kentucky. It was not, however, until 1785, that the present town of Brownsville was laid out on the site of Old Fort Redstone, and in the next year its population had increased to six hundred.

Several other points in Western Pennsylvania, now flourishing towns, were then already occupied, and a very considerable population already occupied the valley of the Monongahela, and the region between that river and the Allegheny. All that region was then divided into three counties.

In 1773, all of Western Pennsylvania included in the cession of 1768, and west of Laurel Hill, was erected into the county of Westmoreland, of which Hannastown was the seat of justice, until it was destroyed by the Indians in 1782.

In 1781, all that portion of Westmoreland county west of the Monongahela river, was erected into the county of Washington, and in the next year the borough of Washington, at Catfish, was laid out as the seat of justice. In 1783, the portion of Westmoreland county between the Monongahela and the Youghiogheny rivers, was erected into the county of Fayette, and Uniontown, which had been settled in 1768, was made the seat of justice. In 1790, the population of these three counties had risen to 53,209.*

No provision was made by Great Britain, in the treaty of peace, in 1785.] behalf of her Indian allies. The most faithful of these were the Six Nations, and their lands were included within the boundaries secured by the treaty to the United States. They had entered the British service on a pledge that they should be remunerated for all losses they might sustain. They had suffered greatly; their country had been ravaged with fire and sword, and in particular, the Mohawks had been driven from the whole of their beautiful valley. In remuneration for the loss of that coun-

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* Early History of Western Pennsylvania, App.

try, the governor-general of Canada conveyed to them a tract of land on Grand river, on the north side of Lake Erie. No other protection was afforded to the Six Nations, and all the sovereignty claimed over them by Great Britain was conveyed to the United States; and thus they were left at the mercy of the people whom the policy of the British cabinet had made their enemies.

The extent of that sovereignty was exceedingly ill-defined. The treaty of Lord Howard with the Six Nations in 1684, recognized them as under the protection of Great Britain; and the chiefs of the confederacy executed a deed in 1726, conveying to the English government their lands, in trust, "to be protected and defended by his Majesty, to and for the use of the grantors and their heirs." But these treaties were regarded by the Indians as treaties of alliance only, and were never recognized by them as conveying any sovereignty over them, or any title to their lands to the English crown.

The relation of the new government to the other Indian tribes, was also uncertain. They were not held to be civil societies with whom treaties might be made on the principles of the law of nations. They were not citizens or subjects of the new government, and therefore were not held to be amenable to the laws of the states or the confederation. Under these circumstances, on the recommendation of Mr. Jay, in 1782, the principle that had been adopted by the European nations was introduced into the practice of the new government. It was that discovery was equivalent to conquest; and therefore the natives retained only a possessory claim to their lands, and could only alienate it to the government claiming the sovereignty. While this became the general policy of the government, much difficulty was experienced in regard to the position of the Six Nations. The legislature of New York was determined to expel them entirely, in retaliation for their hostility during the war, from their whole territory. Under the representations of Washington and Schuyler, better counsels prevailed; and it was determined by the Continental Congress to forgive the hostilities of the past, and to dispossess them gradually by purchase, as the extension of the settlements might demand the occupation of their lands.

It was in accordance with this policy that a treaty with the Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas, Tuscuroras, and Seneca-O'beal tribes was held in October, 1784, at Fort Stanwix. The representatives of the United States were Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler, and Arthur Lee. The most distinguished chiefs of the confeder-

acy were Cornplanter and Red Jacket. Red Jacket was opposed to peace, and his speech for war was, says La Fayette, "a master piece, and every warrior who heard him was carried away with his eloquence." Cornplanter saw the folly of waging a war single handed against the whole power of the confederacy, and exerted all his power for peace. La Fayette was present, and urged them to preserve peace with the Americans; to rely upon their clemency, to sell their lands only to authorized agents of Congress, and to avoid the use of intoxicating drinks. Cornplanter sought to avoid a definite treaty, without the concurrence of the western tribes. But the commissioners were determined to punish the Six Nations, by a dismemberment of their territory, and refused to listen to any delay. After a long conference, a treaty was signed on the 22d of October, between the contracting parties, in the name of the confederation and of the Six Nations. Its provisions were:

"Six hostages shall be immediately delivered to the commissioners, by the said nations, to remain in possession of the United States, until all the prisoners, white and black, which were taken by the Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas, and Cayugas, or by any of them, in the late war, from among the citizens of the United States, shall be delivered up.

"The Oneidas and Tuscarora nations shall be secured in the possession of the lands on which they are settled.

"A line shall be drawn, beginning at the mouth of a creek, about four miles east of Niagara, called Oyonwayea, or Johnson's Landing Place, upon the lake, named by the Indians Oswego, and by us Ontario; from thence southernly, in a direction always four miles east of the carrying path, between Lake Erie and Ontario, to the mouth of Tehoseroron, or Buffalo creek, or Lake Erie; thence south, to the north boundary of the State of Pennsylvania; thence west, to the end of the said north boundary; thence south, along the west boundary of the said State, to the river Ohio; the said line, from the mouth of the Oyonwayea to the Ohio, shall be the western boundary of the lands of the Six Nations; so that the Six Nations shall, and do, yield to the United States, all claims to the country west of the said boundary; and then they shall be secured in the peaceful possession of the lands they inhabit, east and north of the same, reserving only six miles square, round the Fort of Oswego, to the United States, for the support of the same.

"The commissioners of the United States, in consideration of the present circumstances of the Six Nations, and in execution of the humane and liberal views of the United States, upon the

signing of these articles, will order goods to be delivered to the Six Nations for their own use and comfort."

The indefinite claim which the Six Nations had so long set up to the valley of the Mississippi, on the basis of their conquests a hundred years before, and which had entered so largely into the diplomacy of England and France, in the long contest they waged for the possession of the valley, was at length extinguished.

In pursuance of the policy of the new government, a treaty was held on the 21st of January, 1785, at Fort M'Intosh, between the United States, represented by George Rogers Clark, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee, and the chiefs of the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa tribes. Its provisions were—

"Three chiefs, one from the Wyandot and two from among the Delaware nations, shall be delivered up to the commissioners of the United States, to be by them retained till all the prisoners taken by the said nations, or any of them, shall be restored.

"The said Indian nations do acknowledge themselves, and all their tribes, to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other sovereign whatsoever.

"The boundary line between the United States and the Wyandot and Delaware nations, shall begin at the mouth of the river Cuyahoga, and run thence up the said river, to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; then down the said branch to the forks at the crossing place above Fort Laurens; then westwardly to the portage of the Big Miami, which runs into the Ohio, at the mouth of which branch the fort stood which was taken by the French in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two; then along the said portage to the Great Miami or Ome river, and down the south-east side of the same to its mouth; thence along the south shore of Lake Erie to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, where it began.

"The United States allot all the lands contained within the said lines to the Wyandot and Delaware nations, to live and to hunt on, and to such of the Ottawa nation as now live thereon; saving and reserving, for the establishment of trading posts, six miles square at the mouth of Miami or Ome river, and the same at the portage on that branch of the Big Miami which runs into the Ohio, and the same on the lake of Sandusky, where the fort formerly stood, and also two miles square on each side of the lower rapids of Sandusky river; which posts, and the lands annexed to them, shall be to the use, and under the government of the United States.

"If any citizen of the United States, or other person, not being an Indian, shall attempt to settle on any of the lands allotted to the Wyandot and Delaware nations, in this treaty, except on the lands reserved to the United States in the preceding article, such person shall forfeit the protection of the United States, and the Indians may punish him as they please.

"The Indians who sign this treaty, as well in behalf of all their tribes as of themselves, do acknowledge the lands east, south and west of the lines described in the third article, so far as the said Indians formerly claimed the same, to belong to the United States; and none of their tribes shall presume to settle upon the same, or any part of it.

"The post of Detroit, with a district beginning at the mouth of the river Rosine, on the west side of Lake Erie, and running west six miles up the southern bank of the said river, thence northerly, and always six miles west of the strait, till it strikes the lake St. Clair, shall also be reserved to the sole use of the United States.

"In the same manner, the post of Michilimackinack, with its dependencies, and twelve miles square about the same, shall be reserved to the use of the United States.

"If any Indian or Indians shall commit a robbery or murder on any citizen of the United States, the tribe to which such offender may belong shall be bound to deliver them up, at the nearest post, to be punished according to the ordinances of the United States.

"The commissioners of the United States, in pursuance of the humane and liberal views of Congress, upon the treaty's being signed, will direct goods to be distributed among the different tribes, for their use and comfort."

Thus were the first steps taken for securing to the United States the Indian titles to the vast realm beyond the Ohio; and a few months later, the legislation was commenced that was to determine the mode of its disposal, and the plan of its settlements.

To facilitate the entry and settlement of the lands thus purchased by the treaties of Fort Stanwix, and Fort McIntosh, "an ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the Western Territory," was passed by the Congress on the 20th of May, 1785. Its material provisions are these:

"A surveyor from each State shall be appointed by Congress, or a committee of the States, who shall take an oath for the faithful discharge of his duty, before the geographer of the United States, who is hereby empowered and directed to administer the same;

and the like oath shall be administered to each chain-carrier, by the surveyor under whom he acts.

"The geographer, under whose direction the surveyors shall act, shall occasionally form such regulations for their conduct, as he shall deem necessary; and shall have authority to suspend them for misconduct in office, and shall make report of the same to Congress, or to the committee of the States; and he shall make report in case of sickness, death, or resignation, of any surveyor.

"The surveyors, as they are respectively qualified, shall proceed to divide the said territory into townships of six miles square, by lines running due north and south, and others crossing these at right angles, as near as may be, unless where the boundaries of the late Indian purchases may render the same impracticable, and then they shall depart from this rule no further than such particular circumstances may require. And each surveyor shall be allowed and paid at the rate of two dollars for every mile in length he shall run, including the wages of chain-carriers, markers, and every other expense attending the same.

"The first line running north and south as aforesaid, shall begin on the river Ohio, at a point that shall be found to be due north from the western termination of a line which has been run as the southern boundary of the State of Pennsylvania: and the first line running east and west shall begin at the same point, and shall extend throughout the whole territory; provided, that nothing herein shall be construed as fixing the western boundary of the State of Pennsylvania. The geographer shall designate the townships or fractional parts of townships, by numbers, progressively, from south to north; always beginning each range with No. 1; and the ranges shall be distinguished by their progressive numbers to the westward—the first range, extending from the Ohio to the Lake Erie, being marked No. 1. The geographer shall personally attend to the running of the first east and west line; and shall take the latitude of the extremes of the first north and south line, and of the mouths of the principal rivers.

"The lines shall be measured with a chain; shall be plainly marked by chaps on trees, and exactly described on a plat; whereon shall be noted by the surveyor, at their proper distances, all mines, salt springs, salt licks, and mill seats, that shall come to his knowledge; and all water courses, mountains, and other remarkable and permanent things, over or near which such lines shall pass, and also the quality of the land.

"The plats of the townships, respectively, shall be marked, by

subdivisions, into lots of one mile square, or six hundred and forty acres, in the same direction as the external lines, and numbered from one to thirty-six; always beginning the succeeding range of the lots with the number next to that with which the preceding one concluded. And where, from the causes beforementioned, only a fractional part of a township shall be surveyed, the lots protracted thereon shall bear the same numbers as if the township had been entire. And the surveyors, in running the external lines of the townships shall, at the interval of every mile, mark corners for the lots which are adjacent, always designating the same in a different manner from those of the townships.

"The geographer and surveyors shall pay the utmost attention to the variation of the magnetic needle, and shall run and note all lines by the true meridian, certifying with every plat what was the variation at the times of running the lines thereon noted.

"As soon as seven ranges of townships, and fractional parts of townships, in the direction from south to north, shall have been surveyed, the geographer shall transmit plats thereof to the board of treasury, who shall record the same, with the report, in well-bound books, to be kept for that purpose. And the geographer shall make similar returns, from time to time, of every seven ranges, as they may be surveyed. The secretary of war shall have recourse thereto, and shall take by lot therefrom a number of townships and fractional parts of townships, as well from those to be sold entire, as from those to be sold in lots, as will be equal to one-seventh part of the whole of such seven ranges, as nearly as may be, for the use of the late continental army; and he shall make a similar draught, from time to time, until a sufficient quantity is drawn to satisfy the same, to be applied in manner hereinafter directed. The board of treasury shall, from time to time, cause the remaining numbers, as well those to be sold entire as those to be sold in lots, to be drawn for, in the name of the thirteen states, respectively, according to the quotas in the last preceding requisition on all the states: provided, that in case more land than its proportion is allotted for sale in any state at any distribution, a deduction be made therefor at the next.

"The board of treasury shall transmit a copy of the original plats, previously noting thereon the townships and fractional parts of townships, which shall have fallen to the several states, by the distribution aforesaid, to the commissioners of the loan office of the several states, who, after giving notice of not less than two, nor more than six months, by causing advertisements to be posted up

at the court houses or other noted places in every county, and to be inserted in one newspaper published in the states of their residence, respectively, shall proceed to sell the townships or fractional parts of townships, at public vendue, in the following manner, viz: the township or fractional part of a township No. 1, in the first range, shall be sold entire; and No. 2, in the same range by lots; and thus, in alternate order, through the whole of the first range. The township or fractional part of a township No. 1, in the second range, shall be sold by lots; and No. 2, in the same range, entire; and so, in alternate order, through the whole of the second range; and the third range shall be sold in the same manner as the first, and the fourth in the same manner as the second; and thus, alternately, throughout all the ranges: provided, that none of the lands within the said territory be sold under the price of one dollar the acre, to be paid in specie or loan office certificates, reduced to specie value by the scale of depreciation, or certificates of liquidated debts of the United States, including interest, besides the expense of the survey and other charges thereon, which are hereby rated at thirty-six dollars the township, in specie or certificates as aforesaid, and so in the same proportion, for a fractional part of a township or of a lot, to be paid at the time of sales, on failure of which payment the said lands shall again be offered for sale.

"There shall be reserved for the United States out of every township, the four lots, being numbered 8, 11, 26, 29, and out of every fractional part of a township, so many lots of the same numbers as shall be found thereon, for future sale. There shall be reserved the lot No. 16, of every township, for the maintenance of public schools within the said township; also, one-third part of all gold, silver, lead, and copper mines, to be sold, or otherwise disposed of, as Congress shall hereafter direct.

"And be it further ordained, That three townships adjacent to Lake Erie be reserved, to be hereafter disposed of by Congress, for the use of the officers, men, and others, refugees from Canada, and the refugees from Nova Scotia, who are or may be entitled to grants of land, under resolutions of Congress now existing, or which may hereafter be made respecting them, and for such other purposes as Congress may hereafter direct.

"And be it further ordained, That the towns of Gnadenhutten, Schönbrun, and Salem, on the Muskingum, and so much of the lands adjoining to the said towns, with the buildings and improvements thereon, shall be reserved for the sole use of the Christian Indians, who were formerly settled there, or the remains of that

society, as may, in the judgment of the geographer, be sufficient for them to cultivate.

"Saving and reserving always, to all officers and soldiers entitled to lands on the north-west side of the Ohio, by donation or bounty from the Commonwealth of Virginia, and to all persons claiming under them, all rights to which they are so entitled, under the deed of cession executed by the delegates for the State of Virginia, on the 1st day of March, 1784, and the act of Congress accepting the same: and to the end that the said rights may be fully and effectually secured, according to the true intent and meaning of the said deed of cession and act aforesaid, be it ordained, that no part of the land included between the rivers called Little Miami and Scioto, on the north-west side of the river Ohio, be sold, or in any manner alienated, until there shall first have been laid off and appropriated for the said officers and soldiers, and persons claiming under them, the lands they are entitled to, agreeably to the said deed of cession and act of Congress accepting the same."

It had been anticipated, that so soon as the treaty of Fort McIntosh was known, settlers and speculators would cross the Ohio, and to prevent the evil which it was foreseen would follow from such intrusion, by an order of Congress of the 15th of June, 1785, the following proclamation was published by the Indian commissioners, and circulated in the country north-west of the Ohio:

"Whereas, it has been represented to the United States, in Congress assembled, that several disorderly persons have crossed the Ohio and settled upon their unappropriated lands; and whereas, it is their intention, as soon as it shall be surveyed, to open offices for the sale of a considerable part thereof, in such proportions and under such other regulations as may suit the convenience of all the citizens of the said States and others who may wish to become purchasers of the same—and as such conduct tends to defeat the object they have in view, is in direct opposition to the ordinances and resolutions of Congress, and highly disrespectful to the federal authority; they have, therefore, thought fit, and do hereby issue this, their proclamation, forbidding all such unwarrantable intrusions, and enjoining all those who have settled thereon to depart with their families and effects, without loss of time, as they shall answer the same at their peril." *

* Dillon's Indiana, i. 199.

The peril to be apprehended from the weak hands of the confederacy might not have deterred fearless men from filling the forbidden land, but there were those near by who executed the laws they made in a manner which was by no means to be disregarded; and, when four families from Redstone attempted a settlement at the mouth of the Scioto, in April, 1785, they received such a notice to quit, from the natives, in the shape of rifle-balls, that two persons were killed and the survivors were glad enough to abandon their enterprise, and take refuge at Limestone. Further west, the experiment succeeded better, and some years previous to this time, in 1781, a settlement was made in the neighborhood of the old French forts, by emigrants from Western Virginia, who were joined during the present year by several other families from the same region.

In Kentucky, during 1785, events were of a different character from any yet witnessed in the West. Hitherto, to live and resist the savages had been the problem, but now the more complicated questions of self-rule and political power presented themselves for discussion and answer. The convention, which met late in 1784, finding a strong feeling prevalent in favor of separation from Virginia, and unwilling to assume too much responsibility, had proposed, as has been stated, a *second* convention, to meet in the following May. It met upon the 23d of that month, and the same spirit of self-dependence being dominant, an address to the Assembly of Virginia, and one to the people of Kentucky, together with five resolutions, all relative to separation, and in favor of it, were unanimously carried. Two of these resolutions deserve especial notice; one of them recognized, what the constitution of Virginia did not, the principle of equal representation, or a representation *of the people living in a certain territory*, and not the square miles contained in it: the other referred the whole matter again to a *third* convention, which was to meet in August, and continue its sessions by adjournment until April, 1786.

As the members of the body which passed this resolve had been chosen, it is believed, on the basis of equal representation, and for the very purpose of considering the question of independence, it is by no means clear why this reference to a third assembly was made. It may have been from great precaution, or it may have been through the influence of James Wilkinson, who, though not a member of the *second* convention, exercised great power in it; and who, being chosen a member of the *third*, became its leader and controller, by the combined influence of his manners, elo-

quence, intellect, and character. This gentleman, there appears to be reason to think, deemed the tone of the petition to Virginia too humble, and wished another meeting, to speak both to the parent State and the people of the district in more decided terms.

If such was his wish it was gratified. On the 8th of August, a *third* convention met, adopted a new form of address to the Old Dominion, and called upon the people of Kentucky to "arm, associate, and embody," "to hold in detestation and abhorrence, and treat as enemies to the community, every person who shall withhold his countenance and support of such measures as may be recommended for the common defense;" and to prepare for offensive movements against the Indians, without waiting to be attacked.*

That Wilkinson, in this address to the people of Kentucky, somewhat exaggerated the danger of Indian invasion is probable; and the propriety of his call upon his countrymen to invade the lands beyond the Ohio, at the time that Congress was treating with the natives owning them, and seeking to put a stop to warfare, is more than questionable: but still his expressions of anxiety lest the whites should be found unprepared, were not wholly without cause.

But the proper source of action in the matter at this time was the confederation, and Wilkinson and his associates, in proposing to invade the north-west territory, should have sought to act under its sanction, and not as leaders of a sovereign power. Nor was the confederation at this very time unmindful of the West; in the autumn of 1785, Major Doughty descended the Ohio to the mouth of the Muskingum, and upon the point north of the former, and west of the latter river, began Fort Harmar.

The address, or petition, though the last name seems scarcely appli- 1786.] cable, which the third Kentucky convention had sent to the Assembly of the parent State, was by that body duly received and listened to, and the reasons for an early separation appearing cogent, Virginia, in January, 1786, passed a law by which Kentucky might claim independence, provided she were willing to accept of the following conditions, as explained in a letter from Mr. Madison to Gen. Washington, dated December 9th, 1785:

"Kentucky made a formal application for independence. Her memorial has been considered, and the terms of separation fixed

* American Pioneer, i., 25—30, and frontispiece. Monette, ii., 222.

by a Committee of the Whole. The substance of them is, that all private rights and interests, derived from the laws of Virginia, shall be secured; that the unlocated lands shall be applied to the objects to which the laws of Virginia have appropriated them; that the Ohio shall be a common highway for the citizens of the United States, and the jurisdiction of Kentucky and Virginia, as far as the remaining territory of the latter will be thereon, be concurrent only with the new States on the opposite shore; that the proposed state shall take its due share of our State debts; and that the separation shall not take place unless these terms shall be approved by a convention to be held to decide the question, nor until Congress shall assent thereto, and fix the terms of their admission into the Union. The limits of the proposed State are to be the same with the present limits of the district The apparent coolness of the representatives of Kentucky, as to a separation, since these terms have been defined, indicates that they had some views which will not be favored by them. They dislike much to be hung upon the will of Congress."

These conditions were to be submitted to a *fourth* convention, to be held in the following September. If those were agreed to, the convention was to select a day posterior to September 1st, 1787, after which the laws of Virginia were to cease forever to be in force within the western district; for which, meanwhile, a constitution and laws were to be prepared by a *fifth* convention, to be called for that purpose: it being provided that this act was to be effective only when in substance approved by the United States. This act was not, however, altogether pleasant to the more zealous of the advocates of self-rule, and an attempt was made by Wilkinson and his friends to induce the people of the district to declare themselves independent of Virginia before the comparatively distant period fixed by the law in question. The attempt, however, was opposed and defeated. The election of members for the fourth convention took place without disturbance, and in September it would undoubtedly have met to attend to the business confided to it, had not the Indian incursions led to an expedition against the tribes on the Wabash, at the very time appointed for the assembly at Danville.

Before referring to this movement beyond the Ohio, however, it is necessary to mention the steps taken by Congress during the early part of this year to secure and perpetuate peace with the north-western tribes. The treaty of Fort Stanwix with the Iroquois,

was upon the 22d of October, 1784; that of Fort M'Intosh, with the Delawares, Wyandots, &c., upon the 21st of January, 1785; upon the 18th of March following, it was resolved that a treaty be held with the Wabash Indians, at Post Vincent, on the 20th of June, 1785, or at such other time and place as might seem best to the commissioners.* Various circumstances caused the time to be changed to the 31st of January, 1786, and the place to the mouth of the Great Miami, where, upon that day, a treaty was made by G. R. Clark, Richard Butler and Samuel H. Parsons; not, however, with the Piankeshaws and others named in the original resolution, but with the Delawares, Wyandots and Shawanese.

The absence of the Wabash Indians from this council was not the result of any change of plans on the part of the Americans, but solely of a growing spirit of hostility among the savages, fostered, there is too much reason to think, by the agents of England. The temper of the Indians who first met the commissioners, is thus referred to by General Parsons, in a letter to Capt. Hart, at Fort Harmar, dated "Fort Finney," at the mouth of the Great Miami, December 20, 1785.

"Since we have been here, every measure has been taken to bring in the Indians. The Wyandots and Delawares are here; the other nations were coming, and were turned back by the Shawanese. These at last sent two of their tribe to examine our situation, and satisfy themselves of our designs. With these men we were very open and explicit. We told them we were fully convinced of their designs in coming; that we were fully satisfied with it; that they were at liberty to take their own way and time to answer the purposes they came for; that we were desirous of living in peace with them, and for that purpose had come with offers of peace to them, which they would judge of, and whether peace or war was most for their interest; that we very well knew the measures the British agents had taken to deceive them. That if they came to the treaty, any man who had filled their ears with those stories was at liberty to come with them, and return in safety. But if they refused to treat with us, we should consider it as a declaration of war on their part, &c.

"These men stayed about us eight days, and then told us they were fully convinced our designs were good; that they had been deceived; that they would return home, and use their influence to

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* Old Journals, iv. 487.

bring in their nation, and send out to the other nations. Last night we received a belt of wampum, and a twist of tobacco, with a message that they would be in when we had smoked the tobacco. From our information, we are led to believe these people will very generally come in, and heartily concur with us in peace. I think it not probable the treaty will begin sooner than January.

"The British agents, our own traders, and the inhabitants of Kentucky, I am convinced, are all opposed to a treaty, and are using every measure to prevent it. Strange as this may seem, I have very convincing proofs of its reality. The causes I can assign, but they are too many for the compass of a letter. Notwithstanding all treaties we can make, I am convinced we shall not be in safety until we have posts established in the upper country."*

The various tribes of the north-west, therefore, had been invited to the mouth of the Miami, but owing to counter influence, neither attended, nor took any notice of the messages sent them; but those who did finally attend, came, if tradition tells truly, in no amicable spirit, and but for the profound knowledge possessed by Clark of the Indian character, and the high rank he held in the estimation of the natives, the meeting of January 31st might very probably have terminated in the murder of the commissioners.

From a late work by Judge Hall, the following passage is taken, descriptive of the scene which is said to have taken place. The Indians had entered in a disorderly and disrespectful manner. "The commissioners, without noticing the disorderly conduct of the other party, or appearing to have discovered their meditated treachery, opened the council in due form. They lighted the peace-pipe, and after drawing a few whiffs, passed it to the chiefs, who received it. Colonel Clark then rose to explain the purpose for which the treaty was ordered. With an unembarrassed air, with the tone of one accustomed to command, and an easy assurance of perfect security and self-possession, he stated that the commissioners had been sent to offer peace to the Shawanese; that the president had no wish to continue the war; he had no resentment to gratify; and if the red men desired peace, they could have it on reasonable terms. 'If such be the will of the Shawanese,' he concluded, 'let some of their wise men speak.'

"A chief arose, drew up his tall person to its full height, and assuming a haughty attitude, threw his eye contemptuously over the

* See North American Review, October, 1841, p. 330.

commissioners, and their small retinue, as if to measure their insignificance, in comparison with his own numerous train, and then stalking to the table, threw upon it two belts of wampum, of different colors—the war and the peace belt.

"'We come here,' he exclaimed, 'to offer you two pieces of wampum; they are of different colors; you know what they mean: you can take which you like!' and turning upon his heel, he resumed his seat.

"The chiefs drew themselves up, in the consciousness of having hurled defiance in the teeth of the white men. They offered an insult to the renowned leader of the Long-Knives, to which they knew it would be hard for him to submit, while they did not suppose he dare resent it. The council-pipe was laid aside. Those fierce wild men gazed intently at Clark. The Americans saw that the crisis had arrived; they could no longer doubt that the Indians understood the advantage they possessed, and were disposed to use it; and a common sense of danger caused each eye to be turned on the leading commissioner. He sat undisturbed and apparently careless until the chief who had thrown the belts upon the table had taken his seat; then with a small cane which he held in his hand, he reached as if playfully, toward the war belt, entangled the end of the stick in it, drew it towards him, and then with a switch of the cane, threw the belt into the midst of the chiefs. The effect was electric. Every man in the council, of each party, sprang to his feet, the savage with a loud exclamation of astonishment, 'Hugh!' The Americans in expectation of a hopeless conflict, against overwhelming numbers. Every hand grasped a weapon.

"Clark alone was unawed. The expression of his countenance changed to a ferocious sternness, and his eye flashed, but otherwise he was unmoved. A bitter smile was perceptible upon his compressed lips, as he gazed upon that savage band, whose hundred eyes were bent fiercely and in horrid exultation upon him, as they stood like a pack of wolves at bay, thirsting for blood, and ready to rush upon him whenever one bolder than the rest should commence the attack. It was one of those moments of indecision when the slightest weight thrown into either scale will make it preponderate; a moment in which a bold man, conversant with the secret springs of human action, may seize upon the minds of all around him, and sway them at his will.

"Such a man was the intrepid Virginian. He spoke and there was no man bold enough to gainsay him—none that could return

the fierce glance of his eye. Raising his arm, and waiving his hand toward the door, he exclaimed: '*Dogs! you may go!*' The Indians hesitated a moment, and then rushed tumultuously out of the council room."

Another account of the scene is given from the notes of an old officer who was present:

"The Indians came in to a treaty at Fort Finney in the most friendly manner, except the Shawanese, the most conceited and warlike of the aborigines, the first in at a battle, and the last at a treaty. Three hundred of their finest warriors, set off in all their paint and feathers, filed into the council-house. Their number and demeanor, so unusual at an occasion of this sort, was altogether unexpected and suspicious. The United States' stockade mustered seventy men. In the centre of the hall, at a little table, sat the commissary general, Clark, the indefatigable scourge of these very marauders; General Richard Butler and Mr. Parsons. There was also present a Captain Denny, who, I believe, is still alive, and can attest this story.

"On the part of the Indians, an old council-sachem and a war chief took the lead. The latter, a tall, raw-boned fellow, with an impudent and villainous look, made a boisterous and threatening speech, which operated effectually on the passions of the Indians, who set up a prodigious whoop at every pause. He concluded by presenting a black and white wampum, to signify they were prepared for either event, peace or war. Clark exhibited the same unaltered and careless countenance he had shown during the whole scene, his head leaning on his left hand, and his elbow resting upon the table. He raised his little cane, and pushed the sacred wampum off the table, with very little ceremony.

"Every Indian at the same time started from his seat with one of those sudden, simultaneous, and peculiar savage sounds, which startle and disconcert the stoutest heart, and can neither be described nor forgotten.

"At this juncture Clark arose. The scrutinizing eye cowered at his glance. He stamped his foot on the prostrate and insulted symbol, and ordered them to leave the hall. They did so, apparently involuntarily. They were heard all that night, debating in the bushes near the fort. The raw-boned chief was for war, the old sachem for peace. The latter prevailed, and the next morning they came back and sued for peace."*

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*Encyclopedia Americana, iii. 232.

The treaty at Fort Finney, in addition to the usual articles, contained the following:

"The Shawanee nation do acknowledge the United States to be the sole and absolute sovereigns of all the territory ceded to them by a treaty of peace made between them and the king of Great Britain, the fourteenth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

"The United States do allot to the Shawanee nation, lands within their territory, to live and hunt upon, beginning at the south line of the lands allotted to the Wyandots and Delaware nations, at the place where the main branch of the Great Miami, which falls into the Ohio, intersects said line; then down the river Miami, to the fork of that river, next below the old fort which was taken by the French in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two; thence, due west, to the River De La Panse; then down that river, to the river Wabash; beyond which lines none of the citizens of the United States shall settle, nor disturb the Shawanese in their settlement and possessions. And the Shawanese do relinquish to the United States, all title, or pretense of title, they ever had to the lands east, west, and south of the east, west, and south lines before described."

But the tribes more distant than the Shawanese were in no way disposed to cease their incursions, and upon the 16th of May, the Governor of Virginia was forced to write upon the subject to Congress, which at once sent two companies down the Ohio to the Falls, and upon the 30th of June, authorized the raising of militia in Kentucky, and the invasion of the country of the mischief-makers, under the command of the leading United States officer in the district.

"Accordingly, a strong military force was raised in Kentucky, for the purpose of making simultaneous attacks on the Indian towns of the Wabash and the Shawanee villages in the country between the Big Miami and the Scioto rivers. About one thousand men, under the command of General George Rogers Clark, marched from the Falls of the Ohio for Post Vincennes, and arrived in the neighborhood of that place early in the month of October. The army then encamped, and lay in a state of inactivity for nine days, awaiting the arrival of provisions and stores which had been shipped on keel boats at Louisville and Clarksville.

"When the boats arrived at Post Vincennes, about one-half of the provision was spoiled; and that part which had been moved by land was almost exhausted. A spirit of discontent began to

manifest itself in camp, even before the arrival of the boats; and when the state of supplies was known, this spirit became more apparent. The Kentucky troops, however, having been reinforced by a considerable number of the inhabitants of Post Vincennes, were ordered to move up the Wabash, toward the Indian towns that lay in the vicinity of the ancient post of Ouiatenon. The people of these towns had received intelligence of the approach of their enemy, and had selected a place for an ambuscade among the defiles of Pine creek.

"On reaching the neighborhood of the mouth of Vermillion river, the army found that the Indians had deserted their villages on that stream near its junction with the Wabash. At this crisis, when the spirits of the officers and men were depressed by disappointment, hunger and fatigue, some persons circulated throughout the camp a rumor that General Clark had sent a flag of truce to the Indians, with the offer of peace or war. This rumor, combined with a lamentable change which had taken place in the once temperate, bold, energetic and commanding character of Clark, excited among the troops a spirit of insubordination which neither the commands nor the entreaties, nor the tears of the general could subdue. At an encampment near the mouth of Vermillion river, about three hundred men in a body left the army, and proceeded on their way homeward. The remainder of the troops, under the command of General Clark, then abandoned the expedition and returned to Post Vincennes.

"The expedition which marched against the Shawanese, who had again resumed hostilities, was commanded by Colonel Benjamin Logan. This officer, at the head of four or five hundred mounted riflemen, crossed the river Ohio, at the point where the town of Maysville now stands, and penetrated the Indian country as far as the head waters of Mad river. General Lytle says: 'Colonel Logan would have surprised the Indian towns against which he marched, had not one of his men deserted to the enemy, and gave notice of his approach. As it was, he burned eight large towns, and destroyed many fields of corn. He took seventy or eighty prisoners, and killed about twenty warriors, and among the rest, the head chief of the nation. This last act caused deep regret, humiliation and shame to the commander of his troops.' The murder of the chief was, however, perpetrated in direct violation of the orders of Colonel Logan. In the course of this expedition the Kentuckians lost about ten men."*

* Dillon's Indiana, p. 202.

It was the gathering of the men of Kentucky for these expeditions, which prevented the meeting of the convention that was to have come together in September. So many were absent on military duty that a quorum could not be had, and those who came to the point of assembly, were forced, as a committee, merely to to prepare a memorial for the Virginia Legislature, setting forth the causes which made a convention at that time impossible, and asking certain changes in the Act of Separation. This done, they continued their meetings by adjournment during the remainder of the year, hoping a quorum might still be gathered; which was not done, however, until the ensuing January.

Meanwhile, beyond the Alleghenies, events were taking place which produced more excitement in Kentucky than Indian wars, or Acts of Separation—the Spanish negotiations, involving the navigation of the Mississippi. In 1780, Spain expressed her determination to claim the control of the great western river; in January, 1781, she attacked the Fort of St. Joseph's, and took possession of the north-west in the name of his Catholic Majesty; on the 15th of the next month, Congress, at the instance of the Virginia delegates, instructed Mr. Jay, then at Madrid, not to insist on the use of the Mississippi by the Americans, if a treaty could not be effected without giving it up. Through 1782, the court of Madrid labored, not only to induce the United States to give up the stream of the West, but a great part of the West itself, and France backed her pretensions;* and thus matters rested for the time.

In July, 1785, Don Diego Gardoqui, appeared before Congress, as the representative of Spain; on the 20th of the same month, Mr. Jay, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, was authorized to negotiate with him; and, in May of the same year, negotiations began between them were brought to the notice of Congress. This was done in consequence of the fact, that in these transactions Mr. Jay asked the special guidance of that body, and explained his reasons for doing so at length. He pointed out the importance of a commercial treaty with Spain, and dwelt upon the two difficulties of making such a treaty; one of which was, the unwillingness of Spain to permit the navigation of the Mississippi; the other, the question of boundaries. Upon the first point, Mr. Jay was, and always had been, opposed to yielding to the Spanish claim; but that

† Secret Journals, iv, 63 to 80. Diplomatic Correspondence.

claim was still as strenuously urged, as in 1780; and the court of Madrid, their ambassador said, would never abandon it.

Under these circumstances, the interests of the whole Union demanding the conclusion of the Spanish commercial treaty, while that treaty could apparently be secured only by giving up the right to navigate the Mississippi, which was in a manner sacrificing the West. Mr. Jay proposed, as a sort of compromise, to form a treaty with Spain for twenty-five or thirty years, and during that time to yield the right of using the Mississippi below the boundaries of the United States.

To this proposition, the Southern members in Congress were vehemently opposed, and an attempt was made by them to take the whole matter out of Mr. Jay's hands, the delegates from Virginia offering a long and able argument in opposition to his scheme; but the members of the Eastern and Middle States outvoted the south, and the Secretary was authorized to continue his negotiations, without being bound to insist, at all hazards, upon the immediate use of the river.*

The discussion in Congress relative to the Spanish claims, took place during August, and the rumor of them, and of the Secretary's proposal, in due time reached the West; but, as is common, the tale spread by report differed from the truth, by representing the proposition as much more positive than it really was, and as being made by John Jay, without any sanction of Congress.

This story, which circulated during the winter of 1786–87, produced among those who dwelt upon the western waters great indignation, and prepared the people to anticipate a contest with Spain, or a union with her, and, in either case, action independent of the old Atlantic colonies. And the conduct of Clark, after the failure of the Wabash expedition, was well calculated to cause many to think that the leading minds were already prepared for action.

On the 8th of October, a board of field officers at Vincennes determined to garrison that point, to raise supplies by impressment, and to enlist new troops. Under this determination, Spanish property was seized, soldiers were embodied, and steps were taken to hold a peace council with the natives, all under the direction of General Clark.

Soon after this, in December, Thomas Green wrote from Louis-

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* Secret Journals, iv. 81 to 132.

ville to the governor, council and legislature of Georgia—which State was involved in the boundary quarrel with Spain—that Spanish property had been seized in the north-west as a hostile measure, and not merely to procure necessaries for the troops, which Clark afterward declared was the case, and added, that the General was ready to go down the river with troops sufficient to take possession of the lands in dispute, if Georgia would countenance him.

This letter Clark said he never saw, but as he paid equally with Green toward the expenses of the messenger who was to take it to the south, it was natural enough to think him privy to all the plans relative to the disputed territory, whatever they may have been. And what they were, in some minds at least, may, perhaps, be judged by the following extract from a letter, also written from Louisville, professedly to some one in New England, and very probably by Green, which was circulated widely in Frankland, Tennessee. It is dated December 4, 1786.

"Our situation is as bad as it possibly can be, therefore every exertion to retrieve our circumstances must be manly, eligible and just. We can raise twenty thousand troops this side the Allegheny and Apalachian mountains, and the annual increase of them by emigration from other parts, is from two to four thousand.

"We have taken all the goods belonging to the Spanish merchants of Post Vincennes and the Illinois, and are determined they shall not trade up the river, provided they will not let us trade down it. Preparations are now making here (if necessary) to drive the Spaniards from their settlements, at the mouth of the Mississippi. In case we are not countenanced and succored by the United States, (if we need it,) our allegiance will be thrown off, and some other power applied to.

"Great Britain stands ready with open arms to receive and support us. They have already offered to open their resources for our supplies. When once re-united to them, 'farewell, a long farewell to all your boasted greatness.' The province of Canada and the inhabitants of these waters, of themselves, in time, will be able to conquer you. You are as ignorant of this country as Great Britain was of America. These are hints which, if rightly improved, may be of some service; if not, blame yourselves for the neglect."*

The seizure of the property of the Spanish merchants at Vincennes, was an act of retaliation on the part of the people for what

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* Secret Journals, iv. 323.

they regarded as a national injustice—the closing of the Mississippi against them.

Wells, Green's messenger, on his way to Georgia, showed his papers to various persons at Danville; copies were at once taken of them, and enclosed in a letter written on the 22d of December, to the Executive of Virginia, by fifteen of the leading citizens of Kentucky, among whom was James Wilkinson. In February, 1787, the Council of Virginia acted upon the subject, condemned Gen. Clark's conduct, disavowed the powers assumed by him, ordered the prosecution of the persons concerned in the seizure of property, and laid the matter before Congress. It was presented in detail to that body on the 13th of April, and on the 24th of that month it was resolved that the troops of the United States be employed to dispossess the unauthorized intruders who had taken possession of St. Vincents. All these things naturally tended to excite speculation, inquiry and fear throughout the West, and though no action was had in reference to the Mississippi question beyond the mountains until the next spring, there was, doubtless, discussion and feeling enough in the interval.

But in the history of 1786, those steps which resulted in the formation of the New England Ohio Company, and the founding of the first colony, authorized by the government, north-west of the Ohio, must not be omitted.

Congress, by the resolutions of September 16, 1776, and August 12, 1780, had promised land bounties to the officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary army, who should continue in the service till the close of the war, or until discharged by Congress; and to the representatives of those who should be slain by the enemy.* In June, 1783, peace having been proclaimed, General Rufus Putnam forwarded to Washington a memorial from certain of those having claims under these resolutions; which Washington transmitted to Congress, together with General Putnam's letter.

But as the States claiming the western territory had not made their final cessions, Congress was forced, on the 29th of October, 1783, to announce their inability to make any appropriation of land. From that time nothing further was done until, upon the 18th of July, 1785, Benjamin Tupper, a Revolutionary officer belonging to Massachusetts, was appointed a surveyor of western

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* Land Laws, 337.

lands, in the place of General Putnam, who had been before chosen, but was otherwise engaged. He, in the course of that year, visited the West, going, however, no further than Pittsburgh, as the Indian troubles prevented surveys.*

On his return home, he conferred with his friend Putnam, as to a renewal of their memorial of 1783, and a removal westward; which conference resulted in a publication, dated January 10, 1786, in which was proposed the formation of a company to settle the Ohio lands; and those taking an interest in the plan were invited to meet in February, and choose, for each county of Massachusetts, one or more delegates; these delegates were to assemble on the 1st of March, at the Bunch of Grapes tavern in Boston, there to agree upon a system of association. On the day named, eleven persons appeared at the place agreed upon; and by the 3d of March, the outline of the company was drawn up, and subscriptions under it at once commenced. The leading features of that outline were these: A fund of a million dollars, mainly in continental certificates, was to be raised for the purpose of purchasing lands in the western territory; there were to be a thousand shares of one thousand dollars each, and upon each share ten dollars in specie were to be paid, for contingent expenses. One year's interest was to be appropriated to the charges of making a settlement, and assisting those unable to remove without aid. The owners of every twenty shares were to choose an agent to represent them, and attend to their interests; and the agents were to choose the directors.† The plan was approved, and in a year from that time the company was organized; and, before its organization, the last obstacle to the purposed grant from the United States, was done away by the cession of most of her territorial claims on the part of Connecticut.

Beside the claim of Virginia to the north-west previously ceded to the confederation, there were various other, and, in some instances, conflicting claims to the same region. New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut, in particular, claimed under their ancient charters large tracts of country west of Pennsylvania, and north of the Ohio.

On the 1st day of March, 1781, James Duane, William Floyd, and Alexander McDougal, made, on behalf of the State of New

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* Nye's Address, Transactions Ohio Historical Society, p. 317.

† Historical Collections of Ohio, Part 2.

York, a cession of all the claims of that State, to the north-west territory. By the terms of the cession, the western boundary of New York, in respect both of jurisdiction and title to the soil, was established by a line to be drawn from the north-eastern corner of the State of Pennsylvania, along the north bounds thereof to its north-west corner, continued, if necessary, further due west till it is intersected by a meridian line drawn from the forty-fifth degree of latitude through the most western bent or inclination of Lake Ontario; thence, due north along that meridian line to the forty-fifth degree, and along that parallel of latitude. But if, on experiment, that meridian line should not comprehend twenty miles west from the most westerly bent or inclination of the Niagara river, it was provided that the boundary line should be drawn due west from the north-western corner of Pennsylvania, till it is intersected by a meridian line drawn from the forty-fifth degree through a point twenty miles west of the most westerly bent or inclination of the Niagara river; thence, by that meridian line to, and thence along the forty-fifth parallel of latitude. At that time the north-western corner of the State of Pennsylvania was unknown; and subsequently, when ascertained, it was found to be west of both those lines.

On the 18th of April, 1785, the commonwealth of Massachusetts ceded to the United States all its claims west of the same meridian line, and along it till it intersects the prolongation of the southern line of that State.

It may be proper to refer more in detail to the cession of the claim of Connecticut.

In 1635, a settlement was made at the mouth of the Connecticut, river, by John Wenthrop and others, from the colony of Massachusetts bay. Finding themselves without the chartered limits of that colony, they associated themselves into a voluntary political society, under the name of the colony of Connecticut. In 1661, they petitioned the crown for a formal political organization. In the next year, a charter was granted to the colony of Connecticut, in which its limits were described, as

"Bounded on the east by Narraganset river, commonly called Narraganset bay, where the said river falls into the sea; and on the north, by the line of Massachusetts plantation, and on the south, by the sea; and in longitude as the line of Massachusetts colony, running from east to west, that is to say, from the said Narraganset bay on the east, to the south sea on the west, with the islands thereto adjoining."

In 1664, a royal charter was granted to the Duke of York, for a large tract of country in America, of which a part was described as including "all that island or islands, called by the several name or names of Mattawacks, or Long Island, situate, lying and being toward the west of Cape Cod and the Narragansets, abutting on the main lands between the two rivers there called and known by the name of Connecticut and Hudson rivers, together with the said river, called Hudson river, and all the lands from the west side of Connecticut river to the east side of the Delaware bay, &c." A dispute immediately ensued between the Duke of York and the Connecticut colony, in regard to these conflicting claims under their respective charters, which was settled by a royal commission, who established the Monoromock river, and a line north north-west from thence to the line of Massachusetts, to be the dividing line between the colony of Connecticut and the territory claimed by the Duke of York.

In 1681, a charter was granted to William Penn for a territory, described as extending to, and bounded on the north by the forty-third parallel of latitude; and westward for five degrees in longitude.

After the transfer of the claims of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania to the commonwealth, in 1779, a question of jurisdiction arose between the States of Connecticut and Pennsylvania, in regard to the lands between the forty-first and forty-second degrees of latitude, thus included in the charters of both these States. It was tried before a commission of Congress in 1782, and a decision was rendered in favor of the claims of Pennsylvania, in respect both of jurisdiction and title to the soil. But the decision of the commission did not affect the claims of Connecticut to the lands included in its charter, west of the limits of Pennsylvania; and, to assert its right to those lands, the legislature of that State passed, in 1783, the following resolution:

"Whereas, this State has the undoubted and exclusive right of jurisdiction and pre-emption to all the lands lying west from the western limits of the State of Pennsylvania, and east of the river Mississippi, and extending throughout, from the latitude of the forty-first degree to the latitude of the forty-second degree and two minutes north; by virtue of the charter granted by King Charles the Second to the late colony, and now State of Connecticut, and bearing date the 23d of April, 1662, which claim and title to make known for the information of all, that they may conform themselves thereto—

"*Resolved*, That his excellency the Governor be desired to issue his proclamation, declaring and asserting the right of this State to all the lands within the limits aforesaid, and strictly forbidding all persons to enter or settle thereon, without special license and authority first obtained from the General Assembly of this State."

In consequence of the recommendation of Congress, in 1784, addressed to all the States having territorial claims in the West, asking them to cede their lands to the confederacy, to aid the payment of the debts incurred during the revolution, and to promote the harmony of the Union, the legislature of Connecticut passed an act in 1786, ceding, "All the right, title, interest, jurisdiction, and claim of the State of Connecticut to certain western lands, beginning at the completion of the forty-first degree of north latitude, one hundred and twenty miles west of the western boundary of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, as now claimed by said commonwealth; and from thence by a line to be drawn parallel to and one hundred and twenty miles west of the said west line of Pennsylvania, and to continue north till it comes to forty-two degrees and two minutes of north latitude; where by all the right, title, interest, jurisdiction, and claim of the State of Connecticut to the lands lying west of the said line, to be drawn as aforementioned one hundred and twenty miles west of the western boundary line of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, as now claimed by said commonwealth, shall be included, relcased, and ceded to the United States, in Congress assembled, for the common use and benefit of said States, Connecticut inclusive."

On the 14th of September, 1786, the delegates from Connecticut executed a deed of cession in accordance with the terms of this act, which was accepted by Congress in behalf of the United States.*

It has been said that a minority of the convention called in Kentucky, 1787.] to meet in September, 1786, was adjourned from time to time until January of this year; when, at length a quorum attended. Upon a vote being then taken relative to separation, the feeling was still, as before, strongly in favor of it. But scarce had this been ascertained when a second act upon the subject, passed by Virginia in October, 1786, reached the West, and the whole question was again postponed, to be laid before a *fifth* convention, which was to

* American State Papers, xvi. 94.

meet in September; while the time when the laws of Virginia should cease to be of force, was changed to the close of the year 1778.

There were many, beyond doubt, to whom this delay was a source of vexation and anger, but the people of the district generally evinced no such feelings. The elections took place in August, and the convention assembled upon the 17th of September, all in perfect harmony and quietness. The vote was again unanimous in favor of separation, and the act of Virginia was agreed to. To form a constitution, a *sixth* convention was to be chosen in the ensuing April, and to complete the work of independence, Congress was to assent to a formation of Kentucky into a State, before July 4, 1788.

Nor was the spirit of moderation shown this year by the Kentuckians in relation to self-government, confined to that subject; in regard to the vexatious affair of the Spanish claims, there was a like temper manifested. Mr. Jay, as already related, had been authorized by Congress to abandon the right of using the Mississippi for a term of years, but not to yield the pretensions of the United States to its navigation after that period closed.

In October, 1786, under these instructions, he resumed his negotiations with Don Gardoqui, but without success, as Spain required an entire relinquishment of the American claim.* In November of that year, also, Virginia had passed several resolutions against giving up the use of the river, even for a day, and had instructed her delegates to oppose every attempt of the kind. When, therefore, the people of Kentucky met at Danville, early in May, 1787, to act in relation to the subject—having been called together by Messrs. Muter, Innis, Brown and Sebastian, for that purpose—they found that little or nothing was to be done; the plan of the Secretary was not likely to succeed, and had been fully protested against. The assembly at Danville having been informed of these things, quietly adjourned.

What connection existed between this better spirit of the people of Kentucky, and the absence of Wilkinson, it is impossible to say, but it is probable that, if he had remained at home, he would, with the influence he was able and disposed to exert, have induced the convention to adopt a line of policy which would have made a peaceable separation from Virginia impossible. That indeed was

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*Secret Journals, iv. 297–301.

the object to which he and his accomplices directed their schemes, and to affect which he was willing to sacrifice his own honor, the integrity of the Union, and the liberties of the district. In furtherance of that infamous purpose, and convinced that he could not effect the dismemberment of the country without foreign aid, he descended the Mississippi in the summer of that year, and entered into a treasonable conspiracy with the Spanish governor of Louisiana, to take advantage of the dissatisfaction of the people of the district, to transfer their allegiance to Spain, and to give that power the possession of the whole Mississippi valley.

There was a general discontent at that period among the people of Kentucky, of which their leaders were as usual ready to take advantage for their own aggrandizement. The desire of the people for a separation of the district from Virginia, familiarized their minds to the idea of a separation from the confederacy. Harry Innis, the attorney-general of the district, in a letter to the governor of Virginia, said: "I am decidedly of the opinion that this western country will, in a few years, act for itself, and erect an independent government;" and the same opinion was generally entertained and freely expressed among the leading men of Kentucky.

Nor did the prospect of the establishment of the Federal Union, then under consideration, produce any better state of feeling. The new constitution was very generally circulated through the district, by means of the Kentucky Gazette, a paper established in August, 1787, by John Bradford, at Lexington; its provisions were fully understood; and yet, of fourteen representatives from the district of Kentucky, in the convention called in 1788, to deliberate on the question of adopting it, only three voted in favor of it.

The sole reasons for this dissatisfaction, then rapidly ripening into treason, were the delay of the state of Virginia to provide for the district a separate political organization, and especially the inability of the general government to procure for them the navigation of the Mississippi. Mr. Jay's proposition, to surrender the navigation of the river for a term of years, was very unfavorably received in the West, and the discontents it excited were greatly enhanced by the discovery that the leading statesmen of Virginia, including Washington himself, were disposed to favor that policy.

The policy* which Washington desired to pursue at that period,

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* See Sparks' Washington, vol. ix.

with reference to the interests of the West, was not well understood, and was therefore misapprehended by the people of Kentucky. It was not at all his design to sacrifice the rights of the people of the West for the benefit of those of the East, or to render the interests of one part of the confederacy subservient to those of another. Instead of that, he was then employed in devising measures to secure, by means of a system of internal improvement, such a communication between the East and West, as would inseparably connect together the commercial, and, by consequence, the political interests of the two sections.

The formation of a connection between the Ohio and Potomac, for commercial purposes, was a scheme to which he was at an early period favorably disposed. Before the Revolution he was the principal mover in the formation of a company to extend the navigation of the Potomac from tide water to Wills' creek, with a view of ultimately forming a connection with the waters of the Ohio, but the breaking out of the war, and the jealousies of the merchants of Baltimore, embarrassed, and finally frustrated the scheme.

Immediately after the Revolution he began again to urge upon the consideration of the statesmen of the country, the adoption of a similar line of policy, with a view then, however, more to political than to commercial results. In his letter to Governor Harrison, in 1784, he strongly urges the necessity of binding together all parts of the Union, and especially the West with the East, with the indissoluble bonds of interest, in order to prevent the formation of commercial, and, in consequence, political connections, with either the *Spaniards on the south, or the British on the north.* To effect that end he advised the immediate survey of the Potomac and James rivers, of the portages to the waters of the Ohio, of the Muskingum, and the portage from that river to the Cuyahoga; for the purpose of opening a water communication for the commerce of the Ohio and the lakes, to the seaboard, and this he characterized as an object of vast commercial and political importance.

In a letter to Richard Henry Lee, in the same year, he asks: "Would it not be worthy of the wisdom and attention of Congress to have the western waters well explored, the navigation of them fully ascertained and accurately laid down, and a complete and perfect map made of the country, at least as far westerly as the Miamis, running into the Ohio, and Lake Erie, and to see how the waters of these communicate with the river St. Joseph, which empties into Lake Michigan, and with the Wabash? for I cannot

forbear observing that the Miami village* points to a very important post for the Union."

In a letter to Mr. Lee, in 1785, he says: "However singular the opinion may be, I cannot divest myself of it, that the navigation of the Mississippi, *at this time*, ought to be no object with us. On the contrary, until we have a little time allowed to open and make easy the ways between the Atlantic states and the western territory, the obstructions had better remain. There is nothing that binds one country or one State to another but interest."

In order to further, as far as practicable, the policy he had thus suggested, Washington made it an especial object to collect all the information available at the time, in regard to the practicability of opening such a communication between the East and the West, and especially in regard to the possibility of forming an available connection between the waters of the Ohio and those of Lake Erie. His letter to General Butler, under date of January 17th, 1788, is an exemplification of his anxiety to obtain information on that subject, as well as of the practical, inquiring disposition of his mind:

"I have received your letter of the 30th of November, 1787, accompanied by the Indian vocabulary which you have been so obliging as to forward me. I am so far from thinking any apology necessary on your part, for not having furnished me with the vocabulary at an earlier period, that I assure you it is a matter of surprise to me to find that you have been able to complete a work of such difficulty and magnitude as this appears to be, in so short a time, under the pain which you must have suffered, and the delays occasioned by your misfortune.

"The pleasing satisfaction which you must enjoy, from a reflection that you have exerted yourself to throw light upon the original history of this country—to gratify the curiosity of the philosopher, and to forward the researches in the probable connection and communication between the northern parts of America and those of Asia—must make you a more ample compensation for the laborious task which you have executed, than my warmest acknowledgments, which, however, I must beg you to accept.

"The observations contained in your letter respecting the different tribes of Indians inhabiting the western country, the traditions which prevail among them, and the reasoning deduced therefrom, are very valuable, and may lead to some useful discoveries.

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* Near the present site of Fort Wayne.

"Those works which are found upon the Ohio, and other traces of the country being once inhabited by a race of people more ingenious, at least, if not more civilized than those who at present dwell there, have excited the attention and inquiries of the curious, to learn from whence they came, whither they are gone, and something of their history. Any clue, therefore, which can lead to a knowledge of these, must be gratefully received.

"As you have had opportunities of gaining extensive knowledge and information respecting the western territory, its situation, rivers, and the face of the country, I must beg the favor of you, my dear sir, to resolve the following queries, either from your own knowledge or certain information, (as well to gratify my own curiosity as to enable me to satisfy several gentlemen of distinction in other countries, who have applied to me for information upon the subject,) viz:

"*First.*—What is the face of the country between the sources, or canoe navigation, of the Cuyahoga, (which discharges itself into Lake Erie,) and the Big Beaver, and between the Cuyahoga and the Muskingum?"

"*Second.*—The distance between the waters of the Cuyahoga and each of the two rivers above mentioned?

"*Third.*—Would it be practicable, and not very expensive, to cut a canal between the Cuyahoga and either of the above rivers, so as to open a communication between the waters of Lake Erie and those of the Ohio?

"*Fourth.*—Whether there is any more direct, practicable, and easy communication between the waters of Lake Erie and those of the Ohio, by which the fur and peltry of the upper country can be transported, than these?

"Any information you can give me relative to the above queries, from your own knowledge, will be most agreeable; but if that is not sufficiently accurate for you to decide upon, the best and most authentic accounts of others will be very acceptable."

While, south of Ohio, dissatisfaction with the Federal Union was spreading openly, as the necessary consequences of free and unfettered choice, the New England associates for settling the northwest were, by degrees, preparing to realize their plans of colonization. In March, 1786, it will be remembered, they began their subscription; on the 8th of that month, 1787, a meeting of agents chose Gen. Parsons, Gen. Putnam, and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler directors for the company, and these directors appointed Dr. Cutler

to go to New York and negotiate with Congress for the desired tract of country. On the 5th of July that gentleman reached the temporary capital of the Union, and then began a scene of management worthy of more degenerate days. The following extracts from Dr. Cutler's journal are given, to indicate the mode of procedure adopted to secure the negotiation; of these, but a few paragraphs can be given.* The first relates to the choice of the Muskingum valley as the spot for settlement:

"July 7. Paid my respects to Dr. Holton and several other gentlemen. Was introduced by Dr. Ewings and Mr. Rittenhouse to Mr. Hutchins, Geographer of the United States. Consulted with him where to make our location.

"Monday, July 9. Waited this morning, very early, on Mr. Hutchins. He gave me the fullest information of the western country, from Pennsylvania to the Illinois, and advised me, by all means, to make our location on the Muskingum, which was decidedly, in his opinion, the best part of the whole western country. Attended the committee before Congress opened, and then spent the remainder of the forenoon with Mr. Hutchins.

"Attended the committee at Congress chamber; debated on terms, but were so wide apart there appears little prospect of closing a contract.

"Called again on Mr. Hutchins. Consulted him further about the place of location."

The opinion thus given by Hutchins, who had been long and familiarly acquainted with the West, agreed with that formed by General Parsons, who had visited the Ohio valley, once at least, if not twice; the result of his observations will be found in the letter given at length in the article of the North American Review, of October, 1841, already quoted. The other extracts, which are taken from the Doctor's journal, refer to the "maneuvers," as he terms them, by which was effected a contract at least as favorable to the Union as it was to the company:

"Colonel Duer came to me with proposals from a number of the principal characters in the city, *to extend our contract, and take in another company;* but that it should be kept a profound secret. He explained the plan they had concerted, and offered me generous conditions if I would accomplish the business for them. The plan struck me agreeably; Sargent insisted on my undertaking; and both urged me not to think of giving the matter up so soon.

* North American Review, October, 1841.

"I was convinced it was best for me to hold up the idea of giving up a contract with Congress, and making a contract with some of the States, which I did in the strongest terms, and represented to the committee and to Duer and Sargent the difficulties I saw in the way, and the improbability of closing a bargain when we were so far separated; and told them I conceived it not worth while to say any thing further to Congress on the subject. This appeared to have the effect I wished. The committee were mortified, and did not seem to know what to say; but still urged another attempt. I left them in this state, but afterward explained my views to Duer and Sargent, who fully approved my plan. Promised Duer to consider his proposals.

"I spent the evening (closeted) with Colonel Duer, and agreed to purchase more land, if terms could be obtained, for another company, which will probably forward the negotiation.

"*Saturday, July* 21. Several members of Congress called on me early this morning. They discovered much anxiety about a contract, and assured me that Congress, on finding I was determined not to accept their terms, and had proposed leaving the city, had discovered a much more favorable disposition; and believed, if I renewed my request I might obtain conditions as reasonable as I desired. I was very indifferent and talked much of the advantages of a contract with one of the States. This I found had the desired effect. At length I told him that if Congress would accede to the terms I proposed, I would extend the purchase to the tenth township from the Ohio to the Scioto inclusively; by which Congress would pay more than four millions of the public debt; that our intention was, an *actual, large,* and *immediate settlement* of the most robust and industrious people in America, and that it would be made systematically, which would instantly advance the price of the Federal lands, and prove an important acquisition to Congress. On these terms, I would renew the negotiation, if Congress was disposed to take the matter up again.

"I spent the evening with Mr. Dane and Mr. Milliken. They informed me that Congress had taken up my business again.

"*July* 23. My friends had made every exertion, in private conversation, to bring over my opponents in Congress. In order to get at some of them so as to work more powerfully on their minds, were obliged to engage three or four persons before we could get at them. In some instances we engaged one person who engaged a second, and he a third, before we could effect our purpose. In these maneuvers I am much beholden to Colonel Duer and Major Sargent.

"Having found it impossible to support General Parsons, as a candidate for Governor, after the interest that General Arthur St. Clair had secured, I embraced this opportunity to declare that if General Parsons could have the appointment of first judge, and Sargent secretary, we should be satisfied; and that I heartily wished his Excellency General St. Clair might be the Governor; and that I would solicit the Eastern members in his favor. This I found rather pleasing to Southern members.

"I am fully convinced that it was good policy to give up Parsons and openly appear solicitous that St. Clair might be appointed governor. Several gentlemen have told me that our matters went on much better since St. Clair and his friends had been informed that we had given up Parsons, and that I had solicited the Eastern members in favor of his appointment. I immediately went to Sargent and Duer, and we now entered into the true spirit of negotiation with great bodies. Every machine in the city that it was possible to work we now put in motion. Few, Bingham, and Kearney are our principal opposers. Of Few and Bingham there is hope; but to bring over that stubborn mule of a Kearney, I think is beyond our power.

"*Friday, July* 27. I rose very early this morning, and, after adjusting my baggage for my return, for I was determined to leave New York this day, I set out on a general morning visit, and paid my respects to all the members of Congress in the city, and informed them of my intention to leave the city that day. My expectations of obtaining a contract, I told them, were nearly at an end. I should, however, wait the decision of Congress; and if the terms I had stated—and which I conceived to be very advantageous to Congress, considering the circumstances of that country—were not acceded to, we must turn our attention to some other part of the country. New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts would sell us lands at half a dollar, and give us exclusive privileges beyond what we have asked of Congress.

"The speculating plan concerted between the British of Canada, was not well known. The uneasiness of the Kentucky people, with respect to the Mississippi, was notorious. A revolt of that country from the Union, if a war with Spain took place, was universally acknowledged to be highly probable; and most certainly a systematic settlement in that country, conducted by men thoroughly attached to the federal government, and composed of young, robust, and hardly laborers, who had no idea of any other than the Federal Government, I conceived to be an object worthy of some attention."

This business was carried through Congress, and brought to a conclusion in great haste. At that time the fiscal concerns of government were deplorable; the treasury of the nation was exhausted, money could not be raised on loan, as the whole revolutionary debt was a terrible incubus on the national credit, and the only alternative was to sell lands. Dr. Cutler's own journal shows he managed the negotiation shrewdly, but not quite honorably.

On the 23d of July, Congress authorized the Board of Treasury to make the contract; on the 26th, Messrs. Cutler and Sargent stated, in writing, their conditions; and on the 27th, Congress referred their letter to the Board, and an order of the same date was obtained. Of this, his journal says:

"By this ordinance we obtained the grant of near five millions of acres of land, amounting to three millions and a half dollars; one million and a half of acres for the Ohio Company, and the remainder for a private speculation, in which many of the principal characters of America are concerned. Without connecting this speculation, similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio Company."

Messrs. Cutler and Sargent, the latter of whom the doctor had associated with himself some days before, at once closed a verbal contract with the Board of Treasury, which was executed in form on the 27th of the following October.* By this contract, the vast region bounded south by the Ohio, west by the Scioto, east by the seventh range of townships then surveying, and north by a due west line drawn from the north boundary of the tenth township from the Ohio, direct to the Scioto, was sold to the Ohio associates, and their secret co-partners, for one dollar per acre, subject to a deduction of one-third for bad lands and other contingencies.

The whole tract, however, was not paid for, or taken by the company—even their own portion of a million and a half of acres, and extending west to the eighteenth range of townships, was not taken; and in 1792, the boundaries of the purchase proper were fixed as follows: the Ohio on the south, the seventh range of townships on the east, the sixteenth range on the west, and a line on the north so drawn as to make the grant seven hundred and fifty thousand (750,000) acres, besides reservations; this grant being the portion which it was originally agreed the company might enter into possession of at once. In addition to this, two hundred and fourteen thousand two hundred and eighty-five (214,285) acres of land were

*See Land Laws, 262 to 264.—Old Journals, iv. Appendix, 17, 18.

granted as army bounties, under the resolutions of 1779 and 1780; and one hundred thousand (100,000) as bounties to actual settlers; both of the latter tracts being within the original grant of 1787, and adjoining the purchase as above defined.

While Dr. Cutler was preparing to press his suit with Congress, that body was bringing into form an ordinance for the political and social organization of the territory beyond the Ohio. Virginia made her cession March 1, 1784, and during the month following a plan for the temporary government of the newly acquired territory came under discussion. On the 19th of April, Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, moved to strike from that plan, which had been reported by Mr. Jefferson, a provision for prohibiting slavery north-west of the Ohio, after the year 1800—and this motion prevailed. From that day till the 23d, the plan was debated and altered, and then passed unanimously, with the exception of South Carolina.* By this proposition the territory was to have been divided into States, by parallels of latitude and meridian lines;† this, it was thought, would have made ten States, which were to have been named as follows, beginning at the north-west corner, and going southwardly:—Sylvania, Michigania, Chersonisus, Assenispia, Metropotamia, Illinoia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia, and Pelisipia.‡ Surely the hero of Mount Vernon must have shuddered to find himself in such company.

But a more serious difficulty existed to this plan than its catalogue of names—namely, the number of States which it was proposed to form, and their boundaries. The root of this evil was in the resolution passed by Congress, October 10th, 1780, which fixed the size of the States to be formed from the ceded lands, at one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles square; and the terms of that resolution had been referred to, both by Virginia and Massachusetts in their grants, so as to make further legislation, at least, by the former, needful to change them. Upon the 7th of July, 1786, this subject was taken up in Congress, and a resolution passed in favor of a division of not less than three nor more than five States, to which resolution Virginia, at the close of 1788, assented. On the 29th of September, 1786, Congress, having thus changed the plan for dividing the north-western territory into ten

* Old Journals, iv. 380. † Old Journals, iv. 379; Land Laws, 347.
‡ Spark's Washington, ix. 48.

States, proceeded again to consider the terms of an ordinance for the government of that region; and this was taken up from time to time, until July 13th of this year, when it was finally passed, having been somewhat changed just before its passage, at the suggestion of Dr. Cutler. It is inserted entire, as it is the corner-stone of the constitutions of our north-western States:

"Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, That the said territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be one district, subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

"Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the estates, both of resident and non-resident proprietors in said territory, dying intestate, shall descend to, and be distributed among their children, and the descendants of a deceased child, in equal parts; the descendants of a deceased child, or grand-child, to take the share of their deceased parent in equal parts among them: And where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin in equal degree; and, among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parents' share; and there shall, in no case, be a distinction between kindred of the whole and half-blood; saving, in all cases, to the widow of the intestate, her third part of the real estate for life, and one-third part of the personal estate; and this law, relative to descents and dower, shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district.

"And, until the governor and judges shall adopt laws as hereinafter mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her, in whom the estate may be, (being of full age,) and attested by three witnesses; and real estates may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed and delivered, by the person, being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers, shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may be transferred by delivery, saving, however, to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincents, and the neighboring villages who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and

customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property.

"Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That there shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in one thousand acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

"There shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years, unless sooner revoked; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of his office; it shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his executive department, and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings, every six months, to the secretary of Congress: There shall also be appointed a court to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate in five hundred acres of land while in the exercise of their offices; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

"The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time; which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but, afterward, the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

"The governor, for the time being, shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same below the rank of general officers; all general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

"Previous to the organization of the General Assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same. After the General Assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said Assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

"For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof; and he shall proceed from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district, in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

"So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, of full age, in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships to represent them in the General Assembly: *Provided*, That, for every five hundred free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative, and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five; after which, the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature: *Provided*, That no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years: and, in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, two hundred acres of land within the same: *Provided*, *also*, That a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the States, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years' residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

"The representatives thus elected, shall serve for the term of two years: and, in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

"The General Assembly, or Legislature, shall consist of the Governor, Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives. The Legislative Council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by Congress; any three of whom to be a quorum: and the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as representatives shall be elected, the governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together; and when met they shall nominate ten persons, residents in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in five hundred acres of land, and return their names

to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid; and whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the House of Representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to Congress; one of whom Congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term.

"And every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of the council, the said House shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the council five years unless sooner removed. And the Governor, Legislative Council, and House of Representatives, shall have authority to make laws in all cases, for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills, having passed by a majority in the House, and by a majority in the Council, shall be referred to the Governor for his assent; but no bill, or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the General Assembly, when, in his opinion, it shall be expedient.

"The Governor, Judges, Legislative Council, Secretary, and such other officers as Congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity and of office—the Governor before the President of Congress, and all other officers before the Governor. As soon as a Legislature shall be formed in the district, the Council and House assembled in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting, during this temporary government.

"And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory; to provide also for the establishment of States, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

"It is hereby ordained and declared by the authority aforesaid, That the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in

the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:

"No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

"The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and of the trial by jury, of a proportionate representation of the people in the Legislature; and of judicial proceedings according to the course of common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences, where the proof shall be evident or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; and, should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements, bona fide, and without fraud, previously formed.

"Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall, from time to time, be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

"The said territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the articles of confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted, or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government, to be apportioned on them by Congress according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments

thereof shall be made on the other States; and the taxes, for paying their proportion, shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the district or districts, or new States, as in the original States, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled. The Legislatures of those districts or new States, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the bona fide purchasers.

"No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and, in no case, shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost or duty, therefor.

"There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three nor more than five States; and the boundaries of the States, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession, and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit: The western State in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post St. Vincent's due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and, by the said territorial line, to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi.

"The middle State shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Post St. Vincent's to the Ohio; by the Ohio, by a direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami, to the said territorial line. The eastern State shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: *Provided, however*, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan.

"And, whenever any of the said States shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever, and shall

be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government: *Provided*, the constitution and government so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than sixty thousand.

"There shall be neither slavery or involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: *Provided, always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or services as aforesaid.

"Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid: That the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, relative to the subject of this ordinance, be, and the same are hereby repealed and declared null and void. Done, &c." *

The passage of this ordinance, and the grant to the New England associates, was soon followed by an application to government by John Cleve Symmes of New Jersey, for the country between the Miamis. † This gentleman had been led to visit that region by the representations of Benjamin Stites, of Redstone, (Brownsville,) who had examined the valleys of the Shawanese soon after the treaty of January, 1786. Symmes found them all, and more than all they had been represented to be, and upon the 29th of August, 1787, wrote to the President of Congress, asking that the Treasury Board might be empowered to contract with him for the district above named. This petition, on the 2d of October, was referred to the Board, with power to act, and a contract was concluded the next year. Upon the 18th of the month last named, another application was made by Royal Flint and Joseph Parker, for lands upon the Wabash and Mississippi; this was also referred to the Board of Treasury.

During the autumn of the same year, the New England company were employed in making arrangements for the settlement of the lands they had purchased on the Ohio. At a meeting of the directors, immediately after the completion of the contract, a resolution was adopted, to reserve out of the purchase, a tract of

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* Land Laws, p. 356. † Burnet's letters in the Ohio Historical Transactions.

five thousand seven hundred and sixty acres of land near the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers, for a city and commons; and resolutions were adopted to provide houses for the use of settlers, and to encourage the erection of mills.

"At a meeting of the directors of the Ohio Company, at Bracket's tavern in Boston, November 23d, 1787, it was ordered that four surveyors be employed under the direction of the superintendent hereinafter named; that twenty-two men shall attend the surveyors; that there be added to this number, twenty men, including six boat-builders, four house-carpenters, one blacksmith, and nine common workmen—in all forty-eight men. That the boat-builders shall proceed on Monday next, and the surveyors shall rendezvous at Hartford the 1st day of January next, on their way to the Muskingum; that the boat-builders and men with the surveyors, be proprietors in the company; their tools, and one axe, and one hoe, to each man, and thirty pounds weight of baggage, shall be carried in the company's wagons, and that the subsistence of the men on their journey be furnished; that upon their arrival at the place of destination, and entering upon the business of their employment, the men shall be subsisted by the company and allowed wages at the rate of four dollars each, per month, until discharged; that they shall be held in the company's service until the 1st of July next, unless sooner discharged; and if any of the persons employed shall leave the service or willfully injure the same, or disobey the orders of the superintendent or others acting under him, the person so offending shall forfeit all claim to wages; that their wages shall be paid the next autumn in cash, or lands upon the same terms as the company purchased them; that each man furnish himself with a good small-arm, bayonet, six flints, a powder-horn and pouch, priming wire and brush, half a pound of powder, one pound of balls, and one pound of buck-shot. The men so engaged shall be subject to the orders of the superintendent, and those he may appoint, as aforesaid; in any kinds of business they shall be employed in, as well for boat-building and surveying, as for building houses, erecting defenses, clearing land, and planting, or otherwise for promoting the settlement. And as there is a possibility of interruption from enemies, they shall be subject to orders, as aforesaid, in military command, during the time of their employment. That the surveyors shall be allowed twenty-seven dollars per month and subsistence, while in actual service; to commence on their arrival at the Muskingum; that Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, from Rhode Island; Mr. Anselm

Tupper and Mr. John Matthews, from Massachusetts; and Colonel R. J. Meigs, from Connecticut, be the surveyors; that General Rufus Putnam be the superintendent of all the business aforesaid, and he is to be obeyed and respected accordingly; that he be allowed for his services forty dollars per month and his expenses, to commence from the time of his leaving home." *

At the same meeting a committee was appointed to consider and report on "the expediency of employing some suitable person as a public teacher, at the settlement on the Ohio." They reported "that the directors be requested to pay as early attention as possible, to the education of youth, and the promotion of public worship among the first settlers; and that for these important purposes, they employ, if practicable, an instructor, eminent for literary accomplishments and the virtue of his character, who shall also superintend the first scholastic institutions and direct the manner of instruction; and to enable the directors to carry into execution the intentions expressed in this resolution, the proprietors and others of benevolent minds, are earnestly requested to contribute by voluntary donation to the forming a fund to be solely appropriated thereto." In accordance with this resolution, the Rev. Daniel Story was appointed and sent in the next year as the first New England missionary to Ohio.

When Clark took his unauthorized possession of Vincennes, in 1788.] October, 1786, he had asked the savages of the north-west to meet him in council in November; they replied that it was too late in the year, and the proposed meeting was postponed till April. Of this meeting, Messrs. Marshall, Muter, and others, when writing to Virginia, gave information, and suggested that the government should take Clark's place in it. The council of Virginia coincided with the suggestion, and recommended to Congress, James Wilkinson, Richard C. Anderson, and Isaac Shelby, as commissioners on behalf of the United States. Congress, however, received notice of Clark's movements too late for the proposed treaty, and nothing seems to have been done until July 21st, when the superintendent of Indian affairs in the north, or, if he could not go, Colonel Harmar, was instructed to proceed to Vincennes, or some other convenient place, and there hold a council with the Wabash Indians and Shawanese, for the purpose of putting an end to the warfare.

* Hildreth's Pioneer History, 202.

Favorable notice was also taken of a council which had been held at the mouth of Detroit river, in December, 1786, by the Iroquois, Wyandots and others, the purpose of which was pacific, and from which an address relative to the Indian troubles had been sent to Congress. This was considered, and on the 5th of October, it was resolved that a treaty should be held early in the year 1788, with these tribes, by the governor of the new territory, who was instructed on the subject, on the 26th of the month last mentioned. At the same time, however, that measures were thus taken to preserve peace, troops were placed at Venango, Fort Pitt, Fort McIntosh, the Muskingum, the Miami, Vincennes, and Louisville, and the governor of Virginia was requested to have the militia of Kentucky in readiness for any emergency.

All these measures, however, produced no results during 1788; the Indians were neither overawed, conquered nor satisfied; from May until the middle of July, they were expected to meet the whites upon the Muskingum, but the point which had been selected, and where goods had been placed, being at last attacked by the Chippewas, it was thought best to adjourn the meeting and hold it at Fort Harmar, where it was at length held in January, 1789.

The hostile attitude of the Indians, however, did not deter the New England associates from the prosecution of their enterprise. In the winter of 1787, General Rufus Putnam, with forty-seven pioneers, advanced to the Youghiogheny river, and commenced building a boat for their transportation down the river in the spring. In allusion to their pilgrim fathers, their boat was named the Mayflower. She was forty-five feet long, and twelve feet wide, with an estimated burthen of fifty tons. Her bows were raking, or curved like a galley, strongly timbered; her sides were made bullet proof, and she was covered with a deck roof. Captain Devol, the first ship builder in the West, was placed in command. On the 2d of April, she was launched, and the band of pioneers sailed down the Monongahela and Ohio, and on the 7th, landed at the mouth of the Muskingum. There, opposite Fort Harmar, they chose the location of their settlement, moored their boat at the shore for a temporary shelter, and commenced to erect houses for their occupation.

About the 1st of July, the colony was reinforced by another company from Massachusetts. They had been nine weeks on their way, had traveled by land with their wagons and stock to Wheeling, and thence passed down the river in flat boats to the settlement.

As St. Clair, who had been appointed governor the preceding October, had not arrived, it became necessary to erect a temporary government for their internal security; for which purpose a set of laws was passed, and published by being nailed to a tree in the village, and Return Jonathan Meigs was appointed to administer them. It is a strong evidence of the good habits of the people of the colony, that during three months, but one difference occurred, and that was compromised.* Indeed, a better set of men altogether, could scarce have been selected for the purpose, than Putnam's little band. Washington might well say, "no colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has first commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property, and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community."

On the 2d of July, a meeting of the directors and agents was held on the banks of the Muskingum, for the purpose of naming the new born city and its public squares. As yet the settlement had been merely "The Muskingum," but the name Marietta was now formally given it, in honor of Marie Antoinette; the square upon which the block-houses stood was named *Campus Martius;* the square No. 19, *Capitolium;* the square No. 61, *Cecilia;* and the great road through the covert way, *Sacra Via.*†

On the 4th of July an oration was delivered by James M. Varnum, who, with H. S. Parsons and John Armstrong, had been appointed to the judicial bench of the territory, on the 16th of October, 1787. Five days after, the governor arrived and the colony began to assume form. The ordinance of 1787, provided two distinct grades of government for the north-west territory, under the first of which the whole power was in the hands of the governor and the three judges, and this form was at once organized upon the governor's arrival. The first law, which was "for regulating and establishing the militia," was published upon the 25th of July; and the next day appeared the following proclamation of the governor, erecting all the country that had been ceded by the Indians east of the Scioto river into the county of Washington.

"To all persons to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Whereas, by the ordinance of Congress, of the 13th of July, 1787, for the government of the territory of the United States north-west

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* Western Monthly Magazine, 1833, vol. i. p. 395. † Carey's Museum, vol. iv. p. 390.

of the river Ohio, it is directed that for the due execution of process, civil and criminal, the governor shall make proper divisions of the said territory, and proceed from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the part of the same, where the Indian title has been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject to future alterations as therein specified. Now, know ye, that it appearing to me to be necessary, for the purposes above mentioned, that a county should immediately be laid out, I have ordained and ordered, and by these presents do ordain and order, that all and singular the lands lying and being within the following boundaries, viz: Beginning on the bank of the Ohio river, where the western boundary line of Pennsylvania crosses it, and running with that line to Lake Erie; thence along the southern shore of the said lake to the mouth of the Cuyahoga river; thence up said river to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence down the branch to the forks, at the crossing place above Fort Laurens; thence with a line to be drawn westerly to the portage of that branch of the Big Miami, on which the fort stood that was taken by the French in 1752, until it meets the road from the lower Shawanese town to the Sandusky; thence south to the Scioto river; thence with that river to the mouth, and thence up the Ohio river to the place of beginning; shall be a county, and the same is hereby erected into a county, named and to be called hereafter the county of Washington; and the said county of Washington shall have and enjoy all and singular, the jurisdiction, rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities whatever to a county belonging and appertaining, and which any other county, that may hereafter be erected and laid out, shall or ought to enjoy, conformably to the ordinance of Congress before mentioned. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the territory to be affixed, this twenty-sixth day of July, in the thirteenth year of the independence of the United States, and in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight."

From that time forward, notwithstanding the doubt yet existing as to the Indians, all at Marietta went on prosperously and pleasantly. On the 2d of September the first court was held, with becoming ceremonies.

"The procession was formed at the Point, (where most of the settlers resided,) in the following order: the high sheriff, with his drawn sword; the citizens; the officers at the garrison at Fort Harmar; the members of the bar; the supreme judges; the

governor and clergyman; the newly appointed judges of the court of common pleas, Generals Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper.

"They marched up a path that had been cut and cleared through the forest to Campus Martius Hall, (stockade,) where the whole counter-marched, and the judges, (Putnam and Tupper,) took their seats. The clergyman, Rev. Dr. Cutler, then invoked the divine blessing. The sheriff, Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, proclaimed with his solemn 'O yes, that a court is open for the administration of even-handed justice, to the poor and the rich, to the guilty and the innocent, without respect to persons; none to be punished without a trial by their peers, and then in pursuance of the laws and evidence in the case.'

"Although this scene was exhibited thus early in the settlement of the State, few ever equaled it in the dignity and exalted character of its principal participators. Many of them belonged to the history of our country, in the darkest as well as the most splendid periods of the Revolutionary war. To witness this spectacle, a large body of Indians was collected, from the most powerful tribes then occupying the almost entire West. They had assembled for the purpose of making a treaty. Whether any of them entered the hall of justice, or what were their impressions, we are not told."*

"The progress of the settlement," says a letter from Muskingum, "is sufficiently rapid for the first year. We are continually erecting houses, but arrivals are faster than we can possibly provide convenient covering. Our first ball was opened about the middle of December, at which were fifteen ladies, as well accomplished in the manners of polite circles, as any I have ever seen in the old States. I mention this to show the progress of society in this new world; where I believe we shall vie with, if not excel, the old States, in every accomplishment necessary to render life agreeable and happy."

The emigration westward, even at this time, was very great; the commandant at Fort Harmar reporting four thousand five hundred persons as having passed that post between February and June, 1788; many of whom would have stopped on the purchase of the Associates, had they been ready to receive them.

During the following year, and indeed until the Indians, who, in spite of treaties, had been committing depredations all the time,

* American Pioneer, i. 165.

stealing horses and sinking boats, went fairly and openly to war, the settlement on the Muskingum grew slowly, but steadily, and to good purpose; the first attack made by Indians on the Muskingum settlements began January 2d, 1791.

Nor were Symmes and his New Jersey friends idle during this year, though his purchase was far more open to Indian depredations than that of the Massachusetts men. His first proposition had been referred, as before mentioned, to the Board of Treasury, with power to contract, upon the 2d of October, 1787.

Upon the 26th of the next month, Symmes issued a pamphlet, addressed "to the respectable public," stating the terms of his contract, and the scheme of sale which he proposed to adopt. This was, to issue his warrants for not less than a quarter section, (an hundred and sixty acres,) which might be located anywhere, except, of course, on reservations, and spots previously chosen. No section was to be divided, if the warrant held by the locater would cover the whole. The price was to be sixty cents and two-thirds per acre, till May, 1788; then one dollar till November; and, after that time, was to be regulated by the demand for land.

Every locater was bound to begin improvements within two years, or forfeit one-sixth of his purchase to whoever would settle thereon, and remain seven years. Military bounties might be taken in this as in the purchase of the associates. For himself, Symmes retained one township, near the mouth of the Great Miami, on which he proposed to build his great city; to help the growth of which he offered each alternate lot to any one that would build a house, and live therein three years.

As Continental certificates were rising, in consequence of the great land purchases then making with them, and as difficulty was apprehended in procuring enough to make his first payment, Symmes was anxious to send forward settlers early, that the true value of his purchase might become known at the east. He had, however, some difficulty in arranging with the Board of Treasury the boundaries of the first portion he was to occupy.*

In January, 1788, Mathias Denman, of New Jersey, took an interest in Symmes' purchase, and located among other tracts the sectional and fractional section upon which Cincinnati has been built. Retaining one-third of this particular locality, he sold

*Manuscript Letters of Symmes. See Burnet's Letters, 136.

another third to Robert Patterson, and the remainder to John Filson; and the three, about August, 1788, agreed to lay out a town on the spot, which was designated as being opposite Licking river, to the mouth of which they proposed to have a road cut from Lexington, Kentucky, to be connected with the northern shore by a ferry.

Mr. Filson, who had been a schoolmaster, was appointed to name the town; and, in respect to its situation, and as if with a prophetic perception of the mixed races that were in after days to inhabit there, he named it Losantiville, which, being interpreted, means *ville*, the town; *anti*, opposite to; *os*, the mouth; *L*, of Licking. This may well put to the blush the *Campus Martius* of the Marietta scholars, and the Fort Solon of the Spaniards.

Meanwhile, in July, Symmes got thirty people and eight four-horse wagons under way for the West. These reached Limestone (now Maysville) in September, where they found Mr. Stites with several persons from Redstone. But the mind of the chief purchaser was full of trouble. He had not only been obliged to relinquish his first contract, which was expected to embrace two millions of acres, but had failed to conclude one for the single million which he now proposed taking. This arose from a difference between him and the government, he wishing to have the whole Ohio from between the Miamies, while the Board of Treasury wished to confine him to twenty miles upon the Ohio.

This proposition, however, he would not for a long time agree to, as he had made sales along nearly the whole Ohio shore. Leaving the bargain in this unsettled state, Congress considered itself released from its obligation to sell; and, but for the representations of some of his friends, our adventurer would have lost his bargain, his labor, and his money. Nor was this all. In February, 1778, he had been appointed one of the judges of the north-west territory, in place of Mr. Armstrong, who declined serving. This appointment gave offense to some, and others were envious of the great fortune which it was thought he would make.

Some of his associates complained of him, also, probably of his endangering the contract to which they had become parties. With these murmurs and reproaches behind him, he saw before him danger, delay, suffering, and, perhaps, ultimate failure and ruin, and, although hopeful by nature, apparently he felt discouraged and sad. However, a visit to his purchase, where he landed on the 22d of September, revived his spirits, and upon his return to Maysville, he wrote to Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey,

who had become interested with him, that he thought some of the land near the Great Miami "positively worth a silver dollar the acre in its present state."

It may be well to give here a sketch of the changes made in Symmes' contract. His first application was for all the country between the Miamies, running up to the north line of the Ohio Company's purchase, extending due west. On the 22d of October, 1787, Congress resolved that the Board of Treasury be authorized to contract with any one for tracts of not less than a million acres of western lands, the front of which, on the Ohio, Wabash and other rivers, should not exceed one-third the depth.

On the 15th of May, 1788, Dayton and Marsh, as Symmes' agents, concluded a contract with the Commissioners of the Treasury for two millions of acres, in two equal tracts. In July, Symmes concluded to take only one tract, but differed with the Commissioners on the grounds stated in the text. After much negotiation, upon the 15th of October, 1788, Dayton and Marsh concluded a contract with the government, bearing date May 15th, for one million of acres, beginning twenty miles up the Ohio from the mouth of the Great Miami, and to run back for quantity between the Miami and a line drawn from the Ohio, parallel to the general course of that river. In 1791, Symmes found this would throw his purchase too far back from the Ohio, and applied to Congress to let him have all between the Miamies, running back so as to include a million acres, which that body, on the 12th of April, 1792, agreed to do.

When the lands between the Miamies were surveyed, however, it was found that the tract south of a line drawn from the head of the Little, due west to the Great Miami, would include less than six hundred thousand acres; but even this Symmes could not pay for, and when his patent issued, upon the 30th September, 1794, it gave him and his associates but two hundred and forty-eight thousand five hundred and forty acres, exclusive of reservations, which amounted to sixty-three thousand one hundred and forty-two acres. This tract was bounded by the Ohio, the two Miamies, and a due east and west line, run so as to comprehend the desired quantity. As Symmes made no further payments after this time, the rest of his purchase reverted to the United States, who gave those that had bought under Symmes ample pre-emption rights.*

About this time the Indians were threatening. "In Kentucky," says Symmes, "they are perpetually doing mischief; a man a week,

* Land Laws, p. 272–382.

I believe, falls by their hands." But still the government gave him little help toward defending himself; for, while three hundred men were stationed at Muskingum, he had "but one ensign and seventeen men for the protection and defense of 'the slaughter-house,'" as the Miami valley was called by the dwellers upon the "dark and bloody ground" of "Kentucke." And when Capt. Kearney and forty-five soldiers came to Maysville in December, they came without provisions, and but made bad worse.

Nor did their coming answer any purpose; for when a little band of settlers were ready to go, under their protection, towards the mouth of the Miami, to the grand city of Symmes that was to be, the ice stove their boats, their cattle were drowned, and their provisions lost; and so the settlement was prevented. But the fertile mind of a man like Symmes could, even under these circumstances, find comfort in the anticipation of what was to come. In the words of Return Jonathan Meigs, who was probably the first Ohio poet—

> "To him glad Fancy brightest prospects shows,
> Rejoicing Nature all around him glows;
> Where late the savage, hid in ambush, lay,
> Or roamed the uncultured valleys for his prey,
> Her hardy gifts rough Industry extends,
> The groves bow down, the lofty forest bends;
> And see the spires of towns and cities rise,
> And domes and temples swell unto the skies."

But alas! so far as his pet city was concerned, "glad fancy" proved but a gay deceiver, for there came "an amazing high freshet," and the site of his city was covered with water.

Before Symmes left Maysville, which was on the 29th of January, 1789, two settlements had been made within his purchase. The first was by Mr. Stites, the original projector of the whole plan, who, with other Redstone people, had located themselves at the mouth of the Little Miami, where the Indians had been led, by the great fertility of the soil, to make a partial clearing. To this point, on the 18th of November, 1788, came twenty-six persons, who built a block-house, named their town Columbia, and prepared for a winter of want and hard fighting. The land at this point was so fertile, that from nine acres were raised nine hundred and sixty-three bushels of Indian corn.

But they were agreeably disappointed; the Indians came to them, and though the whites answered, as Symmes says, "in a blackguarding manner," the savages sued for peace. One, at whom a

rifle was presented, took off his cap, trailed his gun, and held out his right hand, by which pacific gestures he induced the Americans to consent to their entrance into the block-houses. In a few days this good understanding ripened into intimacy; the "hunters frequently taking shelter for the night at the Indian camps," and the red men and squaws "spending whole days and nights" at Columbia, "regaling themselves with whisky."

This friendly demeanor on the part of the Indians was owing to the kind and just conduct of Symmes himself, who, during the preceding September, when examining the country about the Great Miami, had prevented some Kentuckians who were in his company from injuring a band of the savages that came within their power; which proceeding, he says, "the Kentuckians thought unpardonable."

The Columbia settlement was, however, like that proposed at the bend, upon land that was under water during the high rise in January, 1789. "But one house escaped the deluge." The soldiers were driven from the ground-floor of the block-house into the loft, and from the loft into the solitary boat which the ice had spared them.

This flood deserves to be remembered; for, while it demonstrated the dangers to which the three chosen spots of all Ohio, to wit: Marietta, Columbia, and Symmes city, near the point, must be ever exposed, it also proved the safety, and led to the rapid settlement of Losantiville. The great recommendation of the spot upon which Denman and his comrades proposed to build their "Mosaic" town, as it has been called, appears to have been the fact, that it lay opposite the Licking; the terms of Denman's purchase having been, that his warrants were to be located, as nearly as possible, over against the mouth of that river; though the advantage of the noble and high plain at that place could not have escaped any eye. But the freshet of 1789 placed its superiority over other points more strongly in view than anything else could have done.

John Filson was killed by the Indians in the Miami valley in the autumn of 1788.

As nothing had been paid upon his third of the plat of Losantiville, his heirs made no claim upon it, and it was transferred to Israel Ludlow, who had been Symmes' surveyor. This gentleman, with Colonel Patterson, one of the other proprietors, and well known in the Indian wars, with about fourteen others, left Maysville upon the 24th of December, 1788, "to form a station and lay off a town opposite Licking." The river was filled with ice "from

shore to shore;" but, says Symmes, in May, 1789, "perseverance triumphing over difficulty, they landed safe on a most delightful high bank of the Ohio, where they founded the town of Losantiville, which *populates* considerably."

The settlers of Losantiville built a few log huts and block-houses, and proceeded to improve the town; though they placed their dwellings in the most exposed situation, yet, says Symmes, "they suffered nothing from the freshet."

It is a curious fact, that the date of the settlement of Cincinnati is unknown, even though the testimony of the very men that made the settlement is on record. Judge Symmes says in one of his letters: "On the 24th of December, 1788, Colonel Patterson, of Lexington, who is concerned with Mr. Denman in the section at the mouth of Licking river, sailed from Limestone," &c. Some, supposing it would take about two days to make the voyage, have dated the being of the Queen City of the West, from December 26th. This is uncertain, however; for, as the river was full of ice, it might have taken ten days to have gone the sixty-five miles from Maysville to Licking. But, in the case in chancery, to which reference has been made, the evidence of Patterson and Ludlow sets forth that they landed opposite the Licking "in the month of January, 1789;" while William McMillan testifies that he "was one of those who formed the settlement of Cincinnati on the 28th day of December, 1788."

There were, as has been seen, two main causes of the dissatisfaction of the people of Kentucky; the unwillingness of the State of Virginia to relinquish her jurisdiction over the district, and the failure of the Continental Congress to secure for them the free navigation of the Mississippi. That dissatisfaction ripened in many minds into a wish to throw off the authority of the confederation, and to frame an independent government. The inconvenience of the jurisdiction of Virginia, exercised at the distance of several hundred miles from her capital, the difficulties she interposed in the way of a separate organization of the district, and the delay of Congress in providing for that organization, were causes that influenced the movements of the party of independence, as they called themselves; the hope of securing the trade of Louisiana, through an alliance with Spain, was the true motive that incited their desire for separation. The profits of a trade was a sufficient motive to induce those men to dismember a union just formed with such great exertions and sacrifices, and to relinquish a

freedom just purchased by so much blood and suffering. Yet, though united in their desire of a dismemberment of the federal union, they were by no means unanimous in their plans for accomplishing their object. There were five factions among them.*

The first was in favor of the formation of a new republic, independent of the United States, and in close alliance with Spain.

The second was willing to separate from the Union, and to place the district under the government of Spain.

The third desired a war with Spain, and the seizure of Louisiana.

The fourth sought, by a show of hostility, to extort the opening of the Mississippi from the Spanish government.

The fifth aimed to solicit France to procure a retrocession of Louisiana, and to extend her authority over Kentucky.

Miro, governor of Louisiana, and Guardoqui, minister of Spain, at Philadelphia, both saw their opportunity, and both sought to use the popular discontent existing in the West, to further the scheme of the extension of the Spanish authority over Kentucky. Their want of concert, arising from mutual jealousy or ambition, led them to counteract each other, and in the end ruined the schemes of both. The agent through whom they sought to accomplish their purposes, the leader of the first party of disunion, and the arch conspirator in the first treason in our history, was James Wilkinson.†

The better to serve his ulterior purposes, Wilkinson went down the Mississippi in June, 1787, in the character of a merchant, with a cargo of tobacco, flour, butter, and bacon. According to the Spanish laws, the cargo was confiscated. Wilkinson obtained an interview with Miro, and secured from him, not only the restoration of his property, but the privilege of free trade with New Orleans, on his own account. To cover his real designs, he presented to the governor a written opinion in respect to the policy Spain ought to pursue in regard to the navigation of the Mississippi, and of the danger to be apprehended from a joint invasion of Louisiana, by the Kentuckians and the British, in the case the trade of the Mississippi should be closed against them. At the same time he presented another secret memorial to Miro, the tenor of which is best explained by his subsequent course. After spending three months at New Orleans, in intimate intercourse with Miro, he sailed to Philadelphia, and returned to the West in the spring of the next year.

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* Martin's History of Louisiana. † Gayarre's Spanish domination in Louisiana.

In the meantime, Guardoqui, in pursuance of his plan of dismemberment, dispatched D'Arges to the West, to excite emigration to the Spanish colony. For this end he, in conformity with his instructions, invited the people of Kentucky to settle in Louisiana, promising them the gift of land, the free introduction of stock, and the privilege of importing merchandise, on payment of a duty of fifteen per cent. On his arrival at New Orleans, Miro was greatly perplexed. He feared to trust D'Arges with the secret of his intrigues with Wilkinson, lest his jealousy might prompt him to betray them. He feared lest the commercial privileges D'Arges offered, would take away the great motive the Kentuckians might have to submit to the Spanish domination, which, he averred, Wilkinson was pledged to secure; and in that belief, under various pretexts, he detained D'Arges, and interposed all the obstacles he dared, to the success of his schemes.

Wilkinson, in the meanwhile, was prepared on his return, to exhibit a plausible statement of the nature of his connection with the Spanish government, and of the mode in which he succeeded in securing for himself the monopoly of the trade of the Mississippi. The statement of Daniel Clark, the nephew of Wilkinson's agent, of the same name, furnishes in detail the pretexts under which the arch traitor concealed his designs:

"About the middle of the year 1787, the foundation of an intercourse with Kentucky and the settlements on the Ohio was laid, which daily increased. Previous to that time, all those who ventured on the Mississippi had their property seized by the first commanding officer they met, and little or no communication was kept up between the two countries. Now and then an emigrant who wished to settle in Natchez, by dint of entreaty, and solicitation of friends who had interests in New Orleans, procured permission to remove there with his family, slaves, cattle, furniture, and farming utensils; but was allowed to bring no other property, except cash.

"An unexpected incident, however, changed the face of things, and was productive of a new line of conduct. The arrival of a boat, belonging to General Wilkinson, loaded with tobacco and other productions of Kentucky, was announced in town, and a guard was immediately sent on board of it. The general's name had hindered this being done at Natchez, as the commandant was fearful that such a step might be displeasing to his superiors, who might wish to show some respect to the property of a general officer; at any rate, the boat was proceeding to Orleans, and they

would then resolve on what measures they ought to pursue, and put into execution.

"The government, not much disposed to show any mark of respect or forbearance toward the general's property, he not having at that time arrived, was about proceeding in the usual way of confiscation, when a merchant in Orleans, who had considerable influence there, and who was formerly acquainted with the general, represented to the governor that the measures taken by the Intendant would very probably give rise to disagreeable events; that the people of Kentucky were already exasperated at the conduct of the Spaniards in seizing on the property of all those who navigated the Mississippi; and if this system was pursued, they would very probably, in spite of Congress and the Executive of the United States, take upon themselves to obtain the navigation of the river by force, which they were well able to do; a measure for some time before much dreaded by this government, which had no force to resist them, if such a plan was put in execution.

"Hints were likewise given that Wilkinson was a very popular man, who could influence the whole of that country; and probably that his sending a boat before him, with a wish that she might be seized, was but a snare at his return to influence the minds of the people, and, having brought them to the point he wished, induce them to appoint him their leader, and then, like a torrent, spread over the country, and carry fire and desolation from one end of the province to the other.

"Governor Miro, a weak man, unacquainted with the American government, ignorant even of the position of Kentucky with respect to his own province, but alarmed at the very idea of an irruption of Kentucky men, whom he feared without knowing their strength, communicated his wishes to the Intendant that the guard might be removed from the boat, which was accordingly done; and a Mr. Patterson, who was the agent of the general, was permitted to take charge of the property on board, and to sell it, free of duty.

"The general, on his arrival in Orleans, some time after, was informed of the obligation he lay under to the merchant who had impressed the government with such an idea of his importance and influence at home, waited on him, and, in concert with him, formed a plan for their future operations. In his interview with the governor, that he might not seem to derogate from the character given of him, by appearing concerned in so trifling a business as a boat-load of tobacco, hams, and butter, he gave him to understand that

the property belonged to many citizens of Kentucky, who, availing themselves of his return to the Atlantic States, by way of Orleans, wished to make a trial of the temper of this government, as he, on his arrival, might inform his own what steps had been pursued under his eye, that adequate measures might be afterward taken to procure satisfaction.

"He acknowledged with gratitude the attention and respect manifested by the governor toward himself, in the favor shown to his agent; but at the same time mentioned that he would not wish the governor to expose himself to the anger of his court by refraining from seizing on the boat and cargo, as it was but a trifle, if such were the positive orders from the court, and he had not the power to relax them according to circumstances. Convinced by this discourse that the general rather wished for an opportunity of embroiling affairs, than sought to avoid it, the governor became more alarmed. For two or three years before, particularly since the arrival of the commissioners from Georgia, who had come to Natchez to claim that country, he had been fearful of an invasion at every annual rise of the waters, and the news of a few boats being seen was enough to alarm the whole province.

"He revolved in his mind what measures he ought to pursue, (consistent with the orders he had from home to permit the free navigation of the river,) in order to keep the Kentucky people quiet; and, in his succeeding interviews with Wilkinson, having procured more knowledge than he had hitherto acquired of their character, population, strength, and disposition, he thought he could do nothing better than hold out a bait to Wilkinson to use his influence in restraining the people from an invasion of this province till he could give advice to his court, and require further instructions. This was the point to which the parties wished to bring him; and, being informed that in Kentucky two or three crops were on hand, for which, if an immediate vent was not to be found, the people could not be kept within bounds, he made Wilkinson the offer of a permission to import, on his own account, to New Orleans, free of duty, all the productions of Kentucky, thinking by this means to conciliate the good will of the people, without yielding the point of navigation, as the commerce carried on would appear the effect of an indulgence to an individual, which could be withdrawn at pleasure.

"On consultation with his friends, who well knew what further concessions Wilkinson would extort from the fears of the Spaniards, by the promise of his good offices in preaching peace, harmony,

and good understanding with his government, until arrangements were made between Spain and America, he was advised to insist that the governor should insure him a market for all the flour and tobacco he might send, as in the event of an unfortunate shipment, he would be ruined whilst endeavoring to do a service to Louisiana. This was accepted. Flour was always wanted in New Orleans, and the king of Spain had given orders to purchase more tobacco for the supply of his manufactories at home than Louisiana at that time produced, and which was paid for at about $9.50 per cwt. In Kentucky it cost but $2, and the profit was immense. In consequence, the general had appointed his friend, Daniel Clark, his agent here, returned by way of Charleston in a vessel, with a particular permission to go to the United States, even at the very moment of Gardoqui's information; and, on his arrival in Kentucky, bought up all the produce he could collect, which he shipped and disposed of as before mentioned; and for some time all the trade for the Ohio was carried on in his name, a line from him sufficing to ensure the owner of the boat every privilege and protection."

A report such as this, of Wilkinson's success in opening the market of New Orleans, was well calculated to encourage the Spanish party in Kentucky, on which he relied to carry out his scheme of treason; and to lead them to believe that the freedom of the Mississippi could certainly be secured, either by an alliance or a war with Spain. Accordingly they looked forward with greater eagerness to the ratification of the act of separation, by the continental Congress, as the first step towards the accomplishment of their wishes. That ratification was looked to as a matter of course; the desire of the people of Kentucky had been often expressed, and the State of Virginia had given its consent by the passage of the act of separation. When John Brown, who had been sent as a delegate to Congress in 1787, brought up the subject of the admission of Kentucky into the confederacy, it was believed the matter would soon be disposed of. But the question of the adoption of the constitution was under discussion, final action on the application of Kentucky was delayed until after its ratification, and then referred to the new government in the next year.

On the 28th of July the sixth Convention met at Danville, to proceed with the business of making a Constitution, when news reached them that their meeting was premature, as the Legislature of the Union had not given the necessary sanction to the act of Virginia. This intelligence amazed and irritated them, and being accompanied or followed by intimations from Mr. Brown, that

Spain would make easy terms with the West, were the West once her own mistress; surely, it is not strange, that the leaders of the "Independence" party were disposed to act with decision and show a spirit of self-reliance. Wilkinson, on the one hand, could speak of his vast profits and the friendly temper of the south-western rulers, while Brown wrote home thus:

"The eastern States would not, nor do I think they ever will assent to the admission of the district into the Union, as an independent State, unless Vermont, or the province of Maine, is brought forward at the same time.

"The change which has taken place in the general government is made the ostensible objection to the measure; but, the jealousy of the growing importance of the western country, and an unwillingness to add a vote to the southern interest, are the real causes of opposition. The question which the district will now have to determine upon, will be—whether, or not, it will be more expedient to continue the connexion with the State of Virginia, or to declare their independence and proceed to frame a constitution of government?

"In private conferences which I have had with Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister, at this place, I have been assured by him in the most explicit terms, that if Kentucky will declare her independence, and empower some proper person to negotiate with him, that he has authority, and will engage to open the navigation of the Mississippi, for the exportation of their produce, on terms of mutual advantage. But that this privilege never can be extended to them while part of the United States, by reason of commercial treaties existing between that court and other powers of Europe.

"As there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of this declaration, I have thought proper to communicate it to a few confidential friends in the district, with his permission, not doubting but that they will make a prudent use of the information—which is in part confirmed by dispatches yesterday received by Congress, from Mr. Mr. Charmichal, our minister at that court, the contents of which I am not at liberty to disclose."*

But even under the excitement produced by such prospects offered from abroad, and such treatment at the hands of their fellow-citizens, the members of the July convention took no hasty or mischievous steps. Finding their own powers legally at an end

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* See Marshall's History of Kentucky, i. p. 305.

in consequence of the course pursued by Congress, they determined to adjourn, and in doing so, advised the calling of a *seventh* convention, to meet in the following November, and continue in existence until January, 1790, with full power—

"To take such measures for obtaining admission of the district, as á separate and independent member of the United States of America, and the navigation of the Mississippi, as may appear most conducive to those important purposes; and also to form a constitution of government for the district, and organize the same when they shall judge it necessary; or to do and accomplish whatsoever, on a consideration of the state of the district, may in their opinion promote its interests."

These terms, although they contain nothing necessarily implying a separation from Virginia against her wish, or directly authorizing the coming convention to treat with Spain, were still supposed to have been used for the purpose of enabling or even inviting that body to take steps, however much against the letter of the law; and as Mr. Brown's letters showed that strong temptations were held out to the people of the district to declare themselves independent, and then enter into negotiations with Spain, George Muter, Chief Justice of the District, on the 15th of October, published a letter in the Kentucky Gazette, calling attention to the fact that a separation without legal leave from the parent State, would be treason against that State, and a violation of the Federal Constitution then just formed.

This letter, and the efforts of the party who favored strict adherence to legal proceedings, were not in vain. The elections took place, and on the 4th of November the Convention met; the contest at once began, but the two parties being happily balanced, both in and out of the convention, the greatest caution was observed by both, and all excess prevented.

An address to the people of the district was proposed by Wilkinson, the purpose of which was to test their dispositions as to the contested points of illegal independence and negotiation with Spain—but the plan of issuing such a paper was afterward dropped, Congress was memorialized respecting the Mississippi, Virginia was again asked for an act of separation, and the Convention quietly adjourned until the 1st Monday of the following August.

It is not improbable that one tranquilizing influence was, the contradiction by members of Congress, of the report that the navigation of the Mississippi was to be relinquished by the United States. This contradiction had been authorized on the 16th of September.

During the autumn of this same year, John Connolly, formerly of Pittsburgh, appeared again in Kentucky. The following statement sent by Colonel Thomas Marshall, to General Washington, in the month of February, 1789, details his purposes and movements:

"About this time, (November, 1788,) arrived from Canada the infamous Doctor (now Colonel) Connolly: his ostensible business was to inquire after, and re-possess himself of, some lands he formerly held at the Falls of the Ohio; but I believe his real business was to sound the dispositions of the leading men of this district respecting this Spanish business. He knew that both Colonel Muter and myself had given it all the opposition in convention we were able to do, and before he left the district paid us a visit, though neither of us had the honor of the least acquaintance with him.

"He was introduced by Colonel John Campbell, his old co-purchaser of the land at the Falls, formerly a prisoner taken by the Indians, and confined in Canada, who previously informed us of the proposition he was about to make. He (Connolly) presently entered upon his subject, urged the great importance the navigation of the Mississippi must be to the inhabitants of the western waters, showed the absolute necessity of our possessing it, and concluded with assurances that were we disposed to assert our right respecting that navigation, Lord Dorchester, (formerly Sir Guy Carlton,) was cordially disposed to give us powerful assistance; that his lordship had (I think he said) four thousand British troops in Canada, beside two regiments at Detroit, and could furnish us with arms, ammunition, clothing and money; that, with this assistance, we might possess ourselves of New Orleans, fortify the Balize at the mouth of the river, and keep possession in spite of the utmost efforts of Spain to the contrary.

"He made very confident professions of Lord Dorchester's wishes to cultivate the most friendly intercourse with the people of this country, and of his own desire to become serviceable to us, and with so much seeming sincerity, that had I not before been acquainted with his character as a man of intrigue and artful address, I should in all probability have given him my confidence.

"I told him that the minds of the people of this country were so strongly prejudiced against the British, not only from circumstances attending the late war, but from a persuasion that the Indians were at this time stimulated by them against us, and that so long as those savages continued to commit such horrid cruelties on our defenseless frontiers, and were received as friends and allies

by the British at Detroit, it would be impossible for them to be convinced of the sincerity of Lord Dorchester's offers, let his professions be ever so strong; and, that if his lordship would have us believe him really disposed to be our friend, he must begin by showing his disapprobation of the ravages of the Indians.

"He admitted the justice of my observation, and said he had urged the same to his lordship before he left Canada. He denied that the Indians are stimulated against us by the British, and says, Lord Dorchester observed, that the Indians are free and independent nations, and have a right to make peace or war as they think fit, and that he could not with propriety interfere. He promised, however, on his return to Canada to repeat his arguments to his lordship on the subject, and hopes, he says, to succeed. At taking his leave he begged very politely the favor of our correspondence; we both promised him, providing he would begin it, and devise a means of carrying it on. He did not tell me that he was authorized by Lord Dorchester to make us these offers in his name, nor did I ask him; but General Scott informs me that he told him that his lordship had authorized him to use his name in this business."

While Connolly was thus engaged in the attempt to seduce the people of Kentucky from their allegiance to the Union, and to attach them to the British interest, Wilkinson was employed in the execution of his treasonable scheme of reducing them to condition of vassals of Spain. A letter addressed by him to Miro, on the 12th of February, 1789, details at great length the purposes he entertained, the plans he and his accomplices were pursuing, and the depths of degradation into which they had plunged themselves. It is worthy of insertion, as the record of the most infamous episode in the history of the west.*

"Immediately after having sent you my dispatch by Major Dunn, I devoted all my faculties to our political designs, and I have never since turned aside from the pursuit of the important object we have in view. If subsequent events have not come up to our expectations, still I conceive that they are such as to inspire us with flattering hopes of success in due time, and, although in the conjectural opinions which I presented to you and Navarro, I may, in some particulars, have been deceived, you will yet see that, in the main, I expressed myself with a prophetic spirit, and that im-

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*See Gayarre's Spanish domination in Louisiana, p. 223.

portant events have occurred, to confirm the accuracy of my sentiments.

"When Major Dunn left Kentucky, I had opened myself only to the Attorney-General Innis, and to Colonel Bullitt, who favor our designs, and indirectly I had sounded others, whom I also found well disposed to adopt my ideas. But, having made a more strict examination, I discovered that the proposed new government of the United States had inspired some with apprehensions, and others with hopes—so much so that I saw that this circumstance would be a cause of some opposition and delay. I also perceived that all idea that Kentucky would subject itself to Spain, must be abandoned for the present, and that the only feasible plan to the execution of which I had to direct my attention, was that of a separation from the United States, and an alliance with Spain, on conditions which could not yet be defined with precision. I considered that, whatever be the time when the separation should be brought about, this district being then no longer under the protection of the United States, Spain might dictate her own terms; for which reason, I embraced without delay this last alternative.

"The question of separation from the United States, although discussed with vehemence among the most distinguished inhabitants of this section of the country, had never been mentioned, in a formal manner, to the people at large, but now was the time for making this important and interesting experiment, and it became my indispensable mission to do so. I had to work on a ground not yet prepared for the seed to be deposited in it, and I felt that, to produce a favorable impression, I had to proceed with reserve, and avoid with the utmost care, any demonstration which might be calculated to cause surprise or alarm. For these motives, I gave an equivocal shape to the expression of my design, speaking of it in general terms, as being recommended by eminent politicians of the Atlantic coast, with whom I had conversed on this affair, and thus, by indirect suggestions and arguments, I inspired the people with my own views, without presenting them as such, because it would have been imprudent in me to divulge them under the existing circumstances, and I can give you the solemn assurance, that I found all the men belonging to the first class of society in the district, with the exception of Colonel Marshall, our surveyor, and Colonel Muter, one of our judges, decidedly in favor of separation from the United States, and of an alliance with Spain. At first, these two men had expressed this same opinion with warmth, but now their feelings have taken a different direction, from private

motives of interest and personal pique; for which reasons I have very little to dread from their influence; but, at the same time, I foresaw that they would avail themselves of the opposition made by some literary demagogues, who were under the influence of fear and prejudice. Nevertheless, I determined to lay the question before our Convention, and I took the necessary measures accordingly.

"I was thus occupied until the 28th of July, on which day our Convention met at Danville, in conformity with the ordinance you saw in the Gazette, which I sent you by Major Dunn. The Honorable Samuel M'Dowell, President of the Convention, had, the day before, received a packet from the Secretary of Congress, containing an account of the proceedings of that body on the subject which excited our solicitude—that is, our intended separation from the State of Virginia.

"You will remember that, in my memorial, I was of opinion that the Atlantic States would not consent to the admission of this district into the Union, as an independent State, but, on my return from New Orleans, I was induced to alter my opinion, from the information which I received through persons of the highest authority, and, under that new impression, I wrote you by Major Dunn. Thus we were not prepared for an unexpected event, of which we could have received no premonition. You will at first sight discover, on perusing the aforesaid paper, No. 1, that this Act of Congress was passed with the intention to gain time, amuse and deceive the people of this district, and make them believe that they could rely on the good dispositions of the Atlantic States, until the formation of the new government, when our opponents flatter themselves that it will be able to check our designs. Unfortunately, this artifice produced but too much effect on the members of this Convention, and confirmed the apprehensions of others.

"From this proceeding of Congress it resulted, that the Convention was of opinion, that our proposed independence and separation from Virginia not being ratified, its mission and powers were at an end, and we found ourselves in the alternative, either of proceeding to declare our independence, or of waiting, according to the recommendation of Congress. This was the state of affairs, when the Honorable Caleb Wallace, one of our Supreme Judges, the Attorney-General Innis, and Benjamin Sebastian, proposed a prompt separation from the American Union, and advocated with intrepidity the necessity of the measure. The artifice of Congress was exposed, its proceedings reprobated, the consequences of de-

pending on a body whose interests were opposed to ours, were depicted in the most vivid colors, and the strongest motives were set forth to justify the separation.

"The arguments used were unanswerable, and no opposition was manifested in the course of the debates. It was unanimously conceded that the present connection was injurious to our interests, and that it could not last any length of time. Nevertheless, sir, when the question was finally taken, fear and folly prevailed against reason and judgment. It was thought safer and more convenient to adhere to the recommendation of Congress, and, in consequence, it was decided that the people be advised to elect a new convention, which should meet in the month of November, in conformity with the ordinance which you will find in the Gazette, No. 2.

"I am afraid of fatiguing you with these details, but I felt that it is my duty, in an affair of so much importance, to relate facts as they have occurred. You may also blame me for having raised this question so soon, and at a time when I had grounds to doubt of its being decided favorably, but I flatter myself that my intentions justify my course of action.

"To consolidate the interests and confirm the confidence of our friends, to try our strength, to familiarize the people with what we aim at, to dissipate the apprehension which important innovations generally produce, and to provoke the resentment of Congress, with a view to stimulate that body into some invidious political act, which might excite the passions of the people; these are the motives which influenced me, and on which I rely for my justification.

"The last convention was legally elected, and met at Danville in the month of November, in conformity with the decree above mentioned. Marshall and Muter had, in the meantime, been scattering distrusts and apprehensions calculated to do injury to our cause. It is evident, however, that it has acquired considerable force; but, in order to elicit an unequivocal proof of the dispositions of that assembly, I submitted to its examination my original memorial and the joint answer of yourself and Navarro. I received, in the terms which you will find in the Gazette, No. 3, the unanimous thanks of that body, in token of its approbation of my conduct on that occasion. Some of our friends urged me to avail myself of this opportunity to revive the great question, but I thought that it was more judicious to indulge those who, for the moment, wish only that a new application be made in relation to the independence and separation of Kentucky from Virginia, and that a memo-

rial be addressed to Congress on the necessity of obtaining the free use of the navigation of the Mississippi. I assented to these last propositions the more readily, that it was unanimously resolved that, should any of them be rejected, then the people would be invited to adopt all the measures necessary to secure for themselves a separate government from that of the United States, because it would have become evident that Congress had neither the will nor the power to satisfy their hopes. I determined, therefore, to wait for the effects which will result from the disappointment of those hopes, and on which I rely to unite the country into one opinion. This is the basis on which the great question now rests, and the convention has adjourned to the next month.

"Thus, sir, if we review the policy favored by the inhabitants of Kentucky, we see that the most intelligent and the wealthiest relish our designs, which are opposed by only two men of rank, who, controlled by their fears of silly demagogues, and filling their followers with hopes from the expected action of the new Congress, have caused the suspension of the measures we had in view to unite the people, and thus to secure the success of our plans without involving the country in violent civil commotion.

"There are three conditions which are requisite to perpetuate the connection of this section of the country with the Atlantic States. The first, and the most important, is the navigation of the Mississippi; the second, which is of equal consequence, is the admission of this district into the Union as an independent State, and on the same footing with the others; the third, and the last, which is of less moment, is the exemption from taxes until the befalling of the two events previously mentioned. Now, Sir, as two of these conditions are inadmissible, either by the Atlantic States or by Spain, can any one hesitate to declare what will be the consequences? With due deference, I say, No; because, as it is not rational to suppose the voluntary casting away of property, that another may profit by it, so it is not to be presumed that the Eastern States, which at present have the balance of power in their favor in the American government, will consent to strip themselves of this advantage, and increase the weight of the Southern States, by acknowledging the independence of this district and admitting it to be a member of the Federal Union. That the people of Kentucky, as soon as they are certain of their being refused what they claim, will separate from the United States, is proclaimed even by Marshall, Muter, and their more timid followers.

"The same effect will be produced by the suspension of the navigation of the Mississippi, which lies entirely in the power of Spain, and which must reduce this section of the country to misery and ruin; and as it has been stipulated that the operations of the Federal Government shall be uniform, the new Congress will have to lay taxes, without exception whatever, over the whole country submitted to its jurisdiction. The people here, not having the means of paying those taxes, will resist them, and the authority of the new government will be set at naught, which will produce a civil war, and result in the separation of the West from the East.

"This event is written in the book of destiny. But if, to produce it, we trust solely to the natural effect of political measures, we shall experience some delay. It is in the power of Spain, however, to precipitate its accomplishment by a judicious co-operation; and permit me here to illustrate the observations which I presented some time ago to yourself and Navarro, in my answer to your inquiries as to the nature of that co-operation.

"As long as the connection between the Americans of the East and of the West on this side of the Appalachian mountains shall produce reciprocal benefits, and an equal security to their common interests and happiness, the Union will maintain itself on a solid foundation, and will resist any effort to dissolve it; but, as soon as it shall be ascertained that one section of the confederacy derives from the Union more advantages than the other, and that the blessings of a good government—such as peace and protection—cannot be equally distributed, then harmony will cease, and jealousies will arise, producing discord and disunion. In order to aid the favorable dispositions of Providence, to foment the suspicions and feelings of distrust already existing here, and inflame the animosity between the Eastern and Western States, Spain must resort to every artifice and other means which may be in her power.

"I have stated that the navigation of the Mississippi, and its admission as an independent State and a member of the Union, are rights claimed by the people of this part of the country, and constituting one of the principal conditions under which its connection with the Atlantic States is to continue. Hence it follows, that every manifestation of the power of Spain and of the debility of the United States, every evidence of the resolution of the former to retain exclusively for herself the right of navigation on the Mississippi, and every proof of the incapacity of the latter, will facilitate our views. Every circumstance also that will tend to

impede our admission as an independent State, will loosen the attachment of many individuals, increase the discontent of the people, and favor the execution of our plan.

"Until I devoted myself entirely to the affair in which we are engaged, I confess that I could not discover the aim of the first treaty proposed by Gardoqui to Congress, but it seems to me now that I can penetrate its policy. I consider it as profoundly judicious, and I am of opinion that it ought to be renewed and vigorously carried on, until its objects be attained, cost what it may, because, besides that the proposed relinquishment of the right of navigating the Mississippi would immediately disrupt the Union, and separate forever the West from the East, the sanction of the treaty by Congress would make our situation so truly desperate, that Great Britain would not venture to intervene in our favor, and all our hopes would rest on the liberality of Spain.

"Whilst this affair is pending, Spain ought to consider the navigation of the Mississippi as one of the most precious jewels of her crown. For, whatever power shall command that navigation, will control all the country which is watered by that river and by those streams which fall into it. This control will be as effective and complete as that of the key upon the lock, or that of the citadel over the exterior works which it commands. The grant of this boon ought to be looked upon as the price of our attachment and gratitude, and I beg leave to be permitted to repeat, that there must be known no instance of its being extended to any other than those who understand and promote the interests of Spain in this part of the country. I entreat you, sir, to believe, that this question of navigation is the main one on which depends the union of the West and East, and that, if Congress can obtain the free use of the Mississippi, and if Spain should cede it without condition, it would strengthen the Union, and would deprive Spain of all its influence on this district.

"The sanguine spirit of an American impels him to construe in his favor every thing that is left doubtful, and therefore Spain cannot act with too absolute precision on this important question. You must not forget, sir, that such was my first impression, in which I have been daily confirmed by subsequent observations and experience. The concessions of the Americans will be in proportion to the energy and power exhibited by Spain; but were she to yield, she would lose much in dignity and consideration, and she would breed in the Americans a spirit of pride and self-importance quite incompatible with our designs. Thus, the privileges con-

ceded to emigrants are an obstacle in the way of our great undertaking, because, as they were bestowed before they were asked for, and as they were entirely unexpected, they have been considered here by many as the effects of fear, and as a prelude to the removal of all restrictions whatever on our commerce.

"The generality of our population are constantly discussing and fostering these ideas, and as long as the hopes they have conceived on this subject are kept up, it is a circumstance which will militate in favor of the Union, and will delay the effect of my operations.

"With due deference I may be permitted to say, that to people the banks of the Mississippi with Americans ought to be an object of secondary importance to the interests of his Catholic Majesty, because there is no necessity to transplant a population which can be controlled and governed on the soil where it grows naturally. The engrafted branch retains the primitive qualities of the parent trunk. Moreover, if Spain can establish colonies of Americans on the Mississippi, there is no reason why she should not have them also on the Ohio. It is an incontestible fact, worthy of your attention, that the emigrants who have côme down the Ohio, in order to settle in Louisiana, are insolvent debtors and fugitives from justice, and are poor and without principles. Such people are not only unworthy vassals, but also ought to be looked upon as dangerous characters, against whom it is prudent to be on one's guard.

"But, sir, should unforeseen events produce results contrary to my wishes, to my logical deductions and to my hopes, should an obstinate resistance to forming a connection with Spain, or should an unexpectedly hostile disposition manifest itself in these settlements, then the true policy would be to make of emigration the principal object to be obtained, and Spain would always have the power, through some agents of an eminent rank here, to draw to her the most respectable portion of the population of this district. Hundreds have applied to me on this subject, who are determined to follow my example, and I do not deceive myself, nor do I deceive you, sir, when I affirm that it is in my power to lead a large body of the most opulent and most respectable of my fellow-citizens whither I shall go myself at their head, and I flatter myself that, after the dangers I have run and the sacrifices which I have made, after having put my honor and my life in your hands, you can have no doubts of my favorable dispositions toward the interests of his Catholic Majesty, as long as my poor services shall be necessary.

"After having read these remarks, you will be surprised at being informed, that lately I have, jointly with several gentlemen of this country, applied to Don Diego Gardoqui for a concession of land, in order to form a settlement on the river Yazoo. The motive of this application is to procure a place of refuge for myself and my adherents, in case it should become necessary for us to retire from this country, in order to avoid the resentment of Congress. It is true that there is not, so far, the slightest appearance of it, but it is judicious to provide for all possible contingencies.

"These observations are sincere and well meant, and although I still continue to be without any answer from the Spanish ministry, I consider myself bound in honor to proceed in my undertaking until I obtain favorable results. Ardent are my wishes and strong are my hopes, but may not both be illusive? Is it not possible that Great Britain may have accomplished her desires, by exchanging Gibraltar for the two Floridas and the Island of New Orleans? It is a rumor which is afloat in America, and I must confess that it fills me with anxiety; for I have a very recent proof that that power turns its attention to this country with the utmost earnestness, and sets in motion every sort of machinery to secure its aim, because, whilst William Eden is negotiating in Madrid with his Excellency the Count of Florida Blanca, Lord Dorchester, the Governor of Canada, scatters his emissaries in this district, to win over the people to the interests of Great Britain. The document No. 4 contains an authentic copy of the letter of General St. Clair, governor of the northern portion of the territory of Ohio, to Major Dunn. That letter, sir, is the proof that the part which I play in our great enterprise, and the dangers to which I am exposed for the service of his Catholic Majesty, are known; and it will serve at the same time to evidence the correctness of the information which I gave in my memorial in relation to the designs of Great Britain. Whence and how General St. Clair has acquired any knowledge of the views of Spain, I cannot guess, unless he should have inferred them from the indiscreet zeal of Don Diego Gardoqui, which may have hurried that gentleman into confidential communications to persons unworthy of that trust, and even to strangers, as must have been demonstrated to you by the extract of his letter to Colonel Morgan, which you will find in the paper marked No. 5, and which is now circulating over the whole of this district. So far as I am concerned, having shared in this important affair, I will endeavor to discharge with fidelity the part assigned to me, without being deterred by the fear of consequences,

always relying on the generosity of his majesty, who will indemnify me or my family for whatever loss of fortune I may incur.

"The British Colonel Connolly, who is mentioned in General St. Clair's letter, arrived at Louisville in the beginning of October, having traveled from Detroit through the woods, to the mouth of the river Big Miami, from which he came down the Ohio in a boat. My agent in that town (Louisville) gave me immediate information of that fact, and of the intention which Connolly had to visit me. Suspecting the nature of the negotiation he had on hand, I determined, in order to discover his secret views, to be beforehand with him, and to invite him here. Consequently he came to my house on the 8th of November. I received him courteously, and, as I manifested favorable dispositions toward the interests of his Britannic Majesty, I soon gained his confidence—so much so, that he informed me that Great Britain, desiring to assist the American settlers in the West, in their efforts to open the navigation of the Mississippi, would join them with ready zeal, to dispossess Spain of Louisiana. He remarked that the forces in Canada were not sufficient to send detachments of them to us, but that Lord Dorchester would supply us with all the implements of war, and with money, clothing, &c. . . . to equip ten thousand men, if we wished to engage in that enterprise. He added that, as soon as our plan of operation should be agreed upon, these articles would be sent from Detroit, through Lake Erie, to the the river Miami, and thence to the Wabash, to be transported to any designated point on the Ohio, and that a fleet of light vessels would be ready at Jamaica to take possession of the Balize, at the same time that we should make an attack from above. He assured me that he was authorized by Lord Dorchester to confer honors and other rewards on the men of influence who should enter on that enterprise, and that all those who were officers in the late continental army, should be provided with the same grade in the service of Great Britain. He urged me much to favor his designs, offering me what rank and emoluments I might wish for, and telling me at the same time that he was empowered to grant commissions for the raising of two regiments which he hoped to form in Kentucky. After having pumped out of him all that I wished to know, I began to weaken his hopes by observing that the feelings of animosity engendered by the late revolution were so recent in the hearts of the Americans, that I considered it impossible to entice them into an alliance with Great Britain; that, in this district, particularly in that part of it where the inhabitants

had suffered so much from the barbarous hostilities of the Indians, which were attributed to British influence, the resentment of every individual was much more intense and implacable. In order to justify this opinion of mine and induce him to go back, I employed a hunter, who feigned attempting his life. The pretext assumed by the hunter was the avenging of the death of his son, murdered by the Indians at the supposed instigation of the English. As I hold the commission of a Civil Judge, it was, of course, to be my duty to protect him against the pretended murderer, whom I caused to be arrested and held in custody. I availed myself of this circumstance to communicate to Connolly my fear of not being able to answer for the security of his person, and I expressed my doubts whether he could escape with life. It alarmed him so much, that he begged me to give him an escort to conduct him out of our territory, which I readily assented to, and on the 20th of November, he recrossed the Ohio on his way back to Detroit. I did not dismiss him without having previously impressed upon him the propriety of informing me, in as short a time as possible, of the ultimate design of Lord Dorchester. As this man was under the protection of the laws of nations, and as he carefully avoided to commit any offence against our government, I considered the measure I had resorted to as the most appropriate to destroy his hopes with regard to this country, and I think that the relation he will make on his return to Canada will produce the desired effect. But should the British be disposed to renew the same attempt, as it may very well turn out to be the case, I shall be ready to oppose and crush it in the bud.

"Thus, sir, you see realized the opinions I expressed in my memorial relatively to the views which Great Britain had on this part of the country. But whilst I reveal to you the designs of that power, permit me a few reflections on the conduct of France with regard to these settlements. I know that the family compact will compel her to assist Spain against any hostility whatever. May not Spain, however, be exposed to suffer from the subtile policy and machinations of the most intriguing and the craftiest of all nations? It is to my knowledge that the Court of Versailles has, for years past, been collecting every sort of information on this district, and that it would give a great deal to recover its possessions on the Mississippi. In the year 1785, a Knight of St. Louis, named D'Arges, arrived at the falls of the Ohio, gave himself out for a naturalist, and pretended that his object was to inquire into the curious productions of this country; but his manner of living

contradicted his assertion. He made few acquaintances, lived very retired, and during one year that he remained here, he never went out of Louisville, where he resided, further than six miles. On his perusing the first memorial which the people of this district presented to the Legislature of Virginia on the question of separation, he expressed his admiration that there should be in so new a country a writer capable of framing such a composition; and, after having made some reflections on the progressive importance of our settlements, he exclaimed, with enthusiasm, "*Good God! my country has been blind, but its eyes shall soon be open!*" The confidential friend of this gentleman was a Mr. Tardiveau, who had resided many years in Kentucky. D'Arges used to draw drafts on M. de Marbois, then Consul of France at New York, and, finally, he lived as one who belonged to the family of Count de Moustier, the French minister, and I am informed from a good source, that he presented to this same Count de Moustier a very elaborate memorial on these settlements, which was forwarded to the Court of France.

"Perhaps, sir, you will think this information frivolous, but I am sure you will believe that it proceeds from my devoted zeal for the interests of Spain. Please remember that trifles as light as air frequently are, for the faithful and the zealous, proofs as strong as those of Holy Writ.

"Before closing this letter, I shall take the liberty to observe that, in order to secure the success of our schemes, the most entire confidence must be reposed in your agent here, because, without it, his representations will be received with suspicion, and his recommendations disregarded, or executed with tardy precaution—which is capable of defeating the most ably devised plan. Whether I possess that confidence or not, is what I am ignorant of, but the Almighty, who reads the hearts of all men, knows that I deserve it, because nobody ever undertook a cause with more honest zeal and devotion than I have this one. You may therefore conceive the anxiety which I feel on account of the silence of your government on my memorial, and I infinitely regret that some communication, in relation to this part of the country, should not be transmitted through Louisiana, because I know that the negotiations may be conducted through that channel with more secrecy, and with better results.

"I deem it useless to mention to a gentleman well versed in political history, that the great spring and prime mover in all negotiations is *money*. Although not being authorized by you to do so,

yet I found it necessary to use this lever, in order to confirm some of our most eminent citizens in their attachment to our cause, and to supply others with the means of operating with vigor. For these objects I have advanced five thousand dollars out of my own funds, and half of this sum, applied opportunely, would attract Marshall and Muter on our side, but it is now impossible for me to disburse it.

"I shall not write you again before the month of May, unless some unexpected event should require it. At that time, I will inform you of the decision of Virginia, and of Congress, on our last application, and I do not doubt but that our affairs will soon assume a smiling aspect."

While the intrigue of Wilkinson and Miro was in progress, Gardoqui, in ignorance of the plot, was seeking in another way to turn the discontents of the West to the advantage of Spain. He had not fathomed the policy so strongly urged by Wilkinson, to hold the navigation of the river, and the enjoyment of commercial privilege, as the price of disunion; and was seeking to serve the same end, by holding out inducements to Americans dissatisfied with the government, to emigrate to the Spanish dominions. Col. George Morgan, of New Jersey, was sent to New York by a land company in that State, to negotiate the purchase of a large tract of land in Illinois, from the continental Congress. While there he became acquainted with the inducements Gardoqui was offering to emigrants from the United States, and determined to transfer his negotiations from the confederacy to Spain. Accordingly he addressed a memorial to Gardoqui, setting forth at length the advantages that would accrue to Spain from a settlement near the mouth of the Ohio, and asking for a grant of twenty miles square, for the purpose of founding a colony from the United States near that point. Gardoqui approved his scheme; his memorial was forwarded to the Spanish court, and a grant, extending from the mouth of the St. Francis river to Point Cinq Hommes, containing some twelve to fifteen millions of acres, was conceded to him for that purpose.

In the spring of 1788, Morgan passed down the river with a small colony and took possession of his grant. There on the site of the old hamlet of L'Anse d' la Gresse, he laid the foundation of a city, which, in compliment to the Spaniards, he called New Madrid. The position of the new city, the inducements offered to immigrants and the trade of the Mississippi, which had been guaranteed

to its population, evidently impressed Morgan with the belief that New Madrid was destined to become a place of great importance; and accordingly it was laid out on a scale supposed to be in keeping with the pretensions of the metropolis of the Mississippi valley. The survey extended from the mouth of the Bayou St. John to the outlet of the lake Ste Marie, fronting a mile on the river and running back an equal distance. A broad plateau or common was laid off in the rear of the town, to separate it from the plantations in the country. Wide streets were laid off at right angles to each other, and spacious squares were surveyed in different parts of the town, for public buildings, churches and pleasure grounds. The site of the city was well chosen on a beautiful plateau of crescent form, commanding a view of the river both above and below for many miles.

Morgan's scheme of colonization was very distasteful to Wilkinson, and accordingly he took occasion at once to denounce it to Miro. In a political view, he said, Morgan's colony would have the most pernicious consequences, because the Americans settled there, would preserve their old prejudices and be Americans still, and that would destroy the noble fabric of which they had laid the foundations, and which they were endeavoring to complete.

Miro became alarmed, and addressed a remonstrance to his government against the impolitic concessions of Gardoqui. Immediately afterward he wrote to Morgan to inform him that the conditions of his grant were inadmissible, and therefore, he would be under the necessity of rescinding it. But because he had only been influenced by an excess of zeal to serve the king, he would grant him a concession of one thousand acres for himself, and an equal share for each of his sons, and that a fort should be constructed on the site of his new city, with a Spanish garrison to protect him and his colonists.

Wilkinson was not the only traitor to his country in that eventful day. A considerable population had found its way over the mountains into the eastern part of Tennessee, as early as the period of the revolutionary war. In 1777, the jurisdiction of North Carolina was formally extended over the new settlement, under her colonial claim to the Mississippi, and the county of Washington was formed, comprising the whole State of Tennessee. In the next year, a colony of refugees from the tyranny of the British in Carolina penetrated the wilderness, and located themselves on the Cumberland, near the site of Nashville.

After the revolution a large emigration set in from the Southern

States to the settlements on the Holston and the Cumberland. The city of Nashville was founded in 1784, and the population of the Cumberland river, at the same period, had risen to three thousand, while that on the Holston, being both older and nearer to the States, was much larger. To accommodate the wants of these growing colonies, two judicial districts, consisting of four counties, were formed, Washington comprising the settlements in eastern, and Cumberland, those in middle Tennessee.

The jurisdiction of North Carolina proved very inconvenient, exercised thus over isolated settlements at a great distance from its capital; and, accordingly the question of separation was early agitated. The legislature of North Carolina was willing to afford relief to the people of the western districts, and in 1785, proposed to cede the territory west of the mountains, at the expiration of two years, to the confederation, for the purpose of forming a new State. But the people of the districts were harassed by the hostility of the Cherokees; were cut off from the protection of the parent State; were deprived of an efficient military organization; and, were, therefore, dissatisfied with the remote period designated for their separation.

To provide for the necessities of their situation, an informal convention of the people of Washington district was held, and it was resolved to memorialize Congress for an immediate separation from North Carolina, and to call a legislative convention to provide for the government of the district, until the question of cession was decided. The convention met at Jonesborough, declared the Washington district independent of North Carolina, organized the "State of Frankland," appointed a corps of judicial and executive officers, and sent a delegate to Congress to ask an admission into the confederacy.

But the Congress declined to recognize the new State, thus irregularly formed, or to receive its delegate; and the State of North Carolina refused to relinquish her jurisdiction, and prepared to enforce the supremacy of her laws. In the meantime, the legislative convention of Frankland met, enacted laws, levied taxes, and made another application to Congress for its interposition.

Thus a conflict of jurisdiction was created, the officers of the courts of Frankland seized the papers and closed the courts of North Carolina, and the officers of that State retaliated in the same way on the courts of Frankland. In the meantime, Cocke, the delegate of Frankland, appeared before Congress and asked its interposition to restore order in the district. That was promptly

afforded; the authority of North Carolina was maintained, the laws of the new State were declared void, and an amnesty for all past offenses recommended.

The new organization was abandoned, and in 1787 the jurisdiction of the parent State was re-established. But the difficulties of the district did not end here. Col. John Sevier had been appointed governor of Frankland. Col. Tipton was his personal enemy and political rival, and in his absence on an expedition against the Indians, procured the passage of an act of outlawry and confiscation against him. Sevier resisted the execution of the process of the court against his property—a contest between the partisans of the new and old State ensued. Sevier's party was dispersed, and all resistance to the laws of North Carolina was suppressed.

Sevier himself removed to the frontier and employed himself in the defense of the settlements against the Indians. Again he was arrested on the charge of treason, taken to Jonesborough and imprisoned in irons. But at length, public sentiment pronounced in his favor; he was allowed to escape, and in 1789, the act of attainder and outlawry against him was repealed.

It was under these circumstances that Sevier entered into a treasonable intrigue with the Spanish government. On the 12th of September, 1788, he wrote to Gardoqui to say "that the inhabitants of Frankland were unanimous in their vehement desire to form an alliance and treaty of commerce with Spain, and to put themselves under her protection," and to ask on the faith of the new State a supply of arms and money from Spain to enable them to throw off the yoke of North Carolina. The people of the Cumberland district, partly in sympathy with the State party of Frankland, but especially influenced by the desire of enjoying the trade of the Mississippi, shared the wish for a Spanish alliance to such a degree that in fulsome flattery of the Spanish governor, they changed the name of their district to that of Miro.

To foment this discontent, and to turn this desire of a Spanish alliance to the advantage of the Spanish crown, Gardoqui immediately dispatched Dr. James White, a delegate to Congress, whom he had bought for a bribe of four hundred dollars, to prepare the minds of the people of Frankland and Miro for disunion. White visited the districts and proceeded to Louisiana. On the 18th of April, 1789, he addressed a communication to Miro, "that Don Diego Gardoqui gave me letters for the chief men of the district of Frankland with instructions to assure them that if they wished to put themselves under the protection of Spain and favor her interests,

they should be protected in their civil and political government in the form and manner most agreeable to them, on the following conditions:

"That it shall be absolutely necessary not only in order to hold any office, but also any land in Frankland, that an oath of allegiance be taken to his majesty, the object and purport of which should be to defend his government and faithful vassals, on all occasions and against all enemies whoever they might be.

"That the inhabitants of that district shall renounce all submission or allegiance, whatever, to any other sovereign or power.

"They have eagerly accepted these conditions, and the Spanish minister has referred me to your favor, patronage and assistance, to facilitate my operations. With regard to Cumberland, what I have said of Frankland applies to it with equal force and truth."

Notwithstanding all this, Miro received White coldly. He was determined not to share the honor of effecting the dismemberment of the confederacy with Gardoqui and his agents; and he chose rather to endanger the success of his policy than to favor the schemes of his rival. Accordingly, he replied to White that his master was ready to do much for the people of those districts, from motives of pure generosity, that therefore he was disposed to grant many favors and privileges to those of them who would emigrate to Louisiana, and that he was willing to grant to them the trade of New Orleans, on payment of a duty of 15 per cent., which he would further reduce in favor of men among them who were known to be devoted to the interests of Spain. But he could assist or foment no scheme to separate those districts from the union, on account of the harmony which existed between the United States and Spain. If, indeed, they should secure a complete independence from the United States, then his majesty would grant them out of his royal beneficence, all the help, favor, and advantages which might be adapted to their condition, and compatible with the interests of the Spanish monarchy.

Miro's desire to discredit Gardoqui, induced him to write to the ministry to disparage the efforts of White in the disaffected districts. "The inhabitants of Frankland," said he, "had already thrown off the mask before White's arrival among them, and would most certainly have had recourse to me, as is proved by John Sevier's letters, without the interference of the doctor." Nevertheless, he was anxious to assist and foment the scheme to separate those districts from the union, and was ready to use even White to effect that purpose. "The answer," says he, "which I

have given to White, and which he is to show to the principal men of Miro and Frankland, is so framed that should it miscarry, it will afford no cause or complaint to the United States; but verbally, I have energetically recommended to him to use the most strenuous efforts to effect the desired separation."

At the same time, he wrote to Wilkinson to give him the details of the intrigue he was carrying on through White. "Since you are the principal actor in our favor," said he, "it is proper that you be made acquainted with all this affair, in case that it should be deemed useful to induce those districts to act in concert with Kentucky, when that province shall have achieved her separation from the United States."

"I have just received," he continued, "letters from General Daniel Smith, and Col. James Robertson, of the district of Miro, informing me that the inhabitants of Miro would, in September, send delegates to North Carolina in order to solicit from the legislature of that State an act of separation, and that as soon as that should be obtained, other delegates would be sent from Cumberland to New Orleans with the object of placing that territory under the domination of his majesty."

The spirit of treason was not confined to the people of Tennessee. In 1789, a company composed of Alexander Moultrie, Isaac Huger, William Snipes, and Col. Washington, was formed at Charleston, South Carolina, and purchased from the State of Georgia, a tract of country between the Yazoo and the Mississippi, including, it is said, fifty-two thousand nine hundred square miles. Wilkinson immediately applied for the agency of the company, in order, as he wrote Miro, that he might induce them to sue for the Spanish protection, and in consequence add their establishment to the domains of his majesty. He failed to secure the appointment, however, and James O'Fallon received the agency of the company. The substitution was not material. O'Fallon was as thoroughly a traitor as Wilkinson, and his letter to Miro of the 24th of May, 1790, will show that he was not easily to be outdone in baseness.

"The detention," said he, "which I shall probably experience in Kentucky, where I have just arrived on my way to New Orleans; the importance of the mission for which I am sent to you, not only with regard to the Spanish Empire in general, but also particularly with regard to Louisiana and West Florida, as well as in relation to the interests in the Yazoo territory, of the South Carolina Company, whose general agent I have the honor to be, in virtue of a unanimous nomination, under the seal and formal diploma of the

chief director, and of the other proprietors of an extensive territorial concession in the vicinity of your government, finally granted to them by the State of Georgia; the weighty political bearing of my negotiation with you, and the propriety of your being made acquainted with the general design of our plan, before my arrival, and my presenting to you my full credentials, with other authentic documents, which clothe me with the most extensive and confidential powers, and which I shall communicate to you with my characteristic frankness; the obligations resulting from the public situation in which I am, as well as my natural disposition to contribute to the glory and prosperity of the crown which you serve, (which disposition is quite notorious at the Spanish Court, through the information afforded by its minister at New York, and the governor of St. Augustine, who, from abundant experience, can testify to it:)—All these motives now prompt me to address you, in order to give in advance the following intelligence, which you will examine in your moments of leisure.

"The affair which I have the honor to lay before you is pregnant with events of the greatest importance, which must promptly and inevitably be brought forth, if opportunely favored by the court of Spain and yourself, and which are such, that, even in the eye of the most indifferent, they must assume proportions of the most considerable magnitude. This great project was conceived by myself, a long time ago. Through my persuasion and influence, the members of the General Company, who, in particular, are all dissatisfied with the present Federal Government, have, immediately and spontaneously, fallen in with my plan, for the execution of which, considering that it was my conception, they have appointed me their delegate, as one of the twenty proprietors of the concession, with plenary powers to complete it, as you will see after my arrival. At the same time that this important affair was in agitation, and progressing among the most influential members of the Legislature of Georgia, the Company was honoring me with their entire confidence; and, without their having suspected in the beginning what I was aiming at, I insensibly prevailed upon them to acquiesce in my political views, (after the obtaining of the concession,) and led them to consent to be the slaves of Spain,* under the appearance of a free and independent State, forming a rampart for the adjoining Spanish territories, and establishing with them an

*Esclavos de la Espana.

eternal, reciprocal alliance, offensive and defensive. This, for a beginning, when once secured with the greatest secrecy, will serve, I am fully persuaded, as an example to be followed by the settlements on the western side of the mountains, which will separate from the Atlantic portion of the confederacy, because, on account of the advantages which they will expect from the privilege of trading with our colony, under the protection of Spain, they will unite with it in the same manner, and as closely as are the Atlantic States with France, receiving from it every assistance in war, and relying on its power in the moment of danger.

"In order to induce the Company to pursue this course, I refused to take any share in the enterprise under any other conditions; and, in order to confirm their hostility to Congress, which then was acting despotically, as well as to the president and his ministers, who were opposing their pretensions, I used indirect means, which decided them to form the resolution of separating themselves from the Union, and of removing with their families, dependents, and effects, to their conceded territory, with the determination, if Spain favored them, not to subject themselves, nor the numerous colony which they will soon form, to the administration of Congress, or of Washington. The individuals interested in that concession are gentlemen of the greatest influence, power, and talent, among the most gifted in the confederacy; and they are sure of having, within eighteen months after the date of their first settlements, ten thousand men established in their territory, and capable of bearing arms. All that they desire from the Spanish crown for their projected establishment, is a secret co-operation, which, in reality, will soon ripen into a sincere friendship. I assure you that Spain will obtain everything from them in return, except the sacrifice of their liberty of conscience, and of their civil government. I affirm all this, because I am authorized to do so by the plenary powers which they have given me, both in writing and verbally, as will appear by my secret instructions, which I shall communicate to you with the utmost sincerity on my arrival. For I intend, in my proceedings, to keep aloof from all dissimulation whatever.

"Whilst the Company was making the most strenuous efforts to obtain their concessions, in which two years were secretly employed, I was corresponding with Don Diego Gardoqui, in New York, and with the governor of East Florida, through my intimate friend, Captain Charles Howard, the Secretary of that province. At the same time, at the request of the same minister, I was confidentially engaged in obtaining for the court of Spain information of the

highest importance, in relation to Great Britain and the United States, and was also working to procure the emigration of ten thousand Irish, American, and German families to the deserts of East Florida. In order to bring these affairs to an end, I was preparing to follow that minister to Madrid, when, in spite of Congress and the President, the Legislature of Georgia, as it were unanimously, conceded to the South Carolina Company, the Virginia Company, and the Tennessee Company, the territories which they had respectively sued for in the vicinity of your government: in consequence of which, these companies found themselves incorporated and organized by an act of that legislature, and, by virtue of said incorporation and organization, were empowered, under the sanction of the new federal constitution and authorities, and against the will and wishes of the president, and of some of his ministers, to treat and negotiate in relation to the contemplated colonization.

"In this conjuncture, I fully informed the minister Gardoqui, and the governor of St. Augustine, of the circumstances that had occurred, and of the intention of a few members of the Company to have recourse to Great Britain for their own private views and benefit. It was in my power to cause that disposition to evaporate, and, the better to obtain this result, I abandoned the project of introducing families into West Florida. I then succeeded in persuading them as I wished, and, with a view of conciliating the interests of the company with those of Spain, I consented to be appointed their general agent, to negotiate with you, as I have already expressed it above, and thereby be enabled to treat for the establishment of the new colony, combining their interests with those of Louisiana, on principles of reciprocal advantage and defense.

"These premises being taken for granted, it remains for me to inform you that, some time in June next, I intend to depart for New Orleans, in order to have frank, sincere, and unreserved conferences with you on these matters. I will do nothing without your approbation and consent, because I aim at nothing else than serving the interests of Spain, to which I am hereditarily attached, abandoning all other pursuit, more lucrative for my family, in order merely to follow the bent of my inclination. I need not say to you how much the company and myself rely on your honor, secrecy, and good will, on which depends our security, as you may infer from what I have so ingeniously related. The company waits only for your determination, in order to carry its plan into execution in a short time, &c., &c."

Miro was uncertain what course to pursue in regard to the schemes of O'Fallon and the South Carolina company, and accordingly he forwarded a long communication to his government, presenting the reasons for and against the question of encouraging them:

"O'Fallon's propositions," said he, "require the most serious reflection, because it is necessary to weigh the advantages resulting from their being accepted, with the danger of permitting such a settlement in such close contiguity with the possessions of his Majesty, or to speak more to the point, of taking as it were a *foreign State to board with us.* I will therefore presume to offer to you a few observations, which my very limited experience suggests to me, in order that they may serve as materials which may be of some use to you in proposing to his majesty what you may deem best.

"The United States have not consented so far to have their limits determined in that region, and maintain the right, which in their opinion, they derive from their treaty of peace with Great Britain, unduly granting them a portion of the banks of the river Mississippi, down to the thirty-first degree, which is found at thirty-six miles below the fort at Natchez. They labor with incessant ardor to gain the Indian nations, because, no doubt, they look upon them as a barrier which now prevents them from taking possession of the territory which they claim, while those tribes would help them to it if friendly. Should the plan of colonization of the South Carolina company be permitted to be carried into execution, all the hopes of the United States would vanish, or at least they would find it no trifling enterprise to send an army to gain their point.

"With regard to the territory granted to the Virginia company in the Yazoo district, it extends from the thirty-third degree, which is the upper limit of the other company, to thirty-four degrees and forty minutes, comprehending one hundred and twenty miles along its banks by one hundred and twenty in depth. I do not think we have a positive right to those lands which are the hunting grounds of the Chickasaws, who could with justice oppose the settlement contemplated by the Virginia company. As the leaders in this company act from the same motives that influence the South Carolina company, what I have said as applicable to the former is equally so to the latter, inasmuch as they would both pursue the same course. This would also prove true in relation to the Tennessee company, whose concession runs from the mouth of the Tennessee river to about one hundred and twenty miles back, and

belongs to the territory bought from the Cherokees and Chickasaws."

But there were, he averred, great difficulties attending the encouragement of these companies. There was great danger that they would not adhere to their present intentions, or perhaps they they were not sincere in the professions they had made. The population they would introduce into the neighborhood of the Spanish territory, might not be easily dispossesed if they should support the pretensions of the United States, as there was reason to fear they might. Besides, it would be perilous to have a powerful neighbor so near, who might prepare to conquer the province, without its being possible for the Spanish authorities to resist the execution of such a purpose. It was, therefore, manifestly easier to prevent the establishment intended by the South Carolina company, than to correct the evils that might result from it.

It might be better, neither to concur in or reject the plans of the company, but rather to permit them to colonize the country, on conditions that they would swear allegiance to the Spanish crown. But, even then, there was a difficulty. The emigrants might indeed accept any condition for the time, but, perhaps, would violate them as soon as they might be able to do so.

Under all these circumstances he announced the plan he intended to pursue, and it was a fitting response to the treason of the company. He would treat O'Fallon in such a way as to allow him to hope for the success of his mission. But he would take effectual measures to excite the Indians against the American settlers. "I have recommended them," says he, "to remain quiet, and told them, that if these people presented themselves with a view to settle on their lands, to make no concessions and warn them off, but to attack them, in case they refuse to withdraw, and I have promised that I would supply them with powder and ball to defend their legitimate rights."

Thus, at that period, there was a general spirit of disunion along the whole border south of the Ohio. Wilkinson and his confederates were plotting the surrender of Kentucky to Spain. Sevier and Robertson, with their party in Tennessee, were vehement in their unanimous desire to put that region under the protection of the Spanish crown. The land companies of the south-west were ready, for the sake of profit, to declare themselves the slaves of Spain. In all the settlements and the districts of the south-west, at the formation of the federal constitution, there was a general hostility to the federal government, and the leading politicians of

that country, acting as it were with a common impulse, were plotting the dissolution of the Union, and the surrender of their country to the domination of Spain.

It was a magnificent prize they offered to the agents of the Spanish crown. To secure the extension of the Spanish authority over the whole Mississippi valley was an object well worthy of the exertions of Miro and Gardoqui, and one for which they were disposed to use any means, and to employ any agents to effect. Yet they failed to conceal the contempt they felt for the men whom they were using to effect their purpose, and the contempt and distrust they entertained of the crowd of traitors, small and great, who were suing for their favor and coveting their bribes, were the fitting reward for the treason they were anxious to commit, and furnish only another illustration of the maxim that though men may rejoice at a treason, they ever hate the traitor.

Miro was ready to encourage the advances of the South Carolina company, and to receive graciously their professions of devotion to the interests of his master; but, at the same time, he was prepared to let loose the savages on men he saw were false to their country and their race, and could not be true to him. He was ready to foment the discontent of the people of Tennessee, who were eager to swear allegiance to Spain, but he could not assist them to secure their separation from the Union, "on account of the good understanding which exists between his Catholic Majesty and the United States."

But his treatment of Wilkinson is a most exquisite example of the traitor's reward. On the 26th of January, 1790, Wilkinson wrote to Miro a letter filled with complaints at the failure of his plans. The permission to trade with New Orleans, he said, had cooled all the ardor of the Kentuckians for a Spanish alliance; the great motive for disunion was thus removed. The politicians who had so loudly denounced the Union had received offices, and they were grown patriotic. None of them could be relied on, unless they were liberally bribed. None of his accomplices were left but Sebastian; he himself was suspected, and his movements were watched. He abhorred all duplicity, and yet he was obliged to dissemble. He therefore desired to resort to some contrivance to enable him to declare himself a vassal of Spain, in order that he might claim its protection. To all this, Miro returned a fitting reply:

"I much regret that Gen. Washington and Congress suspect your connection with me, but it does not appear to me opportune that

you declare yourself a Spaniard, for the reasons which you state. I am of the opinion that this idea of yours is not convenient, and that, on the contrary, it might have prejudicial results. Therefore, continue to dissemble, and to work as you promised, and as I have above indicated."

Nevertheless, he proposed to his government that Wilkinson ought to be retained in the service of his majesty, with a pension, in order that he might report any hostile movements the people of Kentucky might set on foot against the province of Louisiana; and that Sebastian ought to be pensioned, in order that he might enlighten them on the conduct of Wilkinson. And this was the end of the intrigue that promised such great results, and exhibited so much baseness. Wilkinson was bribed as a spy upon the actions of the people of Kentucky, and Sebastian was bribed as a spy on the actions of Wilkinson.

Preparations, as has been stated, had been made early in 1788, for 1789.] a treaty with the Indians, and during the whole autumn, the representatives of the Indian tribes were lingering about the Muskingum settlement: but it was not till January 9th of this year, that the natives were brought to agree to distinct terms. On that day, one treaty was made with the Iroquois* confirming the previous one of October, 1784, at Fort Stanwix; and another with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, and Sacs, confirming and extending the treaty of Fort McIntosh, made in January, 1785. Of the additions the following are quoted:

"It is agreed between the United States and the said nations, that the individuals of said nations shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury or annoyance to any of the subjects or citizens of the said United States.

"Trade shall be opened with the said nations, and they do hereby respectively engage to afford protection to the persons and property of such as may be duly licensed to reside among them for the purpose of trade, and to their agents, factors and servants; but no person shall be permitted to reside at their towns, or at their hunting camps, as a trader, who is not furnished with a license for that

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* Land Laws, 149.—See also Carey's Museum for April, 1789, p. 415.

purpose, under the hand and seal of the governor of the territory of the United States north-west of the Ohio, for the time being, or under the hand and seal of one of his deputies for the management of Indian affairs; to the end that they may not be imposed upon in their traffic.

"And if any person or persons shall intrude themselves without such license, they promise to apprehend him or them, and to bring them to the said governor, or one of his deputies, for the purpose before mentioned, to be dealt with according to law; and that they may be defended against persons who might attempt to forge such licenses, they further engage to give information to the said governor, or one of his deputies, of the names of all traders residing among them, from time to time, and at least once every year.

"Should any nation of Indians meditate a war against the United States, or either of them, and the same shall come to the knowledge of the before mentioned nations, or either of them, they do hereby engage to give immediate notice thereof to the governor, or, in his absence, to the officer commanding the troops of the United States at the nearest post. And should any nation, with hostile intentions against the United States, or either of them attempt to pass through their country, they will endeavor to prevent the same, and in like manner give information of such attempt to the said governor or commanding officer, as soon as possible, that all causes of mistrust and suspicion may be avoided between them and the United States: in like manner, the United States shall give notice to the said Indian nations, of any harm that may be meditated against them, or either of them, that shall come to their knowledge; and do all in their power to hinder and prevent the same, that the friendship between them may be uninterrupted.*

But these treaties, if meant in good faith by those who made them, were not respected, and the year of which we now write, saw renewed the old frontier troubles in all their barbarism and variety. The Wabash Indians especially, who had not been bound by any treaty as yet, kept up constant incursions against the Kentucky settlers and the emigrants down the Ohio,† and the Kentuckians retaliated, striking foes and friends, even "the peaceable Piankeshaws, who prided themselves on their attachment to the United States." Nor could the President take any effectual steps to put

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* See Land Laws, p. 152.

† Marshall, i. 348, 354.—American State Papers, vol. v., 84, 85.—Carey's Museum.

an end to this constant partisan warfare. In the first place, it was by no means clear that an attack by the forces of the government upon the Wabash tribes could be justified. Says Washington:

"I would have it observed forcibly, that a war with the Wabash Indians ought to be avoided by all means consistently with the security of the frontier inhabitants, the security of the troops, and the national dignity. In the exercise of the present indiscriminate hostilities, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to say that a war without further measures would be just on the part of the United States. But if, after manifesting clearly to the Indians the disposition of the General Government for the preservation of peace, and the extension of a just protection to the said Indians, they should continue their incursions, the United States will be constrained to punish them with severity."*

But how to punish them was a difficult question, again, even supposing punishment necessary. Says General Knox:

"By the best and latest information it appears that, on the Wabash and its communications, there are from fifteen hundred to two thousand warriors. An expedition against them, with a view of extirpating them, or destroying their towns, could not be undertaken with a probability of success, with less than an army of two thousand five hundred men.

"The regular troops of the United States on the frontiers, are less than six hundred: of that number, not more than four hundred could be collected from the posts for the purpose of the expedition. To raise, pay, feed, arm, and equip one thousand nine hundred additional men, with the necessary officers, for six months, and to provide everything in the hospital and quartermaster's line, would require the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, a sum far exceeding the ability of the United States to advance, consistently with a due regard to other indispensable objects."

Such, however, were the representations of the governor of the new territory, and of the people of Kentucky, that Congress, upon the 29th of September, empowered the President to call out the militia to protect the frontiers, and he, on the 6th of October, authorized Governor St. Clair to draw fifteen hundred men from the western counties of Virginia and Pennsylvania, if absolutely

* American State Papers, v. 13, 97, pp. 84 to 93.

necessary; ordering him, however, to ascertain, if possible, the real disposition of the Wabash and Illinois Indians. In order to do this, speeches to them were prepared, and messengers sent among them, whose observations will be hereafter mentioned.

Kentucky, especially, felt aggrieved this year by the withdrawal of the Virginia scouts and rangers, who had hitherto helped to protect her. This was done in July, by the governor, in consequence of a letter from the federal executive, stating that national troops would thenceforward be stationed upon the western streams. The governor communicated this letter to the Kentucky convention held in July, and that body at once authorized a remonstrance against the measure, representing the inadequacy of the federal troops, few and scattered as they were, to protect the country, and stating the amount of injury received from the savages since the first of May.*

Nor was the old separation sore healed yet. Upon the 29th of December, 1788, Virginia had passed her third act to make Kentucky independent; but as this law made the district liable for a part of the State debt, and also reserved a certain control over the lands set apart as army bounties, to the Old Dominion,—it was by no means popular; and when, upon the 20th of July, the eighth convention came together at Danville, it was only to resolve upon a memorial requesting that the obnoxious clauses of the late law might be repealed. This, in December, was agreed to by the present State, but new proceedings throughout were at the same time ordered, and a ninth convention directed to meet in the following July.

North of the Ohio, during this year, there was less trouble from the Indians than south of it, especially in the Muskingum country. There all prospered: the Rev. Daniel Story, under a resolution of the Directors of the Ohio Company, passed some time in 1788, in the spring of *this* year came westward as a teacher of youth and a preacher of the Gospel. By November, nine associations, comprising two hundred and fifty persons, had been formed for the purpose of settling different points within the purchase; and, by the close of 1790, eight settlements had been made; two at Belpre, (belle prairie,) one at Newbury, one at Wolf creek, one at Duck creek, one at the mouth of Meigs' creek, one at Anderson's Bottom, and one at Big Bottom.

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* Marshall, i. 352. American State Papers, v. 84, &c.

Between the Miamies, there was more alarm at this period, but no great amount of actual danger. On the 15th of June, news reached Judge Symmes that the Wabash Indians threatened his settlements, and as yet he had received no troops for their defense, except nineteen men from the Falls. Before July, however, Major Doughty arrived at the "Slaughter House," and commenced the building of Fort Washington on the site of Losantiville.

Through the influence of the Judge (Symmes,) the detachment sent by General Harmar, to erect a fort between the Miami rivers, for the protection of the settlers, landed at North Bend. This circumstance induced many of the first emigrants to repair to that place on account of the expected protection which the garrison would afford. On the 14th of June, before Fort Washington was commenced, and when the only soldiers in the purchase were at North Bend, Symmes writes to Dayton:

"It is expected, that on the arrival of Governor St. Clair, this purchase will be organized into a county; it is therefore of some moment which place shall be made the county seat. Losantiville, at present, bids the fairest; it is a most excellent site for a large town, and is at present the most central of any of the inhabited towns; but if South Bend might be finished and occupied, that would be exactly in the centre, and probably would take the lead of the present villages until the city can be made somewhat considerable.* This is really a matter of importance to the proprietors, but can only be achieved by their exertions and encouragements. The lands back of South Bend are not very much broken, after you ascend the first hill, and will afford rich supplies for a country town. A few troops stationed at South Bend will effect the settlement of this new village in a very short time."

The truth is, that neither the proposed city on the Miami, North Bend or South Bend, could compete, in point of natural advantages, with the plain on which Cincinnati has since arisen; and had Fort Washington been built elsewhere, after the close of the Indian war, nature would have ensured the rapid growth of that point where even the ancient and mysterious dwellers along the Ohio had reared the earthen walls of one of their vastest temples.

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* Symmes had already planned and laid out the "City of Cleves," extending from the Ohio to the Miami, at North Bend, where those rivers converge to within a mile of each other.

PERIOD V.

1790—1795.

The most important events connected with the history of the West, in the period from 1790 to 1795, were the Indian wars of the north-western territory. In order to understand properly their origin and causes, it is necessary to refer to the relations previously existing between the Indians and the whites, and the various treaties that had been made at different times between them.

The French, it will be remembered, made no large purchases from the western Indians; so that the treaty of Paris, in 1763, transferred to England only small grants about the various forts, Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, &c. Then followed Pontiac's war and defeat; and then the grant by the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix, in 1768, of the land *south* of the Ohio; and even this grant, it will be remembered, was not respected by those who actually hunted on the grounds transferred. Next came the war of 1774, Dunmore's war, which terminated without any transfer of the Indian possessions to the whites; and when, at the close of the Revolution, in 1783, Britian made over her western claims to the United States, she made over nothing more than she had received from France, save the title of the Six Nations and the southern savages to a portion of the territory *south* of the Ohio; as against the Miamies, western Delawares, Shawanese, Wyandots or Hurons, and the tribes still further north and west, she transferred nothing.

But this, apparently, was not the view taken by the Congress of the time; and they, conceiving that they had, under the treaty with England, a full right to all the lands thereby ceded, and regarding the Indian title as forfeited by the hostilities of the Revolution, proceeded, not to buy the lands of the savages, but to grant them peace, and dictate their own terms as to boundaries.

In October, 1784, the United States acquired in this way whatever title the Iroquois possessed to the western country, both north and south of the Ohio, by the second treaty of Fort Stanwix, a treaty openly and fairly made, but one the validity of which many of the Iroquois always disputed. The ground of their objection appears to have been, that the treaty was with a part only of the Indian nations, whereas the wish of the natives was, that every

act of the States with them, should be as with a confederacy, embracing all the tribes bordering upon the great lakes.

It will be remembered that the instructions given the Indian Commissioners in October, 1783, provided for one convention with all the tribes; and that this provision was changed in the following March, for one by which as many separate conventions were to be had, if possible, as there were separate tribes. In pursuance of this last plan, the Commissioners, in October, 1784, refused to listen to the proposal which is said then to have been made for one general congress of the northern tribes, and in opposition to Brant, Red Jacket and other influential chiefs of the Iroquois, concluded the treaty of Fort Stanwix.

Then came the treaty of Fort M'Intosh, in January, 1785, with the "Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa nations"—open to the objections above recited, but the validity of which was never disputed, at least by the Wyandots and Delawares; although the general council of north-western Indians, representing sixteen tribes, asserted in 1793, that the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Fort M'Intosh and Fort Finney, (mouth of the Great Miami,) were not only held with separate tribes, but were obtained by intimidation, the red-men having been asked to make treaties of peace, and forced to make cessions of territory.

The third treaty made by the United States was with the Shawanese at Fort Finney, in January, 1786; which, it will be remembered, the Wabash tribes refused to attend. The fourth and fifth, which were acts of confirmation, were made at Fort Harmar, in 1789, one with the Six Nations, and the other with the Wyandots and their associates, namely, the Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, and Sacs. This last, fifth treaty, the confederated nations of the lake especially, refused to acknowledge as binding; their council using in relation to it, in 1793, these words:

"Brothers: A general council of all the Indian confederacy was held, as you well know, in the fall of the year 1788, at this place; and that general council was invited by your commissioner, Gov. St. Clair, to meet him for the purpose of holding a treaty, with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh.

"Brothers: We are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed on that occasion, between those deputed by the confederate Indians, and Gov. St. Clair, the commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your said commissioner in the

beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the general council of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands would be considered as valid or binding, unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless persisted in collecting together a few chiefs of two or three nations only, and with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in which they were no more interested, than as a branch of the general confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or cession whatever.

"Brothers: How then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold these lands, when your commissioner was informed, long before he held the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of a general council was absolutely necessary to convey any part of these lands to the United States." *

And in 1795, at Greenville, Massas, a Chippewa chieftain, who signed the treaty at Fort Harmar, said:

"Elder Brother: When you yesterday read to us the treaty of Muskingum, I understood you clearly; at that treaty we had not good interpreters, and we were left partly unacquainted with many particulars of it. I was surprised when I heard your voice, through a good interpreter, say that we had received presents and compensation for those lands which were thereby ceded. I tell you now, that we, the three fires, never were informed of it. If our uncles, the Wyandots, and grandfathers, the Delawares, have received such presents, they have kept them to themselves. I always thought that we, the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawattamies, were the true owners of those lands, but now I find that new masters have undertaken to dispose of them; so that, at this day, we do not know to whom they, of right, belong. We never received any compensation for them. I don't know how it is, but ever since that treaty we have become objects of pity, and our fires have been retiring from this country. Now, elder brother, you see, we are objects of compassion, and have pity on our weakness and misfortunes; and, since you have purchased these lands, we cede them to you; they are yours."

The Wyandots, however, acknowledged even the transfer made on the Muskingum, to be binding: "Brother," said Tarke, who signed the treaty foremost among the representatives of that tribe at Greenville, and who had also signed the treaty at Fort Harmar—

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* American State Papers, v. pp. 356, 357.

"You have proposed to us to build our good work on the treaty of Muskingum; that treaty I have always considered as formed upon the fairest principles.

"You took pity on us Indians. You did not do as our fathers, the British, agreed you should. You might by that agreement have taken all our lands; but you pitied us, and let us hold part. I always looked upon that treaty to be binding upon the United States and us Indians." *

The truth in reference to this treaty of Fort Harmar seems to have been, that the confederated nations, as a whole, did not sanction it, and in their council of 1778 could not agree one with another in relation to it. Said Brant, before the council met—

"I have still my doubts whether we will join or not, some being no ways inclined for peaceable methods. The Hurons, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawattamies and Delawares, will join with us in trying lenient steps and having a boundary line fixed; and, rather than enter headlong into a destructive war, will give up a small part of their country. On the other hand, the Shawanese, Miamies and Kickapoos, who are now so much addicted to horse-stealing, that it will be a difficult task to break them of it, as that kind of business is their best harvest, will of course declare for war, and not giving up any of their country, which, I am afraid, will be the means of our separating. They are, I believe, determined not to attend the treaty with the Americans. Still I hope for the best. As the major part of the nations are of our opinions, the rest may be brought to, as nothing shall be wanting on my part to convince them of their error."†

Le Gris, the great chief of the Miamies, in April, 1790, said to Gamelin, that the Muskingum treaty was not made by chiefs or delegates, but by young men acting without authority, although Tarke, the head of the Wyandots, signed and sanctioned it, as well as Captain Pipe of the Delawares, while Brant himself was present.

Thus then stood the relations of the Indians and the United States, in 1789. Transfers of territory had been made by the Iroquois, the Wyandots, the Delawares and the Shawanese, which were open to scarce any objection; but the Chippewas, Ottawas, Kickapoos, Weas, Piankeshaws, Pottawattamies, Eel River Indians, Kaskaskias, and above all the Miamies, were not bound by any existing agreement to yield the lands north of the Ohio.

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* American State Papers, v. p. 570, 571. † Stone ii. 278.

They wished the Ohio to be a perpetual boundary between the white and red men of the West, and would not sell a rod of the region north of it. So strong was this feeling that their young men, they said, could not be restrained from warfare upon the invading Long Knives, and thence resulted the unceasing attacks upon the frontier stations and the emigrants.

Washington expressed doubts as to the justness of an offensive war upon the tribes of the Wabash and Maumee; and had the treaty of Fort Harmar been the sole ground whereon the United States could have claimed of the Indians the North-western Territory, it may be doubted whether right would have justified the steps taken in 1790, 1791, and 1794; but the truth was, that before that treaty, the Iroquois, Delawares, Wyandots and Shawanese had yielded the south of Ohio, the ground on which they had long dwelt; and neither the sale to Putnam and his associates, nor that to Symmes, was intended to reach beyond the lands ceded. Of this there is proof in the third article of the ordinance of 1787, passed the day before the proposition to sell to the Ohio company was for the first time debated; which declares that the lands of the Indians shall never be taken from them without their consent. It appears evident, therefore, that the United States were fully justified in taking possession of the north-west shore of the Ohio, and that without reference to the treaty at Fort Harmar, which may have been, if the Indians spoke truly, and they were not contradicted by the United States commissioners, morally worthless. But it also appears that in adopting the measures it did in 1790 and 1791, the federal government acted unwisely; and that it should then, at the outset, have done what it did in 1793, after St. Clair's terrible defeat,—it should have sent *commissioners of the highest character* to the lake tribes, *and in the presence of the British*, learned their causes of complaint, and offered fair terms of compromise. That such a step was wise and just, the government acknowledged by its after-action; and surely no one can question the position that it was more likely to have been effective before the savages had twice defeated the armies of the confederacy than afterward."

The north-west territory was organized under the ordinance of 1787, as has been seen, in 1788, and a corps of officers, consisting of Arthur St. Clair, Governor, and Samuel H. Parsons, James M. Varnum, and John Armstrong, Judges, and Winthrop Sargent, Secretary. Subsequently, Mr. Armstrong declined the appointment, and it was given to John Cleves Symmes. As St. Clair was

the first governor of the north-western territory, and as his name, his services, and his misfortunes are inseparably connected with its history, it may be proper to refer to his history.

He was a native of Scotland, from which country he came to the British Colonies of North America in 1755; having joined the Royal American, or sixtieth British regiment, and served under General Amherst, at the taking of Louisburg, in 1758. He carried a standard at the storming and capture of Quebec, under General Wolfe, in 1759.

Soon after the peace of 1763, he settled in Ligonier valley, in Western Pennsylvania, where he continued to reside until the Revolutionary war. Being a firm friend of liberty, and the rights of the colonies, he received from Congress the commission of colonel, and joined the American army with a regiment of seven hundred and fifty men. Having been promoted to the rank of Major-General, he was tried by a court martial, in 1778, for evacuating Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and unanimously acquitted with the highest honors.*

The late General James Wilkinson, who was a major under St. Clair at the time, states in the "Memoir of his own Times," that the general said to him, "I know I can save my character by sacrificing the army, but were I to do so, I should forfeit that which the world cannot restore, and which the world cannot take away—my own conscience."†

He continued in the service with honor until the peace. He was rigid, some thought arbitrary, in his government, and, therefore, unpopular, but he was scrupulously honest—had no talent for speculation, and died poor. In a letter to the Hon. W. B. Giles, of Virginia, he said:

"In the year 1786, I entered into the public service in civil life, and was a member of Congress, and President of that body, when it was determined to erect a government in the country to the West, that had been ceded by Virginia to the United States; and in the year 1788, the office of governor was in a great measure forced on me.

"The losses I had sustained in the Revolutionary war, from the depreciation of the money, and other causes, had been very great; and my friends saw in this new government means that might be in my power to compensate myself, and to provide handsomely for

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* Dillon's Indiana, 231. † Wilkinson's Memoirs, i. 85.

my numerous family. They did not know how little I was qualified to avail myself of those advantages, if they had existed. I had neither taste nor genius for speculation in land; neither did I think it very consistent with the office."

On entering on the responsible office of Governor of this new territory, instructions were received by him from Congress. He was authorized and required:

To examine carefully into the real temper of the Indians.

To remove, if possible, all causes of controversy with them, so that peace and harmony might exist between them and the United States.

To regulate the trade with them.

To use his best efforts to extinguish the rights of the Indians to lands westward to the Mississippi, and northward to the forty-first degree of latitude.

To ascertain, as far as possible, the names of the real head men and leading warriors of each tribe, and to attach these men to the United States.

To defeat all combinations among the tribes by conciliatory means.*

About the first of January, 1790, Governor St. Clair, with the officers of the territory, descended the river from Marietta to Fort Washington, at Losantiville. There he organized the county of Hamilton, comprising the whole country contiguous to the Ohio, from the Hockhocking river to the Great Miami, appointed a corps of civil and military officers, and established a Court of Quarter Sessions for the administration of justice. At the same time he changed the name of the village of Losantiville to Cincinnati, in allusion to the society of that name which had recently been formed among the officers of the Revolutionary army, and established it as the seat of justice for the county of Hamilton. With the importance attached to it as the county town, and the head-quarters of the army, the village of Cincinnati began at once to improve in appearance, and to increase in population; and it is noticed that in the succeeding summer frame houses began to appear, and that forty log cabins were erected.

On the 8th of January, the Governor and Secretary arrived at Clarksville, at the falls of the Ohio, on their way from Cincinnati to Vincennes, to organize the government of that region, and to

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* Dillon's Indiana, p. 232.

carry into effect the resolution of Congress in regard to the lands of the French inhabitants of the Illinois. Thence he dispatched a messenger to Major Hamtramck, commanding at Vincennes, with speeches to be forwarded by him to the Indians on the Wabash, who were then beginning to exhibit a feeling of hostility toward the whites. Along with these, he addressed a letter to Hamtramck in regard to the scarcity of corn which it was represented existed at Vincennes.

"It is represented to me," said he, "that unless a supply of that article can be sent forward, the people must actually starve. Corn can be had here in any quantity; but can the people pay for it? I entreat you to inquire into that matter, and if you find they cannot do without it, write to the contractor's agent here, to whom I will give orders to send forward such quantity as you may find to be absolutely necessary. They must pay for what they can of it, but they must not be left to perish; and though I have no direct authority from the government for this purpose, I must take it upon myself."

Shortly afterward, St. Clair, along with Sargent, proceeded by land along an Indian trail to Vincennes, where he organized the county of Knox, comprising all the country along the Ohio, from the Miami to the Wabash, and established Vincennes as the seat of justice. Thence he proceeded to Kaskaskia, and there established the county of St. Clair, (so named by Winthrop Sargent, in compliment to the Governor,*) comprising all the territory from the Wabash to the Mississippi. There he issued a proclamation calling upon the French inhabitants to exhibit the titles to their lands, in order to have them examined, confirmed, and the lands they represented surveyed. The requisition was very generally complied with, but the people objected, on account of the misfortunes they had encountered, to the payment, according to law, of the expense of the surveys.

A memorial presented to St. Clair by Pierre Gibault, the priest who had interested himself so much in the American cause at the time of the conquest of Illinois, in behalf of himself and eighty-seven others, furnishes a striking picture of the condition of the French inhabitants of Illinois at that period. It sets forth—

"That by an act of Congress of June 20th, 1788, it was declared that the lands heretofore possessed by the said inhabitants, should

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* It is said that St. Clair was indisposed to receive the compliment, and only assented to the use of the name of St. Clair county after it had been introduced into the records.

be surveyed at their expense; and that this clause appears to them neither necessary nor adapted to quiet the minds of the people. It does not appear necessary, because from the establishment of the colony to this day, they have enjoyed their property and possessions without disputes or lawsuits on the subject of their limits; that the surveys of them were made at the time the concessions were obtained from their ancient kings, lords and commandants; and that each of them knew what belonged to him without attempting an encroachment on his neighbor, or fearing that his neighbor would encroach on him. It does not appear adapted to pacify them, because, instead of assuring to them the peaceable possession of their ancient inheritances, as they have enjoyed it till now, that clause obliges them to bear expenses which, in their present situation, they are absolutely incapable of paying, and for the failure of which they must be deprived of their lands.

"Your excellency is an eye-witness of the poverty to which the inhabitants are reduced, and of the total want of provisions to subsist on. *Not knowing where to find a morsel of bread to nourish their families*, by what means can they support the expense of a survey which has not been sought for on their part, and for which, it is conceived by them, there is no necessity?

"*Loaded with misery, and groaning under the weight of misfortunes, accumulated since the Virginia troops entered their country*, the unhappy inhabitants throw themselves under the protection of your excellency, and take the liberty to solicit you to lay their deplorable situation before Congress; and, as it may be interesting for the United States to know exactly the extent and limits of their ancient possessions in order to ascertain the lands which are yet at the disposal of Congress, it appears to them, in their humble opinion, that the expenses of the survey ought more properly to be borne by Congress, for whom alone it is useful, than by them who do not feel the necessity of it. Besides, this is no object for the United States; but it is great, too great, for *a few unhappy beings who, your excellency sees yourself, are scarcely able to support their pitiful existence.*"

While St. Clair was employed in organizing the government, and arranging the civil affairs of the territory, Major Hamtramck was engaged in the effort to conciliate the tribes on the Wabash. Antoine Gamelin, an intelligent French merchant of Vincennes was employed to carry the messages of the government to the Indians, and to ascertain their disposition and sentiments. Mr.

Gamelin set out on his mission from Vincennes on the 5th of April, and visited all the principal villages along the Wabash, and as far east as Ke-ki-ong-gay, the Miami village at the junction of the St. Joseph and the St. Mary's (Fort Wayne). An extract from his journal will show the spirit in which he was received:

"The first village I arrived at," says Mr. Gamelin, "is called Kikapouguoi. The name of the chief of this village is called *Les Jambes Croches*. He and his tribe have a good heart, and accepted the speech. The second village is at the river du Vermillion, called Piankeshaws. The first chief, and all the warriors, were well pleased with the speeches concerning the peace: but they said they could not give presently a proper answer, before they consult the Miami nation, their eldest brethren. They desired me to proceed to the Miami town, Ke-ki-ong-gay, and, on coming back, to let them know what reception I got from them. The said head chief told me that he thought the nations of the lake had a bad heart, and were ill disposed for the Americans: that the speeches would not be received, particularly by the Shawanese at Miami town. The 11th of April I reached a tribe of Kickapoos. The head chief and all the warriors being assembled, I gave them two branches of white wampum, with the speeches of his Excellency Arthur St. Clair, and those of Major Hamtramck. It must be observed that the speeches have been in another hand before me. The messenger could not proceed further than the Vermillion, on account of some private wrangling between the interpreter and some chief men of the tribe.

"Moreover, something in the speech displeased them very much, which is included in the third article, which says, '*I do now make you the offer of peace: accept it, or reject it, as you please.*' These words appeared to displease all the tribes to whom the first messenger was sent. They told me they were menacing; and finding that it might have a bad effect, I took upon myself to exclude them; and, after making some apology, they answered that he and his tribe were pleased with my speech, and that I could go up without danger, but they could not presently give me an answer, having some warriors absent, and without consulting the Ouiatenons, being the owners of their lands.

"They desired me to stop at Quitepiconnæ, (Tippecanoe,) that they would have the chiefs and warriors of Ouiatenons and those of their nation assembled there, and would receive a proper answer. They said that they expected by me a draught of milk from the great chief, and the commanding officer of the post, for to put the old people in good humor; also some powder and ball for the young

men for hunting, and to get some good broth for their women and children: that I should know a bearer of speeches should never be with empty hands. They promised me to keep their young men from stealing, and to send speeches to their nations in the prairies for to do the same.

"The 14th April the Ouiatenons and Kickapoos were assembled. After my speech one of the head chiefs got up and told me—'You, Gamelin, my friend, and son-in-law, we are pleased to see in our village, and to hear by your mouth the good words of the great chief. We thought to receive a few words from the French people; but I see the contrary. None but the Big-Knife is sending speeches to us. You know that we can terminate nothing without the consent of our brethren the Miamies. I invite you to proceed to their village and speak to them. There is one thing in your speech I do not like: I will not tell of it: even was I drunk, I would perceive it: but our elder brethren will certainly take notice of it in your speech. You invite us to stop our young men. It is impossible to do it, being constantly encouraged by the British.' Another chief got up and said—'The Americans are very flattering in their speeches: many times our nation went to their rendezvous. I was once myself. Some of our chiefs died on the route; and we always came back all naked: and you, Gamelin, you come with speech, with empty hands.' Another chief got up and said to his young men, 'If we are poor, and dressed in deer skins, it is our own fault. Our French traders are leaving us and our villages, because you plunder them every day; and it is time for us to have another conduct.' Another chief got up and said, 'Know ye that the village of Ouiatenon is the sepulchre of all our ancestors. The chief of America invites us to go to him, if we are for peace. He has not his leg broke, having been able to go as far as the Illinois. He might come here himself; and we should be glad to see him at our village. We confess that we accepted the axe, but it is by the reproach we continually receive from the English and other nations, which received the axe first, calling us women: at the present time they invite our young men to war. As to the old people, they are wishing for peace.' They could not give me an answer before they received advice from the Miamies, their elder brethren.

"The 18th April I arrived at the river a L'Anguille, (Eel River.) The chief of the village,* and those of war were not present. I

* This village stood on the north side of Eel river, about six miles above the junction of that stream with the Wabash.

explained the speeches to some of the tribe. They said they were well pleased; but they could not give me an answer, their chief men being absent. They desired me to stop at their village coming back; and they sent with me one of their men for to hear the answer of their eldest brethren.

"The 23d of April I arrived at the Miami town. The next day I got the Miami nation, the Shawanese, and Delawares all assembled. I gave to each nation two branches of wampum, and began the speeches, before the French and English traders, being invited by the chiefs to be present, having told them myself I would be glad to have them present, having nothing to say against anybody. After the speech I showed them the treaty concluded at Muskingum, (Fort Harmar,) between his Excellency Governor St. Clair, and sundry nations, which displeased them.

"I told them that the purpose of this present time was not to submit them to any condition, but to offer them the peace, which made disappear their displeasure. The great chief told me that he was pleased with the speech; that he would soon give me an answer. In a private discourse with the great chief, he told me not to mind what the Shawanese would tell me, having a bad heart, and being the perturbators of all the nations. He said the Miamies had a bad name, on account of mischief done on the river Ohio; but he told me it was not occasioned by his young men, but by the Shawanese; his young men going out only for to hunt.

"The 25th of April, Blue Jacket, chief warrior of the Shawanese, invited me to go to his house, and told me, 'My friend, by the name and consent of the Shawanese and Delawares, I will speak to you. We are all sensible of your speech, and pleased with it; but, after consultation, we cannot give an answer without hearing from our father at Detroit; and we are determined to give you back the two branches of wampum, and to send you to Detroit, to see and hear the chief, or to stay here twenty nights for to receive his answer. From all quarters we receive speeches from the Americans, and not one is alike. We suppose that they intend to deceive us. Then take back your branches of wampum.'

"The 26th, five Pottawattamies arrived here with two negro men, which they sold to English traders. The next day I went to the great chief of the Miamies, called Le Gris. His chief warrior was present. I told him how I had been served by the Shawanese. He answered me that he had heard of it: that the said nations behaved contrary to his intentions. He desired me not to mind those strangers and that he would soon give me a positive answer.

"The 28th April, the great chief desired me to call at the French trader's and receive his answer. 'Don't take bad,' said he, 'of what I am to tell you. You may go back when you please. We cannot give you a positive answer. We must send your speeches to all our neighbors, and to the Lake nations. We cannot give a definitive answer without consulting the commandant at Detroit.' And he desired me to render him the two branches of wampum refused by the Shawanese; also, a copy of speeches in writing. He promised me that, in thirty nights, he would send an answer to Post Vincennes, by a young man of each nation.

"He was well pleased with the speeches, and said to be worthy of attention, and should be communicated to all their confederates, *having resolved among them not to do anything without an unanimous consent.* I agreed to his requisitions, and rendered him the two branches of wampum, and a copy of the speech. Afterward, he told me that the Five Nations, so called, or Iroquois, were training something; that five of them, and three Wyandots, were in this village with branches of wampum. He could not tell me presently their purpose; but he said I would know of it very soon.

"The same day, Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawanese, invited me to his house for supper; and, before the other chiefs, told me that, after another deliberation, they thought necessary that I should go myself to Detroit, for to see the commandant, who would get all his children assembled for to hear my speech. I told them I would not answer them in the night; that I was not ashamed to speak before the sun.

"The 29th April, I got them all assembled. I told them that I was not to go to Detroit; that the speeches were directed to the nations of the river Wabash and the Miami; and that, for to prove the sincerity of the speech, and the heart of Governor St. Clair, I have willingly given a copy of the speeches, to be shown to the commandant of Detroit; and, according to a letter wrote by the commandant of Detroit to the Miamies, Shawanese, and Delawares, mentioning to you to be peaceable with the Americans, I would go to him very willingly, if it was in my directions, being sensible of his sentiments. I told them I had nothing to say to the commandant; neither him to me. You must immediately resolve, if you intend to take me to Detroit, or else I am to go back as soon as possible.

"Blue Jacket got up and told me, 'My friend, we are well pleased with what you say. Our intention is not to force you to go to Detroit: it is only a proposal, thinking it for the best. Our

answer is the same as the Miamies. We will send, in thirty nights, a full and positive answer, by a young man of each nation, by writing to Post Vincennes.' In the evening, Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawanese, having taken me to supper with him, told me, in a private manner, that the Shawanee nation was in doubt of the sincerity of the Big Knives, so called, having been already deceived by them. That they had first destroyed their lands, put out their fire, and sent away their young men, being a hunting, without a mouthful of meat: also, had taken away their women; wherefore, many of them would, with great deal of pain, forget these affronts. Moreover, that some other nations were apprehending that offers of peace would, may be, tend to take away, by degrees, their lands; and would serve them as they did before; a certain proof that they intend to encroach on our lands, is their new settlement on the Ohio.

"If they don't keep this side (of the Ohio) clear, it will never be a proper reconcilement with the nations Shawanese, Iroquois, Wyandots, and perhaps many others. Le Gris, chief of the Miamies, asked me, in a private discourse, what chief had made a treaty with the Americans at Muskingum, (Fort Harmar.) I answered him that their names were mentioned in the treaty. He told me he had heard of it some time ago; but they are not chiefs, neither delegates, who made that treaty: they are only young men, who, without authority and instructions from their chiefs, have concluded that treaty, which will not be approved. They went to the treaty clandestinely, and they intend to make mention of it in the next council to be held.

"The 2d of May, I came back to the river a l'Anguille. One of the chief men of the tribe being witness of the council at Miami town, repeated the whole to them; and, whereas, the first chief was absent, they said they could not for present time give answer; but they were willing to join their speech to those of their eldest brethren.

"'To give you proof of an open heart, we let you know that one of our chiefs is gone to war on the Americans; but it was before we heard of you; for certain they would not have been gone thither.' They also told me that a few days after I passed their village, seventy warriors, Chippewas and Ottawas from Michilimackinack, arrived there; some of them were Pottawattamies, who, meeting in their route, the Chippewas and Ottawas joined them. 'We told them what we heard by you; that your speech was fair and true. We could not stop them from going to war. The Pottawattamies

told us that, as the Chippewas and Ottawas were more numerous than them, they were forced to follow them.'

"The 3d of May I got to the Weas. They told me that they were waiting for an answer from their eldest brethren. 'We approve very much our brethren for not to give a definitive answer, without informing of it all the Lake nations; that Detroit was the place where the fire was lighted; then it ought first to be put out there; that the English commandant is their father, since he threw down our French father: they could do nothing without his approbation.'

"The 4th of May I arrived at the village of the Kickapoos. The chief, presenting me two branches of wampum, black and white, said, 'My son, we cannot stop our young men from going to war. Every day some set off clandestinely for that purpose. After such behavior from our young men, we are ashamed to say to the great chief at the Illinois and of the Post Vincennes, that we are busy about some good affairs for the reconcilement; but be persuaded that we will speak to them continually concerning the peace; and that, when our eldest brethren will have sent their answer, we will join ours to it.'

"The 5th of May I arrived at Vermillion. I found nobody but two chiefs; all the rest were gone a hunting. They told me they had nothing else to say but what I was told going up."

On the 8th of May, Gamelin returned to Fort Knox, and on the 11th, some traders arrived from the Upper Wabash, bringing the intelligence that war parties from the north had joined the Wabash Indians, that the whole force of the savages had gone to make an attack on the settlements, and that three days after Gamelin left the Miamies, an American captive had been burned in their village.

These rumors, together with the report of Gamelin, were conveyed to St. Clair at Kaskaskia; and the threatening state of affairs they indicated, induced him to leave the further regulation of the affairs of St. Clair county in the hands of Winthrop Sargent, and proceed immediately to Fort Washington, to provide for the defense of the frontier.

In the meanwhile, straggling parties of Indians were carrying on a predatory war along the whole line of the Ohio, against the exposed settlers, and especially against the emigrants, great numbers of whom were descending the river at that season in boats, to the new settlements. Under these circumstances, it was determined by the people of Kentucky to make an immediate attack on

the Indians on the Scioto, and General Wilkinson wrote on the 7th of April to General Harmar, to co-operate in the expedition.

"I write to you," said he, "at the public request, on a subject deeply interesting to Kentucky, to our national honor, and to humanity. For more than a month past, a party of savages has occupied the north-western bank of the Ohio, a few miles above the mouth of the Scioto, from whence they make attacks upon every boat that passes, to the destruction of much property, the loss of many lives, and the great annoyance of all intercourse to the northward. By very recent accounts, we are apprised that they still continue in force at that point, and that their last attack was made against five boats, one of which they captured. It is the general, and I conceive a well founded opinion, that if this party is not dislodged and dispersed, the navigation of the Ohio must cease. In a case so very critical, the people of this district conceive themselves justified in appealing to arms, because their dearest interests, and the the lives of their brethren are at hazard; but being extremely unwilling to proceed, except in a legal, regular, and authorized way, they call upon you for advice, succor, and assistance, in the hope and the expectation that you will be able to co-operate with a detachment of the troops under your command, and carry an immediate expedition against the before mentioned party of savages from Limestone, where it is proposed to rendezvous a body of militia volunteers."

Accordingly, on the 18th of April, General Harmar, with one hundred regular troops, and General Scott, with two hundred and thirty Kentucky volunteers, marched from Limestone, by a circuitous route, to the Scioto, and thence proceeded to its mouth, in order to intercept some of the hostile bands. Only four Indians were discovered, who were killed by a party of the militia. Harmar complained that his endeavors were so unsuccessful. "Every exertion in my power," said he, "was made without effect, as the villains had retreated. Wolves might as well have been pursued."

The hostility of the Indians at this period, and the great uneasiness they had manifested during the preceding years, are generally and justly attributed to the intrigues of the British agents in the north-west; and it therefore may be proper here to refer more particularly to the motives and ends of their policy, and the means by which they sought to effect it.

Most of the tribes adhered to England during the Revolutionary struggle. When the war ceased, however, England made no pro-

vision for them, and transferred the North-West to the United States, without any stipulation as to the rights of the natives. The United States, regarding the lands of the hostile tribes as conquered and forfeited, proceeded to give peace to the savages, and to *grant* them portions of their own lands. This produced discontent, and led to the formation of the confederacy headed by Brant.* To assist the purposes of this union, it was very desirable that the British should still hold the posts along the lakes, and supply the red men with all needful things.

The forts they claimed a right to hold, because the Americans disregarded the treaty of 1783; the trade with the Indians, even though the latter might be at war with the United States, they regarded as perfectly fair and just. Having thus a sort of legal right to the position they occupied, the British did, undoubtedly and purposely, aid and abet the Indians hostile to the United States. In 1785, after the formation of his confederacy, Brant went to England, and his arrival was thus announced in the London prints:

"This extraordinary personage is said to have presided at the late grand Congress of confederate chiefs of the Indian nations in America, and to be by them appointed to the conduct and chief command in the war which they now meditate against the United States of America. He took his departure for England immediately as that assembly broke up; and it is conjectured that his embassy to the British court is of great importance.

"This country owes much to the services of Colonel Brant during the late war in America. He was educated at Philadelphia; is a very shrewd, intelligent person, possesses great courage and abilities as a warrior, and is inviolably attached to the British nation."

On the 4th of January, 1786, he visited Lord Sidney, the Colonial Secretary, and after plainly and boldly stating the trouble of the Indians at the forgetfulness of Britain—the encroachments of the Americans—and their fear of serious consequences, he closed with these words:

"This we shall avoid to the utmost of our power, as dearly as we love our lands. But should it, contrary to our wishes, happen, we desire to know whether we are to be considered as his majesty's faithful allies, and have that support and countenance such as old and true friends expect."

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* Heckewelder's Narrative, 379. Stone's Life of Brant, ii., 247, 240.

The English minister returned a perfectly non-committal answer; and when the Mohawk chieftain, upon his return, met the confederated natives in November, 1786, he could give them no distinct assurances of aid from England. But while all definite promises were avoided, men situated as John Johnson, the Indian superintendent, did not hesitate to write to him—

"Do not suffer an idea to hold a place in your mind that it will be for your interest to sit still and see the Americans attempt the posts. It is for your sakes, chiefly, if not entirely, that we hold them. If you become indifferent about them, they may, perhaps, be given up; what security would you then have?

"You would be left at the mercy of a people whose blood calls aloud for revenge; whereas, by supporting them, you encourage us to hold them, and encourage the new settlements, already considerable, and every day increasing by numbers coming in, who find they cannot live in the States. Many thousands are preparing to come in. This increase of his majesty's subjects will serve as a protection for you, should the subjects of the States, by endeavoring to make further encroachments on you, disturb your quiet."

This letter was written in March, 1787, and two months afterward, Major Matthews, who had been in the suite of the Governor of Canada, Lord Dorchester, after being appointed to command at Detroit, speaks still more explicitly, and in the Governor's name also:

"His lordship was sorry to learn," he says, "that while the Indians were soliciting his assistance in their preparations for war, some of the Six Nations had sent deputies to Albany to treat with the Americans, who, it is said, have made a treaty with them, granting permission to make roads for the purpose of coming to Niagara; but that, notwithstanding these things, the Indians should have their presents, as they are marks of the king's approbation of their former conduct.

"In future, his lordship wishes them to act as is best for their interest. He cannot begin a war with the Americans because some of their people encroach and make depredations upon parts of the Indian country; but they must see it is his lordship's intention to defend the posts, and that while these are preserved, the Indians must find great security therefrom, and consequently the Americans' greater difficulty in taking possession of their lands. But should they once become masters of the posts, they will surround the Indians, and accomplish their purpose with little trouble.

"From a consideration of all which, it therefore remains with the Indians to decide what is most for their own interest, and to let his lordship know their determination, that he may take his measures accordingly. But, whatever their resolution is, it should be taken as by one and the same people, by which means they will be respected, and become strong; but if they divide, and act one part against the other, they will become weak, and help to destroy each other.

"This is the substance of what his lordship desired me to tell you, and I request you will give his sentiments that mature consideration which their justice, generosity, and desire to promote the welfare and happiness of the Indians, must appear to all the world to merit.

"In your letter to me, you seem apprehensive that the English are not very anxious about the defense of the posts. You will soon be satisfied that they have nothing more at heart, provided that it continues to be the wish of the Indians, and that they remain firm in doing their part of the business, by preventing the Americans from coming into their country, and consequently from marching to the posts.

"On the other hand, if the Indians think it more for their interest that the Americans should have possession of the posts, and be established in their country, they ought to declare it, that the English need no longer be put to the vast and unnecessary expense and inconvenience of keeping posts, the chief object of which is to protect their Indian allies, and the loyalists who have suffered with them. It is well known that no encroachments ever have or ever will be made by the English upon the lands or property of the Indians in consequence of possessing the posts; how far that will be the case, if ever the Americans get into them, may very easily be imagined, from their hostile perseverance, even without that advantage, in driving the Indians off their lands and taking possession of them." *

These assurances on the part of the British, and the delay of Congress in replying to the address of the confederated nations, dated December, 1786, led to the general council of 1788; but the divisions in that body, added to the uncertain support of the English government, at length caused Brant for a time to give up his interest to the efforts of the western natives, among whom the

* See Stone's Brant, iii. 271.

Miamis thenceforth took the lead; although, as the extracts given from Gamelin's journal show, a true spirit of union did not, even in 1790, prevail among the various tribes. Indeed, some of the Delawares and Miamies so far quarreled, that the former left the Miami country, and settled in Upper Louisiana. At that time, however, the British influence over the Miamis and their fellows, was in no degree lessened, as is plain from the entire reference of their affairs, when Gamelin went to them.

"You invite us," said one of the war chiefs to Gamelin, "to stop our young men. It is impossible to do it, being constantly encouraged by the British."

"We confess," said another Indian, "that we accepted the axe, but it is by the reproach we continually receive from the English and other nations, which received the axe first, calling us women; at the present time, they invite our young men to war; as to the old people, they are wishing for peace."

Every peaceful message from the officers of the crown was stopped on its way to the excited children of the forest; but every word of a hostile character, exaggerated and added to.

McKee, Elliot and Girty possessed great power over the Indians of the north-west, and perhaps more than any other parties contributed to keep alive their attachment to the British, and their hostility to the Americans. Girty has been already referred to. Alexander McKee was, before the revolution, an Indian trader, and in 1773 was living among the Shawanese on Paint creek, in Ohio. Early in 1776, he received an invitation from Col. Butler, then the Indian agent at Niagara, to visit him with a view to his employment as a British emissary among the Indians. In consequence of this, he fell under the suspicion of the American settlers, and was compelled to give to the revolutionary committee of West Augusta a parole of honor, that he would have nothing to do with the Indians on account of Great Britain; and that parole was afterward, it appears, accepted by Congress. Early in 1778, however, he broke his parole, escaped from Pittsburgh, and joined the British in the north. He received a colonel's commission in the British service, and became a leader among the Indians, among whom he continued to reside until his death. Matthew Elliott was also a trader among the Indians, and was taken prisoner at Waketameki, with a cargo of goods, in 1776, and carried to Detroit. There he was released on condition that he would join the British and receive a captain's commission in the service. Thence he returned

to Pittsburgh, probably as a spy, deserted from that place along with Girty and McKee to the enemy, and served during the war mainly as a leader of the hostile Indians. After the revolution he settled and carried on farming and trade with the Indians at the mouth of the Detroit river.

It is hard to say *how far* the British agents aided the savages, in 1790 and 1791. The following is from a certificate by Thomas Rhea, taken by the Indians in May, 1781, and who escaped in June. He is stated to have been untrustworthy, but his account is in part confirmed by other evidence.

"At this place, the *Miami*, were Colonels Brant and McKee, with his son Thomas; and Captains Bunbury and Silvie, of the British troops. These officers, &c., were all encamped on the south side of the Miami or Ottawa river, at the rapids above Lake Erie, about eighteen miles; they had clever houses, built chiefly by the Pottawattamies and other Indians; in these they had stores of goods, with arms, ammunition and provision, which they issued to the Indians in great abundance, viz: corn, pork, peas, &c.

"The Indians came to this place in parties of one, two, three, four and five hundred at a time, from different quarters, and received from Mr. McKee and the Indian officers, clothing, arms, ammunition, provisions, &c., and set out immediately for the upper Miami towns, where they understood the forces of the United States were bending their course, and in order to supply the Indians from other quarters collected there, pirogues, loaded with the above-mentioned articles, were sent up the Miami river, wrought by French Canadians.

"About the last of May, Captain Silvie purchased me from the Indians, and I staid with him at this place till the 4th of June, (the king's birth-day,) when I was sent to Detroit. Previous to leaving the Miami river, I saw one Mr. Dick, who, with his wife, was taken prisoner near Pittsburgh, in the Spring, I believe, by the Wyandots. Mr. McKee was about to purchase Mr. Dick from the Indians, but found it difficult. Mrs. Dick was separated from him, and left at a village at some distance from this place. I also saw a young boy, named Brittle, (Brickell,) who was taken in the spring from a mill, (Captain O'Hara's,) near Pittsburgh, his hair was cut, and he was dressed and armed for war; *could not get speaking to him.*

"About the 5th of June, in the Detroit river, I met from sixty to one hundred canoes, in three parties, containing a large party of Indians, who appeared to be very wild and uncivilized; they were dressed chiefly in buffalo and other skin blankets, with otter skin

and other fur breech cloths, armed with bows and arrows and spears; they had no guns, and seemed to set no store by them, or know little of their use, nor had they any inclination to receive them, though offered to them. They said they were three moons on their way. The other Indians called them *Manitoes*.

"About this time there was a field day of the troops at Detroit, which I think is from five to six hundred in number; the next day a field day of the French militia took place, and one hundred and fifty of the Canadians, with some others, turned out volunteers to join the Indians, and were to set off on the 8th for the Miami village, with their own horses, after being plentifully supplied with arms and ammunition, clothing and provisions, &c., to fit them for the march.

"While I was at the Miami or Ottawa river, as they call it, I had mentioned to Colonel McKee and other officers, that I had seen Colonel Proctor on his way to Fort Franklin; that I understood that he was on his way to the Miami or Sandusky, with some of the Senecas, and that he expected the Cornplanter would accompany him, in order to settle matters with the hostile nations; and that he expected to get shipping at Fort Erie, to bring him and those people to the Miami or Sandusky, &c. That the officers, in their conversation with each other, said, if they were at Fort Erie, he should get no shipping there, &c. That the Mohawks and other Indians, that could speak English, declare that if he, meaning Colonel Proctor, or any other Yankee messenger, came there, they should never carry messages back. This was frequently expressed by the Indians; and Simon Girty and a certain Pat Hill, declared Proctor should not return if he had a hundred Senecas with him; and many other such threats were used, and every movement, appearance and declaration, seemed hostile to the United States. And I understood that Colonel McKee and the other officers, intended only to stay at the Miami till they had furnished the war parties of Indians with the necessaries mentioned above, to fit them for war, and then would return to Detroit. That Elliott had returned to Detroit, and Simon Girty, and that Girty declared he would go and join the Indians, and that Captain Elliott told him he was going the next day, with a boat load of goods for the Indians and that Girty might have a passage with him. That on the 7th of June the ship Dunmore sailed for Fort Erie, in which I got a passage. We arrived there in four days.

"About the 12th of June I saw taken into this vessel, a number of cannon, eighteen pounders, with other military stores, and better

than two companies of artillery troops destined, as I understood, for Detroit and the upper posts; some of the artillery-men had to remain behind, for want of room in the vessel. I have just recollected that, while I was at the Ottawa river, I saw a party of warriors come in with the arms, accoutrements, clothing, &c., of a sergeant, corporal, and, they said, twelve men, whom they had killed in some of the lower posts on the Ohio; that a man of the Indian department offered me a coat, which had a number of bullet and other holes in it, and was all bloody, which I refused to take, and Colonel McKee then ordered me clothes out of the Indian store."*

When Governor St. Clair returned to Fort Washington, he determined, on consultation with General Harmar, to send an expedition against the towns on the Maumee. Accordingly, on the 15th of July he addressed circular letters, in accordance with the authority vested in him by the president, to the militia officers of Western Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, calling on them for militia, to co-operate with the federal troops in the campaign. But in order to prevent any misunderstanding of the purposes of the expedition on the part of the British, he addressed, in obedience to the instructions of the president, the following letter, on the 19th of September, from Fort Harmar, to the commandant at Detroit.

"Sir:—As it is not improbable that an account of the military preparations going forward in this quarter of the country may reach you, and give you some uneasiness, while the object to which they are to be directed is not perfectly known to you, I am commanded by the President of the United States to give you the fullest assurances of the pacific disposition entertained towards Great Britain and all her possessions; and to inform you explicitly that the expedition about to be undertaken, is not intended against the post you have the honor to command, nor any other place at present in the possession of the troops of his Britannic Majesty; but is on foot with the sole design of humbling and chastising some of the savage tribes, whose depredations are become intolerable, and whose cruelties have of late become an outrage, not on the people of America only, but on humanity; which I now do in the most unequivocal manner. After this candid explanation, sir, there is every

*American State Papers, v. 196.

reason to expect, both from your own personal character, and from the regard you have for that of your nation, that those tribes will meet with neither countenance nor assistance from any under your command, and that you will do what in your power lies, to restrain the trading people, from whose instigations there is too good reasons to believe, much of the injuries committed by the savages has proceeded. I have forwarded this letter by a private gentleman, in preference to that of an officer, by whom you might have expected a communication of this kind, that every suspicion of the purity of the views of the United States might be obviated."

According to the plan of the campaign, three hundred of the militia were to rendezvous at Fort Steuben, (Jeffersonville,) march thence to Fort Knox at Vincennes, and join Major Hamtramck in an expedition up the Wabash, from that point; seven hundred were ordered to rendezvous at Fort Washington, and five hundred below Wheeling, to join the regular army on the expedition to the Maumee towns. Immediately upon the arrival of the militia at Fort Washington, they were mustered into service, and organized for the campaign.

"The Kentuckians composed three battalions, under the Majors Hall, M'Mullen, and Bay, with Lieutenant Colonel-commandant Trotter at their head. The Pennsylvanians were formed into one battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel Trubley, and Major Paul, the whole to be commanded by Colonel John Hardin, subject to the orders of General Harmar.

"The 30th, the general having got forward all the supplies that he expected, he moved out with the federal troops, formed into two small battalions, under the immediate command of Major Wyllys, and Major Doughty, together with Captain Ferguson's company of artillery, and three pieces of ordnance.

"On the 3d of October, General Harmar joined the advance troops early in the morning; the remaining part of the day was spent in forming the line of march, the order of encampment and battle, and explaining the same to the militia field officers. Gen. Harmar's orders will show the several formations.

"On the 4th, the army took up the order of march as is described in the orders. On the 5th, a reinforcement of horsemen and mounted infantry joined from Kentucky. The dragoons were formed into two troops; the mounted riflemen made a company, and this small battalion of light troops were put under the command of Major Fontaine."

The whole of General Harmar's command, then, consisted of

three battalions of Kentucky militia, one battalion of Pennsylvania militia, one battalion of Kentucky mounted riflemen, amounting to eleven hundred and thirty-three men; and two battalions of regulars, amounting to three hundred and twenty men. The total force of the expedition consisted therefore of fourteen hundred and fifty-three men.

The militia were in great measure unfit for service, as may be inferred from the evidence of Major Ferguson:

"They were very illy equipped, being almost destitute of camp kettles and axes; nor could a supply of these essential articles be procured. Their arms were, generally, very bad, and unfit for service; as I was the commanding officer of artillery, they came under my inspection, in making what repairs the time would permit; and as a specimen of their badness, I would inform the court, that a rifle was brought to be repaired without a lock, and another without a stock.

"I often asked the owners what induced them to think that those guns could be repaired at that time? And they gave me for answer, that they were told in Kentucky that all repairs would be made at Fort Washington. Many of the officers told me, that they had no idea of there being half the number of bad arms in the whole district of Kentucky as was then in the hands of their men.

"As soon as the principal part of the Kentucky militia arrived, the general began to organize them; in this he had many difficulties to encounter. Colonel Trotter aspired to the command, although Colonel Hardin was the eldest officer, and in this he was encouraged both by men and officers, who openly declared, unless Colonel Trotter commanded them, they would return home. After two or three days the business was settled, and they [i. e. the Kentucky men] were formed into three battalions, under the command of Colonel Trotter, and Colonel Hardin had the command of all the militia (both Pennsylvania and Virginia).

"As soon as they were arranged, they were mustered, and, on the 26th, marched and encamped about ten miles from Fort Washington. The last of the Pennsylvania militia arrived on the 25th September. They were equipped nearly as the Kentucky militia, but were worse armed; several were without any. The general ordered all the arms in store to be delivered to those who had none, and to those whose guns could not be repaired.

"Amongst the militia were a great many hardly able to bear arms, such as old, infirm men, and young boys; they were not

such as might be expected from a frontier country, that is, the smart, active woodsman, well accustomed to arms, eager and alert to revenge the injuries done them and their connections. No, there were a great number of them substitutes, who probably had never fired a gun. Major Paul, of Pennsylvania, told me, that many of his men were so awkward, that they could not take their gun locks off to oil them, and put them on again, nor could they put in their flints so as to be useful; and even of such materials, the numbers came far short of what was ordered, as may be seen by the returns."*

Trouble had been anticipated from the aversion of the frontier men to act with regular troops; General Harmar had been warned on the subject by the Secretary of War; every pains had been taken to avoid the evils apprehended, and when, upon the 30th September, Harmar left Fort Washington, every step seemed to have been taken which experience or judgment could suggest to secure the success of the expedition. The same seems to have been true of the march, since the Court of Inquiry, held in 1791, approved every arrangement of the campaign.

On the 13th of October, the army being then thirty or thirty-five miles from the Miami villages, it was determined, in consequence of information given by a captured Indian, to send forward Colonel John Hardin, with a detachment of six hundred militia men, and one company of regulars, to surprise the enemy, and keep them in their forts until the main body could come up with the artillery.

On the 14th this party marched forward, and upon the next day about three o'clock reached the villages, but they were deserted. On the morning of the 17th, the main army arrived, and the work of destruction commenced; by the 21st, the chief town, five other villages, and nearly twenty thousand bushels of corn in ears, had been destroyed. When Harmar reached the Maumee towns and found no enemy, he thought of pushing forward to attack the Wea and other Indian settlements upon the Wabash, but was prevented by the loss both of pack horses and cavalry horses, a great number of which the Indians seem to have stolen, in consequence of the willful carelessness of the owners.

The Wabash plan being dropped, Colonel Trotter was dispatched with three hundred men to scour the woods in search of an enemy,

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* American State Papers, xii., 20.

as the tracks of women and children had been seen near by. No better idea of the utter want of discipline in the army can be given, than by some extracts from the evidence of Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) Armstrong; this gentleman was with Trotter during the 18th of October, and also with Hardin, who, on the 19th, took the command, General Harmar being much dissatisfied with Trotter's ineffective Indian chase of the previous day.

"After we had proceeded about a mile, "says Armstrong," the cavalry gave chase to an Indian, who was mounted; him they overtook and killed. Before they returned to the column a second appeared, on which the four field officers left their commands and pursued, leaving the troops near half an hour without any directions whatever. The cavalry came across the second Indian, and, after he had wounded one of their party, killed him also.

"When the infantry came up to this place they immediately fell into confusion, upon which I gained permission to leave them some distance on the road, where I formed an ambuscade. After I had been some time at my station, a fellow on horseback came to me, who had lost the party in pursuit of the first Indian; he was much frightened, and said he had been pursued by fifty mounted Indians. On my telling this story to Colonel Trotter, notwithstanding my observations to him, he changed his route, and marched in various directions until night, when he returned to camp.

"On our arrival in camp, General Harmar sent for me, and after asking me many questions, ordered one subaltern and twenty militia to join my command. With these I reached the river St. Joseph about ten at night, and with a guide proceeded to an Indian town, about two miles distant, where I continued with my party until the morning of the 19th. About nine o'clock I joined the remainder of the detachment under Colonel Hardin. We marched on the route Colonel Trotter had pursued the day before, and after passing a morass about five miles distant, we came to where the enemy had encamped the day before. Here we made a short halt, and the commanding officer disposed of the parties at a distance from each other; after a halt of half an hour, we were ordered to move on, and Captain Faulkner's company was left on the ground; the Colonel having neglected giving him orders to move on.

"After we had proceeded about three miles, we fell in with two Indians on foot, who threw off their packs, and the brush being thick, made their escape. I then asked Colonel Hardin where

Captain Faulkner was? He said he was lost, and then sent Major Fontaine with part of the cavalry in search of him, and moved on with the remainder of the troops. Some time after, I informed Colonel Hardin a gun had been fired in our front, which might be considered as an alarm gun, and that I saw where a horse had come down the road, and returned again; but the Colonel still moved on, giving no orders, nor making any arrangements for an attack.

"Some time after, I discovered the enemy's fires at a distance, and informed the Colonel, who replied that they would not fight, and rode in front of the advance, until fired on from behind the fires; when he, the Colonel, retreated, and with him all the militia except nine, who continued with me, and were instantly killed, with twenty-four of the federal troops. Seeing my last man fall, and being surrounded by the savages, I threw myself into a thicket, and remained there three hours in day-light. During that time I had an opportunity of seeing the enemy pass and re-pass, and conceived their numbers did not amount to one hundred men; some were mounted, others armed with rifles, and the advance with tomahawks only.

"I am of opinion that had Colonel Trotter proceeded, on the 18th, agreeably to his orders, having killed the enemy's sentinels, he would have surprised their camp, and with ease defeated them; or had Colonel Hardin arranged his troops, or made any military disposition, on the 19th, that he would have gained a victory. Our defeat I therefore ascribe to two causes: the unofficer-like conduct of Colonel Hardin, (who, I believe, was a brave man,) and the cowardly behavior of the militia; many of them threw down their arms, loaded, and I believe that none, except the party under my command, fired a gun."

At this time, probably, the jealousy between the regulars and militia, which had been anticipated, and which had threatened trouble at Fort Washington, began effectually to work mischief; the regular troops disliked to be commanded by Trotter and Hardin, the army officers despised the militia, and the militia, hating them, were impatient under the control of Harmar and his staff. Again, the rivalry between Trotter and Hardin was calculated to make the elements of discord and disobedience yet more wide spread, so that all true confidence between the officers and men was destroyed, and with it, of necessity, all true strength.

But though the troops had been disappointed and defeated, the houses and crops had been burned and wasted, and upon the 21st of October the army commenced its homeward march. But Har-

din was not easy under his defeat, and the night of the 21st being favorable, he proposed to Harmar to send back a detachment to the site of the villages just destroyed, supposing the savages would have already returned thither. The General was not very willing to try further experiments, but Hardin urged him, and at last obtained an order for three hundred and forty militia, of which forty were mounted, and sixty regular troops; the former under Hardin himself, the latter under Major Wyllys. How they fared, shall be told by Captain Asheton, an actor in the affray:

"The detachment marched in three columns, the federal troops in the centre, at the head of which I was posted, with Major Wyllys and Colonel Hardin in my front; the militia formed the columns to the right and left. From delays, occasioned by the militia's halting, we did not reach the banks of the Omee [Maumee] till sometime after sunrise. The spies then discovered the enemy, and reported to Major Wyllys, who halted the federal troops, and moved the militia on some distance in front, where he gave his orders and plan of attack to the several commanding officers of corps. Those orders were not communicated to me. Major Wyllys reserved the command of the federal troops to himself.

"Major Hall with his battalion, was directed to take a circuitous route around the bend of the Omee river, cross the Pickaway fork, (or St. Mary's) which brought him directly in the rear of the enemy, and there wait until the attack should commence with Major McMullen's battalion, Major Fontaine's cavalry, and Major Wyllys with the federal troops, who all crossed the Omee at, and near, the common fording place.* After the attack commenced, the troops were by no means to separate, but were to embody, or the battalions to support each other, as circumstances required.

"From this disposition, it appeared evident that it was the intention of Major Wyllys to surround the enemy, and that if Colonel Hall, who had gained his ground undiscovered, had not wantonly disobeyed his orders, by firing on a single Indian, the surprise must have been complete. The Indians then fled with precipitation, the battalions of militia pursuing in different directions.

"Major Fontaine made a charge upon a small party of savages—he fell the first fire, and his troops dispersed. The federal troops, who were then left unsupported, became an easy sacrifice to much the largest party of Indians that had been seen that day. It was

* The theatre of these operations was in the vicinity of the flourishing city of Fort Wayne, Indiana.

my opinion that the misfortunes of that day were owing to the separation of the troops, and disobedience of orders.

"After the federal troops were defeated, and the firing in all quarters nearly ceased, Colonel Hall and Major McMullen, with their battalions, met in the town, and after discharging, cleaning and fresh loading their arms, which took up about half an hour, proceeded to join the army unmolested. I am convinced that the detachment, if it had been kept embodied, was sufficient to have answered the fullest expectations of the General, and needed no support; but I was informed a battalion under Major Ray was ordered out for that purpose."*

When Hardin returned to camp after this skirmish, he wished the General either to send another party, or take the whole army to the battle ground, but Harmar would not favor either plan. He did not wish, he said, to divide his troops; he had little food for his horses; and he thought the Indians had received "a very good scourging;" upon the next morning, accordingly, the army took up its line of march for Fort Washington, in a regular, soldier-like way. Two men, says Hardin, wished to have another tussle with the Miamies—of the whole army, only two! Before reaching Fort Washington, however, new trouble occurred.

"At old Chillicothe, on Little Miami," says Colonel Hardin, "a number of the militia, contrary to orders, fired off their guns. I endeavored to put a stop to such disorderly behavior, and commanded that those offenders that could be taken should be punished agreeably to general orders; and having caught a soldier myself in the very act of firing his gun, ordered a file of men to take him immediately and carry him to the six-pounder, and for the drummer to tie him up and give him six lashes; I was shortly after met by Colonel Trottor and Major McMullen, and a number of militia soldiers who, in an abrupt manner, asked me by what authority I ordered that soldier whipped; I replied in support of general orders, on which a very warm dispute ensued between Colonel Trotter, Major McMullen and myself.

"The general being informed of what had happened, came forward and gave Colonel Trotter and Major McMullen a very severe reprimand, ordered the federal troops to parade, and the drummer to do his duty, swearing he would risk his life in support of his

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* See American State Papers, xii. 28. See account in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany.

orders; the man received the number of lashes ordered, and several that were confined were set at liberty; numbers of the militia seemed much pleased with what was done. This intended mutiny being soon quashed, the army proceeded in good order to Fort Washington.

"When the army arrived at the mouth of Licking, the general informed me he had determined to arrest some of the militia officers for their bad conduct, and send them home with disgrace; but I opposed his intention, alleging that it would be a disgrace to the whole militia; that he would perhaps stand in need of their assistance on some future occasion, and it would sour their minds and cause them to turn out with reluctance; and that his discharging them generally with honor, perhaps, would answer a better purpose; the general readily indulged my request."*

To this last act, which caused much discontent among the frontier men; to the two defeats of the 19th and 22d of October, (for such they were;) and to the want of any efficiency on the part of Harmar, who, though guilty of no breach of military care or common skill, acted woman-like, compared with such men as Clark and Wayne, must be ascribed the great unpopularity of this campaign. The army, as a whole, effected all that the popular expeditions of Clark, in 1782, and of Scott and Wilkinson, in 1799, did: the annihilation of towns and corn, and was by Harmar and St. Clair considered very successful, but in reality, *in the view of the Indians*, it was an utter failure and defeat. Their account of it was this:

"There have been two engagements about the Miami towns, between the Americans and the Indians, in which it is said the former had about five hundred men killed, and that the rest have retreated. The loss was only fifteen or twenty on the side of the Indians. The Shawanese, Miamies, and Pottawattamies, were, I understand, the principal tribes who were engaged; but I do not learn that any of the nations have refused their alliance or assistance, and it is confidently reported that they are now marching against the frontiers on the Ohio."

Nor was the report of the invasion of the settlements on the Ohio shore far from the truth, as may be seen from the following letter:

"On the evening of the 2d January, 1791," says Rufus Put-

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* American State Papers, xii. 35.

nam, writing to the president, "between sunset and daylight-in, the Indians surprised a new settlement of our people, at a place on the Muskingum, called the Big Bottom, nearly forty miles up the river, in which disaster eleven men, one woman, and two children, were killed; three men are missing, and four others made their escape. Thus, sir, the war, which was partial before the campaign of last year, is, in all probability, become general. I think there is no reason to suppose that we are the only people on whom the savages will wreak their vengeance, or that the number of hostile Indians have not increased since the late expedition.

"Our situation is truly critical; the governor and secretary both being absent, no assistance from Virginia or Pennsylvania can be had. The garrison at Fort Harmar, consisting at this time of little more than twenty men, can afford no protection to our settlements, and the whole number of men in all our settlements, capable of bearing arms, including all civil and military officers, do not exceed two hundred and eighty-seven, and these, many of them, badly armed.

"We are in the utmost danger of being swallowed up, should the enemy push the war with vigor during the winter; this, I believe, will fully appear, by taking a short view of our several settlements, and I hope justify the extraordinary measures we have adopted, for want of a legal authority in the territory, to apply for aid in the business. The situation of our people is nearly as follows:

"At Marietta are about eighty houses, in the distance of one mile, with scattering houses about three miles up the Ohio. A set of mills at Duck creek, four miles distant, and another mill two miles up the Muskingum. Twenty-two miles up this river is a settlement, consisting of about twenty families; about two miles from them, on Wolf creek, are five families and a set of mills.

"Down the Ohio, and opposite the Little Kanawha, commences the settlement called Belle Prairie, which extends down the river, with little interruption, about twelve miles, and contains between thirty and forty houses. Before the late disaster, we had several other settlements, which are already broken up. I have taken the liberty to enclose the proceedings of the Ohio company, and justices of the sessions on this occasion, and beg leave, with the greatest deference, to observe, that, unless government speedily sends a body of troops for our protection, we are a ruined people.

"The removal of the women and children, etc., will reduce many of the poorer sort to the greatest straits; but if we add to this the

destruction of their corn, forage, and cattle, by the enemy, which is very probable to ensue, I know of no way they can be supported; but, if this should not happen, where these people are to raise bread another year, is not easy to conjecture, and most of them have nothing left to buy with.

"But my fears do not stop here; we are a people so far detached from all others, in point of situation, that we can hope for no timely relief, in case of emergency, from any of our neighbors; and among the number that compose our present military strength, almost one-half are young men, hired into the country, intending to settle by and by; these, under present circumstances, will probably leave us soon, unless prospects should brighten; and, as to new settlers, we can expect none in our present situation; so that, instead of increasing in strength, we are likely to diminish daily; and, if we do not fall a prey to the savages, we shall be so reduced and discouraged as to give up the settlement, unless government shall give us timely protection. It has been a mystery with some, why the troops have been withdrawn from this quarter, and collected at the Miami; that settlement is, I believe, within three or four days' march of a very populous part of Kentucky, from whence, in a few days, they might be reinforced with several thousand men, whereas, we are not within two hundred miles of any settlement that can probably more than protect themselves."*

The spirit thus manifested by the tribes which had just been attacked, and the general feeling along the frontier in relation to Harmar's expedition, made the United States government sensible that their first step in the conduct of backwoods warfare, had been a failure, and that prompt and strong measures, calculated either to win or force a state of peace, must be adopted. The plan which was resorted to was a three-fold one:

To send a messenger to the western Indians with offers of peace, to be accompanied by some of the Iroquois chieftains favorable to America;

At the same time to organize expeditions in the West, to strike the Wea, Miami, and Shawanese towns, in case it should be clear the peace messenger would fail in his mission; and

To prepare a grand and overwhelming force with which to take possession of the country of the enemies, and build forts in their midst.

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*See American State Papers, v. 121.

The person selected to convey the messages of peace was Colonel Thomas Proctor, who received his commission upon the 10th or 11th of March, 1791, and upon the 12th left Philadelphia for the settlement of Cornplanter, Captain O'Beel, or O'Biel, the chief warrior of the Senecas, and the firm friend of Washington and the Union. This chief, with others of similar sentiments, had been in Philadelphia in the previous December, and had promised to use all their influence to secure peace.* To them Proctor was sent, in the hope that they would go with him westward, and be the means of preventing further bloodshed. In this hope, however, Washington and Knox were disappointed; for, when, with great difficulty, the American messenger had prevailed upon certain of the Iroquois to accompany him, provided a water passage could be had, the British commandant at Niagara would not allow an English vessel to be hired to convey the ambassadors up Lake Erie; and as no other could be obtained, the whole enterprise failed.

But in order to understand the difficulties which Proctor met with, the views of the British, and of those Indians who remained firm to the British at this period, must be considered. After Harmar's campaign, the tribes of the north-west sent a deputation to Lord Dorchester, to learn what aid England would give them in the contest now fairly opened. What answer, precisely, was given by the Governor, we do not know, but his wishes seemed to have been that peace might be restored and preserved. Colonel Gordon, the British commandant at Niagara, who afterwards stopped Proctor, was also an advocate of peace, and on the 4th of March wrote to Brant in these words:

"I hope you will embrace the present opportunity of the meeting of the chiefs of the Five Nations in your neighborhood, to use your endeavors to heal the wounds between the Indians and Americans. I dare say the States wish to make peace on terms which will secure to the Indians their present possessions in the Miami country, provided the young men are restrained from committing depredations in future."

It is evident, from their whole course of procedure, that the British authorities did their utmost to prevent American settlements from being made in the North-Western territory. They wished to have their Indian allies continue in possession; this was their chief motive for retaining the western posts.

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*American State Papers, v. 140–145. Cornplanter, like Brant, was a half-breed.

Brant himself, on the 7th of March, writing to M'Kee, the agent among the Miamies, says:

"I have received two letters from the States, from gentlemen who have lately been in Philadelphia, by which it appears the Americans secretly wish to accommodate the matter, which I should, by all means, advise, if it could be effected upon honorable and liberal terms, and a peace become general."

With these views prevailing, why did Brant, Gordon, and the other officers of Britain do so little afterward to preserve pacific relations? First, it would seem that the Mohawk chieftain was offended by the favor shown Cornplanter, his deadly foe,* and by the attempt of the Americans to divide the Iroquois; and in regard to the latter point, at least, the British sympathized with him. Secondly, it is clear that the representatives of England in Canada were offended at the *entire* disregard shown by the American government of their influence over the savages of the north-west.

Those tribes were closely connected with the British agents, and under their control, and Lord Dorchester, Colonel Gordon and Brant looked for an appeal to them as mediators in the quarrel about to burst forth, or, at any rate, for an acceptance by the Americans of their mediation, if asked by the Indians; an acceptance of the kind given in 1793, after St. Clair's defeat, and which was not, of course, dishonorable or degrading. Thirdly, both the Indians and English were puzzled and excited by the seeming want of good faith on the part of the States, which, at the same moment, almost, commissioned Scott to war upon the Wabash Indians, Proctor to treat of peace with them, St. Clair to invade and take possession of their lands on the Maumee, and Pickering to hold a council with their brethren for burying the fatal hatchet, and quenching the destructive brand.

"From the inconsistent proceedings of the Americans," says Colonel Gordon to Brant, upon the 11th of June, "I am perfectly at a loss to understand their full intentions. Whilst they are assembling councils at different quarters, with the avowed purpose of bringing about a peace, the Six Nations have received a speech from General St. Clair, dated at Pittsburgh, 23d April, inviting them to take up the hatchet against their brothers, the western nations.

"Can any thing be more inconsistent, or can they possibly

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* American State Papers, v. 167; stated by Gen. Knox.

believe the Indians are to be duped by such shallow artifices? This, far from being the case; the Indians at Buffalo creek saw the business in its proper light, and treated the invitation with the contempt it deserved. It must strike you very forcibly, that in all the proceedings of the different commisioners from the American States, they have cautiously avoided applying for our interference, as a measure they affect to think perfectly unnecessary; wishing to impress the Indians with the ideas of their own consequence, and of the little influence they would willingly believe we are possessed of.

"This, my good friend, is not the way to proceed. Had they, before matters were pushed to extremity, requested the assistance of the British government to bring about a peace on equitable terms, I am convinced the measure would have been fully accomplished long before this time.

"I would, however, willingly hope they will yet see the propriety of adopting this mode of proceeding; and that peace, an object so much to be desired, will at length be permanently settled.

"I am the most sanguine in the attainment of my wishes, by your being on the spot, and that you will call forth the exertion of your influence and abilities on the occasion."

The Americans also were desirous to enlist Brant as a peace-maker, and Governor Clinton, of New York, was written to by General Knox, in the hope that he might influence the Mohawk leader; but the chieftain was beyond his reach, in the far west, among the tribes who were likely to be foremost in the contest; nor could any learn whether he went thither as a peace-maker or promoter of war.

Early in May, the United States Government was informed that he had revived his plan of a great Indian confederacy; and about the 19th of that month, Proctor, at Buffalo, heard from the West that Brant was there, not to pacify, but to inflame the Miamies and their allies; but yet, as the chiefs of the Six Nations represented his purpose to be that of a messenger sent to learn the feelings of the western tribes, and asked Proctor again and again to wait his return, the impression produced upon the American Government was that he had nothing in view but the cessation of hostilities.*

Before Proctor, after the failure of his mission, left Buffalo creek, which he did upon the 21st of May, measures had been

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* American State Papers, v. 117; also, 161, 168, 181.

taken to secure a council of the Six Nations on the 16th of June, at the Painted Post, near the junction of the Coshocton and Tioga rivers. The purpose of this council was to secure the neutrality of the Iroquois by presents and fine words; and the plan appears to have succeeded. "Treaty," says Knox, writing to St. Clair, on the 4th of August, "closed on the 15th, (of July,) and the Indians returned satisfied. Colonel Pickering did not attempt to persuade any of them to join our army, as he found such a proposal would be very disagreeable to them." *

It had been calculated when Proctor left Philadelphia upon the 12th of March, that he would either succeed or distinctly fail in his enterprise, in time to reach Fort Washington by the 5th of May. This expectation, as has been seen, was entirely defeated, as he was so delayed that he did not reach Buffalo creek until the 27th of April, and did not make his first application for a vessel to cross Lake Erie until May 5th. But upon the above calculation, mistaken as it proved, were based the arrangements of the United States for carrying into effect the second part of the plan for the campaign,—"the desultory operations" (as they were termed) for annoying the enemy in case Proctor failed. These operations were to be carried out by the backwoodsmen under their own commanders.

The depredations of the Indians on the Ohio after Harmar's expedition, produced great alarm in Western Virginia, and the delegates of several of the western counties of that State, sent a memorial to the governor, in which they say:

"The defenseless condition of those counties, forming a line of nearly four hundred miles along the Ohio river, exposed to the hostile invasion of their Indian enemies, destitute of every kind of support, is truly alarming; for notwithstanding all the regulations of the General Government in that country, we have reason to lament that they have been hitherto ineffectual for our protection; nor, indeed, could it happen otherwise: for the garrisons kept by the continental troops on the Ohio river, if they are of any use, it must be to the Kentucky settlements; as they immediately cover that country. To us they can be of no service, being from two to four hundred miles below our frontier settlements.

"We further beg leave to observe that we have reason to fear that the consequences of the defeat of our army by the Indians, on

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* American State Papers, v. 181.

the late expedition, will be severely felt on our frontiers: as there is no doubt but that the Indians will, in their turn, (being flushed with victory,) invade our settlements, and exercise all their horrid murder upon the inhabitants thereof, whenever the weather will permit them to travel. Then is it not better to support us where we are, be the expense what it may, than to oblige such a number of your brave citizens, who have so long supported, and still continue to support, a dangerous frontier, (although thousands of their relatives in the flesh have, in the prosecution thereof, fallen a sacrifice to savage inventions) to quit the country, after all they have done and suffered, when you know that a frontier must be supported somewhere."

In consequence of these representations, the Legislature of Virginia passed a resolution on the 20th of December, authorizing the governor to make provision for the protection of the frontier, till the General Government should take efficient measures to effect that object. Governor Randolph immediately dispatched orders to the commanding officers of the western counties, for the enlistment, before the 1st of March, of several companies of rangers, for the defense of the frontier, and appointed Charles Scott brigadier-general of the militia of Kentucky, with orders to raise a volunteer force for the protection of that district. These proceedings were reported to Congress, and that body, early in January, established a local Board of War for the district of Kentucky, composed of General Scott, Harry Innis, John Brown, Benjamin Logan, and Isaac Shelby, with discretionary powers to provide for the defense of the settlements and the prosecution of the war.

On the 3d of March, Congress passed an "Act for the raising and adding another regiment to the military establishment of the United States, and for making further provision for the protection of the frontiers." In the execution of the provisions of that act, the President immediately appointed Governor St. Clair commander-in-chief of the army in the North-West, and authorized him to raise an army of three thousand men, to be employed against the hostile Indians in that territory.

It was considered necessary, however, to make an immediate attack on the Wabash Indians; and accordingly orders were sent to General Scott, to raise, under the direction of the Kentucky Board of War, a volunteer force of about seven hundred and fifty men, and lead an expedition against the Wea towns on the Wabash. The time of rendezvous was fixed on the 10th of May, but the march was postponed for a few days, to await the return of

Proctor. No intelligence, however, was received from him; the hostility of the Indians was becoming more apparent, and, on the 23d of May, General Scott with a force of eight hundred mounted men crossed the Ohio, at the mouth of the Kentucky, and commenced his march to Ouiatenon, where he arrived on the 1st of June.

"I immediately detached Colonel John Hardin," says Scott in his report, "with sixty mounted infantry, and a troop of light horse under Captain McCoy, to attack the villages to the left, and moved on briskly with my main body, in order of battle, toward the town, the smoke of which was discernible. My guides were deceived with respect to the situation of the town; for, instead of standing at the edge of the plain through which I marched, I found it on the low ground bordering on the Wabash: on turning the point of woods, one house presented in my front. Captain Price was ordered to assault that with forty men. He executed the command with great gallantry, and killed two warriors.

"When I gained the summit of the eminence which overlooks the villages on the banks of the Wabash, I discovered the enemy in great confusion, endeavoring to make their escape over the river in canoes. I instantly ordered Lieutenant Colonel-commandant Wilkinson to rush forward with the first battalion.

"The order was executed with promptitude, and this detachment gained the bank of the river just as the rear of the enemy had embarked; and, regardless of a brisk fire kept up from a Kickapoo town on the opposite bank, they, in a few minutes, by a well-directed fire from their rifles, destroyed all the savages with which five canoes were crowded. To my great mortification, the Wabash was many feet beyond fording at this place: I therefore detached Col. Wilkinson to a ford two miles above, which my guides informed me was more practicable.

"The enemy still kept possession of Kickapoo town: I determined to dislodge them; and for that purpose ordered Captains King's and Logsdone's companies to march down the river below the town, and cross, under the conduct of Major Barboe. Several of the men swam the river, and others passed in a small canoe. This movement was unobserved; and my men had taken post on the bank before they were discovered by the enemy, who immediately abandoned the village.

"About this time word was brought to me that Colonel Hardin was encumbered with prisoners, and had discovered a stronger village further to my left than those I had observed, which he was

proceeding to attack. I immediately detached Captain Brown with his company, to support the colonel: but the distance being six miles, before the captain arrived the business was done, and Colonel Hardin joined me a little before sun-set, having killed six warriors, and taken fifty-two prisoners. Captain Bull, the warrior who discovered me in the morning, had gained the main town, and given the alarm, a short time before me; but the villages to my left were uninformed of my approach, and had no retreat.

"The next morning I determined to detach my Lieutenant Colonel-commandant, with five hundred men, to destroy the important town of Keth-tip-e-ca-nunk, (Tippecanoe,) eighteen miles from my camp, on the west side of the Wabash; but, on examination, I discovered my men and horses to be so crippled and worn down by a long, laborious march, and the active exertions of the preceding day, that three hundred and sixty men only could be found in a capacity to undertake the enterprise, and they prepared to march on foot.

"Colonel Wilkinson marched with this detachment at half after five in the evening, and returned to my camp the next day at one o'clock, having marched thirty-six miles in twelve hours, and destroyed the most important settlement of the enemy in that quarter of the federal territory.

"Many of the inhabitants of the village (Ouiatenon) were French, and lived in a state of civilization. By the books, letters, and other documents found there, it is evident that place was in close connection with, and dependent on, Detroit. A large quantity of corn, a variety of household goods, peltry, and other articles, were burned with this village, which consisted of about seventy houses, many of them well finished."*

The theatre of this event is thus described in the Indiana Gazetteer, published at Indianapolis, 1850:

"Wea† prairie, or Wea plains, covers more than a township of excellent land, just below the mouth of Wea creek. On the opposite side of Wabash river was the Indian town Ouiatenon, and the site of a Jesuit mission once flourishing. Here, too, were the most extensive improvements probably ever made by Indians within the limits of this State, of which scarce a trace now remains.

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* American State Papers, v. 131.

† Wah-wee-ah-tenon was the original Indian name of the settlement, made classic (Ouiatenon) by the Jesuits.

"For richness of soil and beauty of natural situation no place in the State, or perhaps in the West, can compare with the Wea plains."

A few miles above this ancient post is located the flourishing city of La Fayette.

On the recommendation of Governor St. Clair, the Kentucky Board of War resolved to send another expedition under Colonel Wilkinson to destroy the towns on Eel river. The volunteers raised for the service, were ordered to rendezvous at Fort Washington, on the 20th of July, armed and mounted, with provisions for thirty days; and on the 1st of August, Wilkinson, with five hundred and twenty-five men, commenced his march against the hostile towns. His report, made on the 24th of August, to Governor St. Clair, is a sufficient history of the expedition:

"Having carried into complete effect the enterprise which you were pleased to direct against L'Anguille, (a village on Eel river,) and having done the savages every other damage on the Wabash, to which I conceived my force adequate, I embrace the first moments recess from active duty, to detail to your excellency the operations of the expedition entrusted to my conduct.

"I left the neighborhood of Fort Washington on the 1st inst., at one o'clock, and agreeably to my original plan, feinted boldly at the Miami villages, by the most direct course the nature of the ground over which I had to march would permit. I persevered in this plan until the morning of the 4th inst., and thereby avoided the hunting ground of the enemy, and the paths which lead direct from White river to the Wabash, leaving the head waters of the first to my left; I then, being about seventy miles advanced of Fort Washington, turned north-west.

"I made no discovery until the 5th, about nine o'clock, A. M., when I crossed three much frequented paths within two miles of each other, and all bearing east of north; my guides were urgent for me to follow these paths, which betrayed their ignorance of the country, and convinced me that I had to depend on my own judgment only. In the afternoon of that day, I was obliged to cross a deep bog, which injured several of my horses exceedingly, and a few miles beyond I struck a path bearing north by west, marked by the recent footsteps of five or six savages.

"My guides renewed their application to me to follow this path, but I pursued my course which had been N. 60 W. since two o'clock.

"I had not got clear of my encampment next morning, before

my advance reported an impassable bog in our front, extending several miles on either hand; and the guides asserted that the whole country to the Wabash was cut by such bogs, and that it would be impossible for me to proceed unless I followed the Indian paths, which avoided these bogs, or led through them at places where they were least difficult. Although I paid little regard to this information, as delay was dangerous, and every thing depended on the preservation of my horses, I determined to turn to the right, and fall into the path I had passed the evening before, which varied in its course from N. by W. to NE. The country now had become pondy in every direction; I therefore resolved to pursue this path until noon, in the hope that it would conduct me to better ground, or to some devious trace which might lead to the object sought.

"At seven o'clock I crossed an east branch of Calumet* river, about forty yards wide, and about noon my advance guard fired on a small party of warriors, and took a prisoner; the rest ran off to the eastward. I halted about a mile beyond the spot where this affair happened, and on examining the prisoner found him to be a Delaware, living near the site of the late Miami village, which he informed me was about thirty miles distant; I immediately retrograded four miles, and filed off by the right over some rising ground which I had observed between the east branch of Calumet river and a creek four or five miles in advance of it, taking my course N. 60 W.

"This measure fortunately extricated me from the bogs and ponds, and soon placed me on firm ground; late in the afternoon I crossed one path running from N. to S. and shortly after fell into another varying from NW. to N. by W. I pursued this path about two miles, when I encamped—but finding it still inclined northward, I determined to abandon it in the morning.

"I resumed my march on the 6th at four o'clock; the Calumet being to the westward of me, I was fearful I should strike the Wabash too high up, and perhaps fall in with the small town, which you mentioned to me, at the mouth of the former river. I therefore steered a due west course, and six o'clock, A. M., crossed a road, much used both by horse and foot, bearing due north.

"I now knew that I was near a Shawanese village, generally supposed to be on the waters of White river, but actually on those

* At present not known by that name.

of the Calumet, and was sensible that every thing depended on the celerity and silence of my movements, as my real object had become manifest. I therefore pushed my march vigorously, leaving an officer and twenty men in ambush, to watch the road, in order to intercept or beat off any party of the enemy which might casually be passing that way, and thereby prevent as long as possible, the discovery of my real intentions.

"At eight o'clock I crossed Calumet river, now eighty yards wide, and running down NNW. and pursuing my course, I crossed one path near the western bank of the river, taking the same course, and at six miles distance, another bearing to the NE. I was now sensible from my reckoning compared with my own observations, during the late expedition under General Scott, and the information received from your excellency and others, that I could not be very far distant from L'Anguille. The party left at the road soon fell in with four warriors encamped half a mile from the right of my line of march, killed one and drove off the others to the northward. My situation had now become extremely critical, the whole country to the north being in alarm, which made me greatly anxious to continue my march during the night; but I had no path to direct me, and it was impossible to keep my course, or for horsemen to march through a thick swampy country, in utter darkness. I quitted my camp on the 7th as soon as I could see my way, crossed one path at three miles distance bearing NE. and at seven miles I fell into another very much used, bearing NW. by N. which I at once adopted, as the direct route to my object and pushed forward with the utmost dispatch.

"I halted at twelve o'clock to refresh the horses and examine the men's arms and ammunition; marched again at half after one, and at fifteen minutes before five I struck the Wabash, at one and a half leagues above the mouth of Eel river, being the very spot for which I had aimed from the commencement of my march. I crossed the river, and following the path a N. by E course; at the distance of two and a half miles my reconnoitering party announced Eel river in front, and the town on the opposite bank. I dismounted, ran forward and examined the situation of the town as far as was practicable, without exposing myself; but the whole face of the country from the Wabash to the margin of Eel river, being a continued thicket of brambles, black jacks, weeds and shrubs of different kinds, it was impossible for me to get a satisfactory view without endangering a discovery.

"I immediately determined to post two companies near the bank

of the river opposite to the town, and above the ground I then occupied, to make a detour with Major Caldwell, and the second battalion, until I fell into the Miami trace, and by that route to cross the river above and gain the rear of the town, and to leave directions with Major M'Dowell, who commanded the first battalion, to lie perdue until I commenced the attack; then to dash through the river with his corps advanced, and assault the houses in front and upon the left. In the moment that I was about to put this arrangement into execution, word was brought me that the enemy had taken the alarm and were flying. I instantly ordered a general charge, which was obeyed with alacrity, the men forcing their way over every obstacle plunged through the river with vast intrepidity. The enemy was unable to make the smallest resistance.

"Six warriors and, in the hurry and confusion of the charge, two squaws and a child were killed, thirty-four prisoners were taken and an unfortunate captive released—with the loss of two men killed and one wounded. I found this town scattered along Eel river for full three miles, on an uneven scrubby oak barren, intersected alternately by bogs almost impassable, and impervious thickets of plum, hazel and black jack. Notwithstanding these difficulties, if I may credit the report of the prisoners, very few who were in the town escaped; expecting a second expedition, their goods were generally packed up or buried.

"Sixty warriors had crossed the Wabash to watch the paths leading from the Ohio; the head chief with all the prisoners, and a number of families, were out digging a root which they substitute in the place of the potatoe, and about one hour before my arrival all the warriors, except eight, had mounted their horses and rode up the river to a French store to purchase ammunition. This ammunition had arrived from the Miami village that very day, and the squaws informed me was stored about two miles from the town.

"I detached Major Caldwell in quest of it, but he failed to make any discovery, although he scoured the country for seven or eight miles up the river. I encamped in the town that night, and the next morning cut up the corn scarcely in the milk, burnt the cabins, and mounted my young warriors, squaws and children in the best manner in my power, and leaving two infirm squaws and a child with a short talk, (a copy of which I have the honor to enclose you,) I commenced my march for the Kickapoo town in the prairie. I felt my prisoners a vast incumbrance, but I was not in force to

justify a detachment, having barely five hundred and twenty-three rank and file, and being then in the bosom of the Ouiatenon country, one hundred and eighty miles removed from succor and not more than one and a half days forced march from the Pottawattamies, Shawanese and Delawares.

"Not being able to discover any path in the direct course to the Kickapoo towns, I marched by the road leading to Tippecanoe, in the hope of finding some diverging trace which might favor my design. I encamped that evening about six miles from Kenapacomaqua, the Indian name for the town I had destroyed, and marched next morning at four o'clock. My course continued west till nine o'clock when I turned to the north-west on a small hunting path, and at a short distance I launched into the boundless prairies of the west with the intention to pursue that course until I could strike a road which leads from the Pottawattamies of Lake Michigan immediately to the town I sought.

"With this view I pushed forward, through bog after bog, to the saddle skirts in mud and water, and after persevering for eight hours I found myself environed on all sides with morasses which forbade my advancing and at the same time rendered it difficult for me to extricate my little army. The way by which we had entered was so much beat and softened by the horses that it was almost impossible to return by that route, and my guides pronounced the morass in front impassable. A chain of thin groves extending in the direction of the Wabash at this time presented to my left; it was necessary I should gain these groves, and for this purpose I dismounted, went forward, and leading my horse through a bog to the arm-pits in mud and water, with great difficulty and fatigue I accomplished my object, and changing my course to S. by W. I regained the Tippecanoe road at five o'clock and encamped on it at seven o'clock, after a march of thirty miles, which broke down several of my horses.

"I am the more minute in detailing the occurrences of this day, because they produce the most unfavorable effect. I was in motion at four next morning, and at eight o'clock my advanced guard made some discoveries which induced me to believe we were near an Indian town. I immediately pushed that body forward on a trot and followed with Major Caldwell and the second battalion, leaving Major M'Dowell to take charge of the prisoners. I reached Tippecanoe at twelve o'clock, which had been occupied by the enemy, who watched my motions and abandoned the place that morning. After the destruction of the town in June last, the

enemy had returned and cultivated their corn and pulse, which I found in high perfection and in much greater quantity than at L'Anguille.

"To refresh my horses and give time to cut down the corn, I determined to halt until the next morning, and then to resume my march to the Kickapoo town, in the prairie, by the road which leads from Ouiatenon to that place. In the course of the day, I had discovered some murmurings and discontent among the men, which I found on inquiry to proceed from their reluctance to advance further into the enemy's country; this induced me to call for a state of the horses and provisions, when, to my great mortification, two hundred and seventy horses were returned lame and tired, with barely five days provisions for the men.

"Under these circumstances, I was compelled to abandon my designs upon the Kickapoos of the prairie; and with a degree of anguish not to be comprehended but by those who have experienced similar disappointments, I marched forward to a town of the same nation, situate about three leagues west of Ouiatenon. As I advanced to that town, the enemy made some show of fighting me, but vanished at my approach. I destroyed this town, consisting of thirty houses, with a considerable quantity of corn in the hills, and the same day I moved on to Ouiatenon, where I forded the Wabash, and proceeded to the site of the villages on the margin of the prairie, where I encamped at seven o'clock.

"At this town and the villages destroyed by Gen. Scott, in June, we found the corn had been replanted, and was now in high cultivation, several fields being well ploughed, all which we destroyed. On the 12th, I resumed my march, and falling into Gen. Scott's return trace, I arrived without any material incident at the rapids of the Ohio, on the 21st inst., after a march by accurate computation of four hundred and fifty-one miles from Fort Washington.

"The volunteers of Kentucky have, on this occasion, acquitted themselves with their usual good conduct, but as no opportunity offered for individual distinction, it would be unjust to give one the plaudits to which all have an equal title. I cannot, however, in propriety, forbear to express my warm approbation of the good conduct of my Majors M'Dowell and Caldwell, and of Col. Russell, who, in the character of a volunteer, without commission, led my advance; and I feel myself under obligations to Major Adair and Capt. Parker, who acted immediately about my person, for the services they rendered me, by the most prompt, active and energetic exertions.

"The services which I have been able to render, fall far short of my wishes, my intention and expectation; but, sir, when you reflect on the causes which checked my career, and blasted my designs, I flatter myself you will believe everything has been done which could be done in my circumstances; I have destroyed the chief town of the Ouiatenon nation, and made prisoners the sons and sisters of the King; I have burnt a respectable Kickapoo village, and cut down at least four hundred and thirty acres of corn, chiefly in the milk. The Ouiatenons, left without houses, home or provision, must cease to war, and will find active employ to subsist their squaws and children during the impending winter."

Aside from the official reports of Scott and Wilkinson, a very interesting account of their expedition, as well as of the country they invaded, as it then appeared, is furnished in the letter of an officer in Wilkinson's campaign.*

"General Scott, at the head of eight hundred Kentucky volunteers, marched from opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river, about the beginning of June; the course he steered was about north 20° west, and in about fifteen days he struck and surprised the lower Weaucteneau (Ouiatenon) towns, on the Wabash river, and the prairie adjoining; but unfortunately, the river at that time was not fordable, or the Kickapoo town, on the north-west side, with the Indians who escaped in their canoes from the Weau town on the south, must have fallen completely into our hands; however, about twenty warriors were killed in the Weau (Ouia) villages, and in the river crossing the Wabash, and forty-seven of their squaws and children taken prisoners.

"Immediately after the engagement, a council of war was called, when it was determined that Wilkinson should cross the Wabash under cover of the night, with a detachment of four hundred men, and endeavor to surprise the town of Kathtippacamunck, which was situated upon the north side of that river, at the mouth of Rippacanoe creek, (Tippecanoe,) and about twenty miles above the Lower Weau towns. This expedition was conducted with so much caution and celerity, that Wilkinson arrived at the margin of the prairie, within a mile, and to the west of the town, about an hour before the break of day; whilst a detachment was taking a circuit through the prairie, to co-operate with the main body on a given

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* Imlay's America, p. 402.

signal; day appeared, and the volunteers rushed into the town with an impetuosity not to be resisted. The detachment in advance reached the Rippacanoe creek* the very moment the last of the Indians were crossing, when a very brisk fire took place between the detachment and the Indians on the opposite side, in which several of their warriors were killed, and two of our men wounded.

"This town, which contained about one hundred and twenty houses, eighty of which were shingle roofed, was immediately burnt and leveled with the ground; the best houses belonged to French traders, whose gardens and improvements round the town were truly delightful, and, everything considered, not a little wonderful; there was a tavern, with cellars, bar, public, and private rooms; and the whole marked a considerable share of order, and no small degree of civilization.

"Wilkinson returned with his detachment, after destroying the town, and joined the main army about seven in the evening; and the day following our little army were put in motion, with their prisoners; and steering about south, in twelve days reached the rapids of the Ohio, with the loss only of two men, who unfortunately were drowned in crossing Main White river.

"The success of this expedition encouraged government to set another on foot, under the command of Colonel Wilkinson; which was destined to operate against the same tribes of Indians; whose main town, near the mouth of Ell river, on the Wabash, had not been attacked in the first excursion; and accordingly, on the 1st of August following, the colonel, at the head of five hundred mounted volunteers, marched from Fort Washington, north sixteen degrees west, steering, as it were, for the Manmic villages, on the Picaway fork of the Manmic, (or Miami of the lake,) and St. Mary's river. This movement was intended as a feint, and the Indians, who afterward fell upon our trail, were completely deceived; nor did we change our course until by the capture of a Delaware Indian, we ascertained that we were within thirty miles of the principal of the Manmic villages, and having marched down our northing, at the very time we received the information, shifted our course to due west, and at the distance of one hundred and eighty miles from Fort Washington, we struck the Wabash within two miles and a half of Longuille, or, as the Indians call it, Kenapacomaqua. It was about 4, P. M. when we reached that river, and crossing it im-

* Rather the Wabash.

mediately, we marched in four columns across the neck of land, formed by the junction of the Wabash and Ell (Eel) rivers, passing several Indian war posts that had been fresh painted, we arrived completely concealed on the south bank of Ell river, and directly opposite the town of Kenapacomaqua.

"The surprise of this town was so very complete, that before we received orders to cross the river and rush upon the town, we observed several children playing on the tops of the houses, and could distinguish the hilarity and merriment that seemed to crown the festivity of the villagers, for it was in the season of the green corn dance.

"The want of daylight, and a morass, that nearly encircled the town, prevented us from suddenly attacking, which enabled several of the Indians to escape, and in some measure obscured the brilliancy of the enterprise, by limiting the number of warriors killed to eleven, and capturing forty squaws and their children, after burning all the houses, and destroying about two hundred acres of corn, which was then in the milk, and in that stage when the Indians prepare it for Zoffomanony. This success was achieved with the loss of two men, who were killed.

"About four o'clock in the afternoon we mounted our prisoners, and took a west and by north course toward the Little Kickapoo town, which the colonel hoped to surprise on his way to the Great Kickapoo town, in the prairie, on the waters of the Illinois river; but the difficulties we encountered in this march, through these almost boundless prairies, were such, that upon our arrival at the Little Kickapoo town, we found one half the horses in the army non-effective, and unlikely to reach the Ohio by the nearest course we could take, which consideration induced the colonel to relinquish the enterprise against the Great Kickapoo town; and, accordingly, after destroying about two hundred acres of corn at Kathtippacanunck, Kickapoo, and the lower Weaucteneau towns, we gained General Scott's return tract, and on the 21st of August, after a circuitous march of four hundred and eighty-six miles, arrived with our prisoners at Louisville."

The expeditions of Harmar, Scott and Wilkinson were directed against the Miamies and Shawanese, and served only to exasperate them. The burning of their towns, the destruction of their corn, and the captivity of their women and children, only aroused them to more desperate efforts to defend their country, and to harass their invaders. To carry on the war more vigorously, Little Turtle, the chief of the Miamies, Blue Jacket, the chief of the Shawanese,

and Buckongahelas, the chief of the Delawares, were engaged in forming a confederacy of all the tribes of the north-west, strong enough to drive the whites beyond the Ohio.

Meanwhile, preparations were going forward for the main expedition of St. Clair, which, it was intended, was to secure the control over the savages, by establishing a chain of forts from the Ohio to Lake Erie, and especially by securing the commanding position at the head of the Maumee.

At a very early period, the admirable position of the Miami village, at the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, had struck Washington's sagacious mind, and when Harmar's expedition was undertaken, one purpose of it would doubtless have been the establishment of a military post at the Miami town, had it been compatible with the public finances.* But Harmar's defeat having proved the necessity of some strong check upon the northern savages, it became the main purpose of the campaign of 1791 to build a fort at the point designated, which was to be connected by other intermediate stations with Fort Washington and the Ohio. Of this there is proof in the language of the government, after St. Clair's defeat: "the great object of the late campaign," says Gen. Knox, in his official report, dated December 26, 1791, "was to establish a strong military post at the Miami village," (Maumee, at the junction of the St. Joseph and the St. Mary). This object, too, was to be attained, if possible, even at the expense of a contest which might be otherwise avoided, as the following instructions, issued to St. Clair by the Secretary of War, will indicate:

"The President of the United States having, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed you a Major-General in the service of the United States, and of consequence invested you with the chief command of the troops to be employed upon the frontiers during the ensuing campaign, it is proper that you should be possessed of the views of the government respecting the objects of your command.

"I am, therefore, authorized and commanded by the President of the United States, to deliver you the following instructions, in order to serve as the general principles of your conduct.

"But, it is only general principles which can be pointed out. In the execution of the duties of your station, circumstances which cannot now be foreseen may arise, to render material deviations

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* See Knox's letter to St. Clair, September 12, 1790. American State Papers, v. 100.

necessary. Such circumstances will require the exercise of your talents.

"The government possesses the security of your character and mature experience, that your judgment will be proper on all occasions. You are well informed of the unfavorable impressions which the issue of the last expedition has made on the public mind, and you are also aware of the expectations which are formed of the success of the ensuing campaign.

"An Indian war, under any circumstances, is regarded by the great mass of the people of the United States as an event which ought, if possible, to be avoided. It is considered that the sacrifice of blood and treasure in such a war exceeds any advantages which can possibly be reaped by it.

"The great policy, therefore, of the General Government, is to establish a just and liberal peace with all the Indian tribes within the limits and in the vicinity of the territory of the United States. Your intimations to the hostile Indians, immediately after the late expedition, through the Wyandots and Delawares; the arrangements with the Senecas who were lately in this city, that part of the Six Nations should repair to the said hostile Indians, to influence them to pacific measures; together with the recent mission of Colonel Proctor to them for the same purpose, will strongly evince the desire of the General Government to prevent the effusion of blood, and to quiet all disturbances. And when you shall arrive upon the frontiers, if any other or further measures to effect the same object should present, you will eagerly embrace them, and the reasonable expenses thereof shall be defrayed by the public. But, if all the lenient measures taken, or which may be taken, should fail to bring the hostile Indians to a just sense of their situation, it will be necessary that you should use such coercive means as you shall possess, for that purpose.

"You are informed that, by an act of Congress, passed the 2d inst., another regiment is to be raised, and added to the military establishment, and provision made for raising two thousand levies, for the term of six months, for the service of the frontiers. It is contemplated that the mass of the regulars and levies may be recruited and rendezvous at Fort Washington, by the 10th of July. In this case, you will have assembled a force of three thousand effectives at least, besides leaving small garrisons on the Ohio, in order to perform your main expedition, hereinafter mentioned.

"But, in the meantime, if the Indians refuse to listen to the messengers of peace sent to them, as it is most probable they will,

unless prevented, spread themselves along the line of frontiers, for the purpose of committing all the depredations in their power. In order to avoid so calamitous an event, Brigadier-General Charles Scott, of Kentucky, has been authorized by me, on the part of the President of the United States, to make an expedition against the Wea, or Ouiatenon towns, with mounted volunteers, or militia from Kentucky, not exceeding the number of seven hundred and fifty, officers included.

You will perceive, by the instructions to Brigadier General Scott, that it is confided to your discretion, whether there should be more than one of the said expeditions of mounted volunteers or militia. Your nearer view of the objects to be effected, by a second desultory expedition, will enable you to form a better judgment than can at present be formed, at this distance. The propriety of a second operation would, in some degree, depend on the alacrity and good composition of the troops of which the first may have been formed; of its success; of the probable effects a second similar blow would have upon the Indians, with respect to its influencing them to peace; or, if they should be still hostilely disposed, of preventing them from desolating the frontiers by their parties.

"You will observe, in the instructions to Brigadier-General Scott, which are to serve as a basis for the instructions of the commanders who may succeed him, that all captives are to be treated with great humanity. It will be sound policy to attract the Indians by kindness, after demonstrating to them our power to punish them, on all occasions. While you are making such use of desultory operations as in your judgment the occasion may require, you will proceed vigorously, in every operation in your power, for the purpose of the main expedition; and having assembled your force, and all things being in readiness, if no decisive indications of peace should have been produced, either by the messenger, or by the desultory operations, you will commence your march for the Miami village, in order to establish a strong and permanent military post at that place.

"In your advance, you will establish such posts of communication with Fort Washington, on the Ohio, as you may judge proper. The post at the Miami village is intended for the purpose of awing and curbing the Indians in that quarter, and as the only preventive of future hostilities. It ought, therefore, to be rendered secure against all attempts and insults of the Indians. The garrison which should be stationed there ought not only to be sufficient

for the defense of the place, but always to afford a detachment of five or six hundred men, either to chastise any of the Wabash, or other hostile Indians, or to secure any convoy of provisions.

"The establishment of such a post is considered as an important object of the campaign, and is to take place in all events. In case of a previous treaty, the Indians are to be conciliated upon this point if possible; and it is presumed, good arguments may be offered, to induce their acquiescence. The situation, nature, and construction of the works you may direct, will depend upon your own judgment. Major Ferguson, of the artillery, will be fully capable of the execution. He will be furnished with three five and a half inch howitzers, three six-pounders, and three three-pounders, all brass, with a sufficient quantity of shot and shells, for the purpose of the expedition. The appropriation of these pieces will depend upon your orders.

"Having commenced your march, upon the main expedition, and the Indians continuing hostile, you will use every possible exertion to make them feel the effects of your superiority; and after having arrived at the Miami village, and put your works in a defensible state, you will seek the enemy with the whole of your remaining force, and endeavor, by all possible means, to strike them with great severity.

"It will be left to your discretion whether to employ, if attainable, any Indians of the Six Nations, and the Chickasaws or other southern nations. Most probably the employment of about fifty of each, under the direction of some discreet and able chief, would be advantageous, but these ought not to be assembled before the line of march is taken up, because they are soon tired and will not be detained. The force contemplated for the garrison of the Miami village, and the communications, has been from a thousand to twelve hundred non-commissioned officers and privates. This is mentioned as a general idea, to which you will adhere, or from which you will deviate, as circumstances may require. The garrison stationed at the Miami village, and its communications, must have in store at least six months good salted meat, and flour in proportion.

"It is hardly possible, if the Indians continue hostile, that you will be suffered quietly to establish a post at the Miami village; conflicts, therefore, may be expected; and it is to be presumed that disciplined valor will triumph over the undisciplined Indians. In this event it is probable that the Indians will sue for peace; if this should be the case, the dignity of the United States will require

that the terms should be liberal. In order to avoid future wars, it might be proper to make the Wabash, and thence over to the Miami, and down the same to its mouth at Lake Erie, the boundary, excepting so far as the same shall relate to the Wyandots and Delawares, on the supposition of their continuing faithful to the treaties. But, if they should join in the war against the United States, and your army be victorious, the said tribes ought to be removed without the boundary mentioned. You will also judge whether it would be proper to extend the boundary, from the mouth of the river au Panse of the Wabash, in a due west line to the Mississippi. Few Indians, beside the Kickapoos, would be affected by such a line; this ought to be tenderly managed.

"The modification of the boundary must be confided to your discretion, with this single observation, that the policy and interest of the United States dictate their being at peace with the Indians. This is of more value than millions of uncultivated acres, the right to which may be conceded by some, and disputed by others. The establishment of a post at the Miami village will properly be regarded by the British officers on the frontiers, as a circumstance of jealousy; it may, therefore, be necessary that you should, at a proper time, make such intimations as may remove all such dispositions. This intimation had better follow than precede the possession of the post, unless circumstances dictate otherwise.

"As it is not the inclination or interest of the United States to enter into a contest with Great Britain, every measure tending to any discussion or altercation must be prevented. The delicate situation of affairs may, therefore, render it improper at present to make any naval arrangement upon Lake Erie. After you shall have effected all the injury to the hostile Indians of which your force may be capable, and after having established the posts and garrisons at the Miami village and its communications, and placing the same under the orders of an officer worthy of such high trust, you will return to Fort Washington on the Ohio.

"It is proper to observe, that certain jealousies have existed among the people of the frontiers, relative to a supposed interference between their interest, and those of the marine States: that these jealousies are ill-founded, with respect to the present Government, is obvious. The United States embrace, with equal care, all parts of the Union; and, in the present case, are making expensive arrangements for the protection of the frontiers, and partly in the modes, too, which appear to be highly favored by the Kentucky people.

"The high stations you fill, of commander of the troops, and governor of the western territory, will afford you frequent opportunities to impress the frontier citizens of the entire good disposition of the general government toward them in all reasonable things, and you will render acceptable service, by cordially embracing all such opportunities."*

Under these instructions, St. Clair proceeded to organize his army. At the close of April, he was in Pittsburgh, toward which point troops from all quarters, horses, stores and ammunition, were going forward. The forces, it was thought, would be assembled by the last of July or first of August. By the middle of July, however, it was clear that the early part of September would be as soon as the expedition could get under way; but the commander was urged to press everything, and act with the utmost promptness and decision. But this was more easily urged than accomplished.

On the 15th of May, St. Clair had reached Fort Washington, and at that time, the United States' troops in the west amounted to but two hundred and sixty-four non-commissioned officers and privates fit for duty; of these, seventy-five were at Fort Washington, forty-five at Fort Harmar, sixty-one at Fort Steuben, and eighty-three at Fort Knox. On the 15th of July, this number was more than doubled, however, as the first regiment, containing two hundred and ninety-nine men, on that day reached Fort Washington.

General Butler, who had been appointed second in command, was employed through part of April and May in obtaining recruits; but when obtained, there was no money to pay them, nor to provide stores for them. In the quarter-master's department, meantime, everything went on slowly and badly; tents, pack-saddles, kettles, knapsacks and cartridge boxes, were all "deficient in quantity and quality." Worse than this, the powder was poor or injured, the arms and accoutrements out of repair, and not even proper tools to mend them. Of six hundred and seventy-five stand of arms at Fort Washington, (designed by St. Clair for the militia) scarcely any were in order; and with two traveling forges furnished by the quarter-master, there were no anvils.† And as the troops gathered slowly at Fort Washington, after wearisome detentions at Pittsburgh and upon the river, a new source of troubles arose, in the habits of intemperance acquired and indulged in by the idlers. To withdraw them from temptation, St. Clair was forced to remove

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* American State Papers, v. 171.

† American State Papers, xii. 36.

his men, now numbering two thousand, to Ludlow's station, about six miles from the fort; by which, however, he more than doubled his cost of providing for the troops. Here the army continued until September 17th, when, being two thousand three hundred strong, including the garrisons of Forts Washington and Hamilton, and exclusive of militia, it moved forward to a point upon the Great Miami, where Fort Hamilton was built, the first in the proposed chain of fortresses.

"The circuit of that fort," says St. Clair, "is about one thousand feet, through the whole extent of which a trench about three feet deep was dug, to set the pickets in, of which it required about two thousand to inclose it; and it is not trees taken promiscuously that will answer for pickets, they must be tall and straight, and from nine to twelve inches in diameter, for those of a larger size are too unmanageable; of course, few trees that are proper are to be found without going over a considerable space of woodland. When found, they are felled, cleared of their branches and cut into lengths of about twenty feet. They were then carried to the ground and butted, that they might be placed firm and upright in the trench, with the axe or cross-cut saw. Some hewing upon them was also necessary, for there are few trees so straight that the sides of them will come in contact when set upright. A thin piece of timber, called a ribbon, is run around the whole near the top of the pickets, to which every one of them is pinned with a strong pin, without which they would decline from the perpendicular with every blast of wind, some hanging outward and some inward, which would render them in a great measure useless. The earth thrown out of the trench is then returned, and strongly rammed, to keep the pickets firmly in their places, and a shallower trench is dug outside, about three feet distant, to carry off the water, and prevent their being removed by the rains; about two thousand pickets are set up on the inside, one between every two of the others; the work is then inclosed. But previously, the ground for the site of the fort had to be cleared, and two or three hundred yards around it, which was very thickly wooded, and was a work of time and labor.

"The ground where this fort stands is on the east side of the Miami river, on the first bank; but there is a second bank, considerably elevated, within point blank shot, which rendered it necessary to make the pickets, particularly along the land side, of a height sufficient to prevent an enemy from seeing into the area, and taking the side of the river in reverse, and a high platform

was raised in one of the bastions on the land side, to scour the second bank with artillery. Another, made with the trunks of trees, and covered with plank as that was, was raised in one of the bastions toward the river, in order to command the ford, and the river for some distance up and down. Plank was sawed for the platforms, and the gate, and barracks for one hundred men; a guard-room, two store-houses for provisions, and barracks for the officers, were constructed within it; and all this was done in about fourteen days, almost entirely by the labor of men; though some use was made of oxen in drawing the timber, the woods were so thick and encumbered with underwood it was found to be the most expeditious method to carry it."*

After the completion of Fort Hamilton, the troops moved on forty-four miles further, and on the 12th of October commenced Fort Jefferson, about six miles south of the town of Greenville, Darke county. On the 24th the toilsome march through the wilderness began again. At this time the commander-in-chief, whose duties through the summer had been very severe, was suffering from an indisposition which by turns affected his stomach, lungs, and limbs; provisions were scarce, the roads wet and heavy, the troops going with "much difficulty," seven miles a day; the militia deserting sixty at a time.† Thus toiling along, the army, rapidly lessening by desertion, sickness, and troops sent to arrest deserters, on the 3d of November reached a stream twelve yards wide, which St. Clair supposed to be the St. Mary of the Maumee, but which was in reality a branch of the Wabash, just south of the head waters of the stream for which the commander mistook it. Upon the banks of this creek the army, now about fourteen hundred strong, encamped in two lines.

"The right wing," says St. Clair, in his letter to the Secretary of War after the battle, "composed of Butler's, Clark's, and Patterson's battalions, commanded by Major-General Butler, formed the first line; and the left wing, consisting of Bedinger's and Gaither's battalions, and the second regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Darke, formed the second line, with an interval between them of about seventy yards, which was all the ground would allow. The right flank was pretty well secured by the creek; a steep bank, and Faulkner's corps, some of the cavalry, and their

* St. Clair's Narrative, p. 152.

† St. Clair's Journal.—American State Papers, v. 136–37.

picquets, covered the left flank. The militia were thrown over the creek, and advanced about a quarter of a mile, and encamped in the same order. There were a few Indians who appeared on the opposite side of the creek, but fled with the utmost precipitation on the advance of the militia.

"At this place, which I judged to be about fifteen miles from the Miami village, I determined to throw up a slight work, the plan of which was concerted that evening with Major Ferguson, wherein to have deposited the men's knapsacks, and every thing else that was not of absolute necessity, and to have moved on to attack the enemy as soon as the first regiment was come up. But they did not permit me to execute either; for, on the 4th, about half an hour before sunrise, and when the men had just been dismissed from parade, (for it was a constant practice to have them all under arms a considerable time before day-light,) an attack was made upon the militia. Those gave way in a very little time, and rushed into camp through Major Butler's battalion, (which, together with a part of Clark's, they threw into considerable disorder, and which, notwithstanding the exertions of both those officers, was never altogether remedied,) the Indians following close at their heels. The fire, however, of the front line checked them; but almost instantly a very heavy attack began upon that line; and in a few minutes it was extended to the second likewise.

"The great weight of it was directed against the centre of each, where the artillery was placed, and from which the men were repeatedly driven with great slaughter. Finding no great effect from our fire, and confusion beginning to spread from the great number of men who were falling in all quarters, it became necessary to try what could be done by the bayonet. Lieutenant-Colonel Darke was accordingly ordered to make a charge with a part of the second line, and to turn the left flank of the enemy. This was executed with great spirit. The Indians instantly gave way, and were driven back three or four hundred yards; but for want of a sufficient number of riflemen to pursue this advantage, they soon returned, and the troops were obliged to give back in their turn. At this moment they had entered our camp by the left flank, having pushed back the troops that were posted there. Another charge was made here by the second regiment, Butler's and Clark's battalions, with equal effect, and it was repeated several times, and always with success; but in all of them many men were lost, and particularly the officers, which, with so raw troops, was a loss altogether irremediable. In that I just spoke of, made by the second

regiment and Butler's battalion, Major Butler was dangerously wounded, and every officer of the second regiment fell except three, one of which, Mr. Greaton, was shot through the body.

"Our artillery being now silenced, and all the officers killed except Captain Ford, who was very badly wounded, and more than half of the army fallen, being cut off from the road, it became necessary to attempt the regaining it, and to make a retreat, if possible. To this purpose, the remains of the army were formed as well as circumstances would admit, toward the right of the encampment, from which, by the way of the second line, another charge was made upon the enemy, as if with the design to turn their right flank, but in fact to gain the road. This was effected, and as soon as it was open the militia took along it, followed by the troops, Major Clark, with his battalion, covering the rear.

"The retreat, in those circumstances, was, as you may be sure, a very precipitate one; it was, in fact, a flight. The camp and the artillery were abandoned; but that was unavoidable, for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off, had it otherwise been practicable.

"But the most disgraceful part of the business is, that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles, had ceased. I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for, having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself, and the orders I sent forward, either to halt the front or to prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to. The rout continued quite to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached a little after sun-setting.

"The action began about half an hour before sun-rise, and the retreat was attempted at half an hour after nine o'clock. I have not yet been able to get returns of the killed and wounded; but Major-General Butler, Lieutenant-Colonel Oldham, of the militia, Major Ferguson, Major Hart, and Major Clark are among the former; Colonel Sargent, my Adjutant-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Darke, Lieutenant-Colonel Gibson, Major Butler, and the Viscount Malartie, who served me as Aid-de-camp, are among the latter, and a great number of captains and subalterns in both.

"I have now, sir, finished my melancholy tale—a tale that will be felt sensibly by every one that has sympathy for private distress or for public misfortune. I have nothing, sir, to lay to the charge of the troops, but their want of discipline, which, from the short time they had been in service, it was impossible they should have

acquired, and which rendered it very difficult, when they were thrown into confusion, to reduce them again to order, and is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavy on the officers, who did everything in their power to effect it.

"Neither were my own exertions wanting: but, worn down with illness, and suffering under a painful disease, unable either to mount or dismount a horse without assistance, they were not so great as they otherwise would, and perhaps ought to have been.

"We were overpowered by numbers; but it is no more than justice to observe that, though composed of so many different species of troops, the utmost harmony prevailed through the whole army during the campaign.

"At Fort Jefferson I found the first regiment, which had returned from the service they had been sent upon, without either overtaking the deserters, or meeting the convoy of provisions. I am not certain, sir, whether I ought to consider the absence of this regiment from the field of action as fortunate or otherwise. I incline to think it was fortunate, for I very much doubt whether, had it been in the action, the fortune of the day had been turned; and, if it had not, the triumph of the enemy would have been more complete, and the country would have been destitute of every means of defense.

"Taking a view of the situation of our broken troops at Fort Jefferson, and that there was no provisions in the fort, I called upon the field officers, viz: Lieutenant Colonel Darke, Major Hamtramck, Major Ziegler and Major Gaither, together with the Adjutant-General, Winthrop Sargent, for their advice what would be proper further to be done; and it was their unanimous opinion, that the addition of the first regiment, unbroken as it was, did not put the army on so respectable a footing as it was in the morning, because a great part of it was now unarmed; that it had been found unequal to the enemy, and should they come on, which was possible, would be found so again; that the troops could not be thrown into the fort, both because it was too small, and that there were no provisions in it; that provisions were known to be on the road, at the distance of one, or at most two marches; that, therefore, it would be more proper to move, without loss of time, to meet the provisions, when the men might have the sooner an opportunity of some refreshment, and that a proper detachment might be sent back with it, to have it safely deposited in the fort. This advice was accepted, and the army was put in motion at ten o'clock, and marched all night, and the succeeding day met with a quantity of

flour. Part of it was distributed immediately, part taken back to supply the army on the march to Fort Hamilton, and the remainder, about fifty horse loads, sent forward to Fort Jefferson. The next day a drove of cattle was met with, for the same place, and I have information that both got in. The wounded, who had been left at that place, were ordered to be brought to Fort Washington by the return horses.

"I have said, sir, in a former part of this letter, that we were overpowered by numbers. Of that, however, I have no other evidence but the weight of the fire, which was always a most deadly one, and generally delivered from the ground—few of the enemy showing themselves afoot, except when they were charged; and that, in a few minutes our whole camp, which extended above three hundred and fifty yards in length, was entirely surrounded and attacked on all quarters. The loss, sir, the public has sustained by the fall of so many officers, particularly General Butler and Major Ferguson, cannot be too much regretted; but it is a circumstance that will alleviate the misfortune in some measure, that all of them fell most gallantly doing their duty. I have had very particular obligations to many of them, as well as to the survivors, but to none more than Colonel Sargent. He has discharged the various duties of his office with zeal, with exactness, and with intelligence, and on all occasions afforded me every assistance in his power, which I have also experienced from my Aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Denny, and the Viscount Malartie, who served with me in the station as a volunteer."

To this official account of the commander, is added the following sketch by Benjamin Van Cleve, who was in the quarter-master general's service, and fought as a volunteer on the occasion. Mr. Van Cleve was a resident of Cincinnati, early in 1790, removed to Dayton in 1797, and during the principal part of his life kept a journal or memorandum of the events that transpired. It vividly portrays the confusion of the battle and flight:

"On the 4th of November, at daybreak, I began to prepare for returning to Fort Washington, and had got about half my luggage on my horse, when the firing commenced. We were encamped just within the lines, on the right. The attack was made on the Kentucky militia. Almost instantaneously the small remnant of them that escaped broke through the line near us, and this line gave

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*American State Papers, v. 137.

way. Followed by a tremendous fire from the enemy, they passed me. I threw my bridle over a stump, from which a tent pole had been cut, and followed a short distance, when finding the troops had halted, I returned and brought my horse a little further. I was now between the fires, and finding the troops giving way again, was obliged to leave him a second time. As I quitted him he was shot down, and I felt rather glad of it, as I concluded that now I should be at liberty to share in the engagement.

"My inexperience prompted me to calculate on our forces being far superior to any that the savages could assemble, and that we should soon have the pleasure of driving them. Not more than five minutes had yet elapsed, when a soldier near me had his arm swinging with a wound. I requested his arms and accoutrements, as he was unable to use them, promising to return them to him, and commenced firing. The smoke was settled down to about within three feet of the ground, but I generally put one knee on the ground, and with a rest from behind a tree, waited the appearance of an Indian's head from behind his cover, or for one to run and change his position.

"Before I was convinced of my mistaken calculations, the battle was half over, and I had become familiarized to the scene. Hearing the firing at one time unusually brisk near the rear of the left wing, I crossed the encampment. Two levy officers were just ordering a charge. I had fired away my ammunition, and some of the bands of my musket had flown off. I picked up another, and a cartridge box nearly full, and pushed forward with about thirty others. The Indians ran to the right, where there was a small ravine filled with logs. I bent my course after them, and on looking round, I found I was with only seven or eight men, the others having kept straight forward, and halted about thirty yards off. We halted also, and being so near where the savages lay concealed, the second fire from them, left me standing alone. My cover was a small sugar tree or beech, scarcely large enough to hide me. I fired away all my ammunition; I am uncertain whether with any effect or not. I then looked for the party near me, and saw them retreating, and half way back to the lines. I followed them, running my best, and was soon in.

"By this time our artillery had been taken, I do not know whether the first or second time, and our troops had just retaken it, and were charging the enemy across the creek in front; and some person told me to look at an Indian running with one of our kegs of powder, but I did not see him. There were about thirty

of our men and officers lying scalped, around the pieces of artillery. It appeared that the Indians had not been in a hurry, for their hair was all skinned off.

"Daniel Bonham, a young man raised by my uncle and brought up with me, and whom I regarded as a brother, had by this time received a shot through his hips and was unable to walk. I procured a horse and got him on. My uncle had received a ball near his wrist that lodged near his elbow. The ground was literally covered with dead and dying men—the commander gave orders to take the way—perhaps they had been given more explicitly. Happening to see my uncle, he told me that a retreat had been ordered and that I must do the best I could and take care of myself. Bonham insisted that he had a better chance of escaping than I had, and urged me to look to my own safety alone. I found the troops pressing like a drove of bullocks to the right.

"I saw an officer whom I took to be Lieutenant Morgan, an aid to General Butler, with six or eight men start on a run a little to the left of where I was. I immediately ran and fell in with them. In a short distance we were so suddenly among the Indians, who were not apprised of our object, that they opened to us and ran to the right and left without firing. I think about two hundred of our men passed through them before they fired, except a chance shot. When we had proceeded about two miles, most of those mounted had passed me.

"My friend Bonham I did not see on the retreat, but understood he was thrown off about this place, and lay on the left of the trace, where he was found in the winter and was buried. I took the cramp violently and could scarcely walk until I got within a hundred yards of the rear, where the Indians were tomahawking the old and wounded men; and I stopped here to tie my pocket handkerchief round a wounded man's knee. I saw the Indians close in pursuit at this time, and for a moment my spirits sunk and I felt in despair for my safety. I considered whether I should leave the road or whether I was capable of any further exertion. If I left the road the Indians were in plain sight and could easily overtake me. I threw the shoes off my feet, and the coolness of the ground seemed to revive me. I again began to run, and recollect that when a bend in the road offered and I got before half-a-dozen persons, I thought it would occupy some time to massacre them before my turn would come. By the time I had got to Stillwater, about eleven miles, I had gained the centre of the flying troops, and like them came to a walk and arrived at Fort Jefferson a little after sunset.

"The commander-in-chief had ordered Colonel Darke to press forward to the convoys of provisions and hurry them on to the army. Major Truman, Captain Sedan and my uncle were setting forward with him. A number of soldiers and pack-horsemen on foot, and myself among them, joined them. We came on a few miles, when all, overcome with fatigue, agreed to halt.

"Darius Curtius Orcutt, a pack-horse master, had stolen at Jefferson, one pocket full of flour and the other full of beef. One of the men had a kettle, and one Jacob Fowler and myself groped about in the dark until we found some water, where a tree had been blown out of root. We made a kettle of soup, of which I got a small portion among the many. It was then concluded, as there was a bend in the road a few miles further on, that the Indians might undertake to intercept us there, and we decamped and traveled about four or five miles further. I had got a rifle and ammunition at Jefferson, from a wounded militia-man, an old acquaintance, to bring in. A sentinel was set and we lay down and slept, until the governor came up a few hours afterward. I think I never slept so profoundly. I could hardly get awake after I was on my feet.

"On the day before the defeat the ground was covered with snow. The flats were now filled with water frozen over, the ice as thick as a knife-blade. I was worn out with fatigue, with my feet knocked to pieces against the roots in the night and splashing through the ice without shoes. In the morning we got to a camp of pack horsemen, and amongst them I got a doughboy or water-dumpling, and proceeded. We got within seven miles of Hamilton on this day, and arrived there soon on the morning of the sixth."

The defeat of St. Clair was the most terrible reverse the American arms ever suffered from the Indians. Even the defeat of Braddock was less disastrous. Braddock's army consisted of twelve hundred men and eighty-six officers, of whom seven hundred and fourteen men and sixty three officers were killed or wounded. St. Clair's army consisted of fourteen hundred men and eighty-six officers, of whom eight hundred and ninety men and sixteen officers were killed or wounded. But the comparative losses of the two engagements, represent very inadequately the crushing effect of the defeat of St. Clair. An unprotected frontier of a thousand miles, from the Allegheny to the Mississippi, was at once thrown open to the attack of the infuriated and victorious

savages. The peace enjoyed for the several preceding years had wrought a great change in the Western settlements.

The Indian hunters of the Revolutionary war had laid aside their arms and habits, and devoted themselves to the cultivation of the soil; the block houses and forts, around which the first settlers had gathered, were abandoned; and cabins, clearings, and hamlets instead, were scattered, in exposed situations, all along the border. Every where the settlers, unprotected and unprepared, were expecting in terror the approach of the savages, and every where abandoning their homes, or awaiting in helpless despair, the burnings, massacres and cruelties of Indian war.

The extent of the consternation that pervaded the border, may be inferred from the tone of the memorials of the people of the western counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia to the governors of those States.*

"In consequence," says a committee of the citizens of Pittsburgh, "of the late intelligence of the fate of the campaign to the Westward, the inhabitants of the town of Pittsburgh have convened, and appointed us a committee for the purpose of addressing your excellency. The late disaster of the army must greatly affect the safety of this place. There can be no doubt but that the enemy will now come forward, and with more spirit, and greater numbers, than they ever did before, for success will give confidence and secure allies.

"We seriously apprehend that the Six Nations, heretofore wavering, will now avow themselves; at least, their young men will come to war. Be that as it may, the Indians at present hostile, are well acquainted with the defenseless situation of this town. During the late war there was a garrison at this place, though, even then, there was not such a combination of the savage nations, nor so much to be dreaded from them. At present, we have neither garrison, arms nor ammunition, to defend the place. If the enemy should be disposed to pursue the blow they have given, which it is morally certain they will, they would, in our situation, find it easy to destroy us; and, should this place be lost, the whole country is open to them, and must be abandoned."

"Your excellency is well aware," say the people of Western Pennsylvania, "of the great extent of our frontier; and, when you consider the high degree of spirit which the savages, animated by

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*American State Papers, v. 215, 216, 222.

two successive victories, entertain, you may more easily conceive than we can describe, the fears which pervade the breasts of those men, women and children, who are more immediately subject to their barbarities and depredations. Had the people a sufficiency of arms in their hands, they might, in some measure, defend themselves until the General Government, to whose care the common defense is entrusted, should adopt efficient steps for that purpose. At the same time, we beg leave to state to your excellency, what occurs to us as the most speedy and effectual mode. When the extent of country to be protected is taken into view, we conceive that eight hundred effective men will not be deemed more than sufficient. They should be active partisans, under experienced officers, and provided with good rifles, to suit the grand object of meeting the enemy upon equal terms; of scouting, and giving the alarm when needful. Such a body should have encouragement proportioned to the price of common labor in this country, which averages fifty shillings per month, as the pay allowed to the troops of the United States would not be a sufficient inducement to able-bodied men, possessing the requisite qualifications. We suggest these general ideas from our knowledge of local circumstances, which they who are at a distance, unacquainted with the actual situation of the western country, cannot so well perceive. It is not our wish to enter into a minute detail, being convinced that your excellency is not only fully acquainted with, but feelingly alive to, those impressions, which a state, such as ours, must give rise to; nor can we apply to any person more proper than yourself to procure that assistance which it requires."

"The alarming intelligence lately received," say the people of Western Virginia, "of the defeat of the army in the western country, fills our minds with dreadful fears and apprehensions, concerning the safety of our fellow-citizens in the country we represent, and we confidently hope will be an excuse to your excellency, whose zeal has been so frequently evinced in behalf of the distressed frontier counties, for the request we are now compelled to make.

"In the course of last year, upwards of fifty of our people were killed, and a great part of our country plundered, notwithstanding the aid afforded by the Pennsylvanians, who joined the Virginians for our defense. The success of the Indians in their late engagement with General St. Clair, will, no doubt, render them more daring and bold in their future incursions and attacks upon our defenseless inhabitants; those adjoining the county of Harrison,

extending a hundred miles; covering the county of Monongalia; and we conceive that not less than sixty or seventy men will be sufficient to defend them. Through you, sir, we beg leave to request this assistance.

The popular clamor against St. Clair was loud and deep. In military affairs, blame is almost always attached to misfortune; for the greater number of those who judge, have no rule to guide them but the event. Misconduct is ever inferred from the want of success, and the greatest share of blame always falls upon the principal officer. Thus it was in the case of St. Clair. He had suffered a great reverse, and was, therefore, accused by the public voice, of great incompetence. Aware of the public odium under which he lay, he asked from the President the appointment of a court of inquiry, to investigate his conduct; but the request was denied, because there were not officers enough in the service of the proper rank, to constitute such a court. He then offered to resign his commission on condition that his conduct should be investigated; but the exigencies of service would not admit of delay, and his request was again refused.

The true causes of the disaster have been made the subject of much controversy. The Secretary of War, in his report on the state of the frontiers, affirms that the *principal* causes of the failure of the expedition were the deficiency of good troops according to the expectation in the earlier part of the year, the want of sufficient discipline according to the nature of the service, and the lateness of the season.

The committee of the House of Representatives, to whom was referred the subject, reported that the causes of the failure of the expedition, were the delay in preparing estimates for the defense of the frontiers, and the late passage of the act for that purpose; the delay caused by the neglects in the quarter-master's department, the lateness of the season when the expedition was commenced, and the want of discipline and experience in the troops, and exonerated St. Clair from all blame in relation to everything before and during the action.*

It is obvious, however, that these causes were insufficient to account for the disaster. The late passage of the act for the defense of the frontiers, the delays of the expedition, the misconduct of the quarter-master, and the advanced period of the season were, of

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* American State Papers, xi. 38.

course, sufficient reasons for the failure to secure the position at the head of the Maumee, which was the ultimate object of the army; but they could not of themselves have occasioned the defeat of the army. The want of discipline and experience in the troops doubtless contributed to, but did not occasion the disaster of their bravery, there can be no doubt. The battle began at six o'clock and lasted till about half-past nine, and the troops, though exposed to a destructive fire from a foe so placed that they could not efficiently return it, nevertheless behaved with all the resolution and coolness it was possible for them to exhibit, under the circumstances of the case. They were not overwhelmed, as St. Clair supposed, by superior numbers. The army consisted of more than fourteen hundred men; the Indians, according to the best accounts, did not exceed a thousand. They, however, fought with desperate valor, and at a great advantage, from the nature of the ground, and from the facilities the forest afforded for their favorite mode of attack. They were led, too, by the greatest chieftain of that age. It has been the received opinion, that the leader of the confederated tribes on that fatal day was Little Turtle, the chief of the Miamies; but from the family of that celebrated warrior and statesman, it is ascertained that Joseph Brant,* with one hundred and fifty Mohawk braves, was present, and commanded the warriors of the wilderness.

The true reasons then of the disaster of the day were, doubtless, the surprise of the army and the consequent confusion and flight of the militia who were first attacked. Had the attack been expected, the troops prepared, all chance of confusion avoided, and had the officers who commanded been obeyed—with all the disadvantages of raw troops, the event might have been, probably would have been, wholly different. The militia, as St. Clair says, were a quarter of a mile in advance of the main army, and beyond the creek; still further in advance was Captain Slough, who, with a volunteer party of regulars, went out to reconnoiter: and orders had been given Colonel Oldham, who commanded the militia, to have the woods thoroughly examined by the scouts and patrols, as Indians were known to be hanging about the outskirts of the army. In all this, St. Clair seems to have done his entire duty, as far as sickness would permit him; could he have attended in person to the details of the command, it would have been better.

During the night, Captain Slough, who was a mile beyond the

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* Stone's Brant, ii. p. 313.

militia, found so large a body of savages gathering about him, that he fell back and reported his observations to General Butler. But the general, for reasons unexplained, made no dispositions in consequence of this information, and did not report it to the commander-in-chief. Colonel Oldham also obeyed his orders, the woods were searched, and the presence of the enemy detected; but he, too, reported, through Captain Slough, to General Butler, beyond whom the information did not go.

The death of General Butler in the engagement, in regard to which there are many conflicting statements, precluded the possibility of any explanation on his part of his conduct, so much calculated to mislead the commander-in-chief, and so to endanger the safety of the army, as this withholding of indispensable information at such an important juncture. It is only known that there was an unfriendly feeling existing between Generals St. Clair and Butler, during the whole progress of the campaign.

According to St. Clair's account of it, the difficulty first arose on the march to Fort Jefferson. Butler, in St. Clair's absence, changed the order of march, and on his arrival an altercation occurred between them, the result of which was, says St. Clair, "he afterward seldom came near me." Subsequently, at Fort Jefferson, Butler proposed to proceed at once with one thousand men, and take post at the Miami village, in advance of the march of the remainder of the army. St. Clair received the proposition with undisguised contempt, and that circumstance greatly heightened the animosity between them. These altercations produced, it appears, so much mutual aversion between the parties, that, during the subsequent part of the campaign, little intercourse was maintained between them.

Whatever then may have been the motives which influenced General Butler to withhold the information he possessed in regard to the presence of the Indians in the neighborhood, and thus exposed the army to the surprise it experienced, and which may have been the immediate cause of the disaster; the circumstances under which the omission occurred, would favor an inference that he sacrificed the safety of the army to the gratification of his animosity against St. Clair. The evidence given before the committee of Congress is conclusive that he failed, at least to perform his whole duty in the premises. Captain Slough deposes, that he was sent out during the night with a party of observation, that he saw a large body of Indians going toward the camp, apparently for the purpose of reconnoitering it, and that in

that belief he had hastened back to the militia camp, to communicate the information he had received. "I halted my party," said he, "near Colonel Oldham's tent, went into it, and awakened him, I believe about twelve o'clock. I told him that I was of his opinion, that the camp would be attacked in the morning, for I had seen a number of Indians. I proceeded to the camp, and as soon as I had passed the camp guard, dismissed the party, and went to General Butler's tent. As I approached it, I saw him come out of the tent, and stand by the fire. I went up to him, and took him some distance from it, not thinking it prudent that the sentry should hear what I had seen. I also told him what Colonel Oldham had said, and that, if he thought proper, I would go and make the report to General St. Clair. He stood some time, and after a pause, thanked me for my attention and vigilance, and said, as I must be fatigued, I had better go and lie down."

General St. Clair afterward affirmed that, if he had known that the Indians were near and in force, he would have attacked them during the night, under, as he supposed, such circumstances as would ensure victory.

To all these circumstances is to be added, that General St. Clair was suffering from severe indisposition, and for a portion of the march had to be carried on a litter. And in the morning of the attack the army was taken by surprise and unprepared. Even under these disadvantages, the American army might have been victorious had the troops not been unexpectedly attacked, and thrown into disorder at the onset. It could not have been the single fact that they were militia or volunteers, for in too many instances have this class of troops from this western valley, stood their ground in severe and deadly conflicts with both Indians and British. Proofs enough of firmness and self-government have been given by this class of men, to put an end to the prejudices heretofore existing against volunteer troops.

The following communication from Colonel John Armstrong, an experienced warrior with Indians, and the hero of Kittanning, deserves attention in this connection:

"It seems probable, that too much attachment to regular or military rule, or a too great confidence in the artillery (which it seemed formed part of the lines, and had a tendency to render the troops stationary,) must have been the motives which led to the adopted order of action. I call it adopted, because the general does not speak of having intended any other, whereby he presented a large and visible object, perhaps in close orders, too, to an enemy near

enough to destroy, but from their known modes of action, comparatively invisible; whereby we may readily infer, that five hundred Indians were fully sufficient to do us all the injury we have sustained, nor can I conceive them to have been many more. But tragical as the event has been, we have this consolation, that during the action our officers and troops discovered great bravery, and that the loss of a battle it not always the loss of the cause. In vain, however, may we expect success against our present adversaries, without taking a few lessons from them, which I thought Americans had learned long ago. The principles of their military action are rational, and therefore often successful. We must, in a degree, take a similar method in order to counteract them."

If these opinions are correct, there was no such neglect on the part of St. Clair as on the part of Braddock in his defeat; no overwhelming self-confidence, or disregard of sound advice; there was nothing, absolutely nothing, to excuse the abuse and persecution to which he was afterward subjected. There was, however, apparent neglect on the part of General Butler and Colonel Oldham, leading to surprise; a mistaken position assigned the militia by St. Clair, in accordance with the maxims of most officers of the day; and a needless adherence to military rules on the part of the commander-in-chief, which made his force a target for the Indians to shoot at.

The defeat of St. Clair occurred on the 4th of November. On the 8th, the remains of the army reached Fort Washington; on the 9th, St. Clair wrote to the Secretary of War; on the 12th of December the information was communicated to Congress, and on the 26th of December General Knox laid before the President two reports, the second of which contained suggestions as to future operations.

After noticing the policy of the government toward the native tribes, the futility of all attempts to preserve peace, and the justice of the United States claim, the Secretary proceeds—

"Hence, it would appear that the principles of justice, as well as policy, and it may be added, the principles of economy, all combine to dictate that an adequate military force should be raised as soon as possible, placed upon the frontiers, and disciplined according to the nature of the service, and in order to meet, with the prospect of success, the greatest probable combination of the Indian enemy.

"Although the precise manner in which the force to be raised be employed cannot be pointed out, with propriety, at this time, as it

will depend on the circumstances of the moment, yet it may not be improper to observe that, upon a review of the merits of the main object of the late campaign, to wit, the establishment of a strong military post at the Miami village, with the necessary posts of communication, the necessity and propriety thereof remain the same; that this necessity will probably continue until we shall be possessed of the posts upon Lake Michigan, of Detroit and Niagara, withheld from us by Great Britain, contrary to treaty.

"Without remarking upon the principles of this conduct, it may be observed generally, that every arrangement in the power of the United States, for establishing the tranquillity of the frontiers, will be inferior to the possession of said posts. That it is, however, considered that, if the said posts were in our possession, we ought also to have a strong post at the Miami village, in order to render the protection effectual, and that the posts above mentioned will require garrisons whensoever they shall be given up.

"The subscriber having deliberately contemplated the present state of affairs upon the frontiers, from the south to the north, having recurred to the past, in order to estimate the probable future events, finds himself constrained by his public duty, although with great reluctance, to state, as the result of his judgment, that the public service requires an increase of the military force, according to the following arrangement:

"That the military establishment of the United States shall, during the pleasure of Congress, consist of five thousand one hundred and sixty-eight non-commissioned officers, privates and musicians.

"That the said non-commissioned officers and privates shall be enlisted to serve three years, unless sooner discharged.

"That the said troops be organized as follows:

"One squadron of cavalry, of four troops, each of seventy-six non-commissioned officers and privates.

"It should be a stipulation in the engagements of these men, that they should serve on foot whenever the service requires the measure.

"One battalion of artillery, of four companies each, to consist of seventy-six non-commissioned officers and privates.

"Each company of artillery to have, as part of its composition, ten artificers each, including the pay of artillerists to have ten dollars per month.

"Five regiments of infantry, one of which to be riflemen entirely, each of three battalions; each battalion of four companies; each

company of seventy-six non-commissioned officers and privates, amounting, for each regiment, to nine hundred and twelve.

"That, in addition to the foregoing arrangements, it would be proper that the President of the United States should be authorized, besides the employment of militia, to take such measures for the defensive protection of the exposed parts of the frontiers, by calling into service expert woodsmen, as patrols or scouts, upon such terms as he may judge proper. That he be further authorized, in case he should deem the measure expedient, to engage mounted militia for defensive operations, for such time, and on such terms, as he may judge equitable. That he be further authorized, in case he should deem the measure expedient, to employ a body of Indians belonging to tribes in alliance with the United States, to act against the hostile Indians; and that he be authorized to stipulate such terms as he shall judge right.

"That it does not seem essential, at this time, that there should be any special appropriations for the defensive protection, the mounted militia, or the employment of Indians, although the actual expenses for those objects may amount to considerable sums, because the estimates, before mentioned, comprehend the entire expense, for one year, of the proposed establishment, as complete. But, let the exertions to complete it be ever so great, yet it is probable a deficiency will exist, which will, of course, occasion a less expense.

"The moneys, therefore, which may be appropriated to the establishment, and not expended, may be applied to the extra objects above mentioned. If, however, there should be a deficiency, it may hereafter be provided for. That the net pay of the private soldier, at present, free of all deductions, is two dollars per month. But, as the experience of the recruiting service of the present year evinces that the inducement is insufficient, it seems necessary to raise the pay to three dollars per month, free of all deductions, and the non-commissioned officers in proportion. The rifle corps will require more. But whether, under present circumstances, even the additional pay, and an extension of bounty to eight dollars, would give such an impulse to the recruiting service as to fill the battalions immediately, remains to be tried.

"Nothing has been said upon an increased pay to the commissioned officers, because a memorial upon that subject has been presented to Congress. But it cannot be doubted that a small increase would be highly grateful to the officers, and probably beneficial to the service. The mounted militia is suggested to be used during

the preparation for the main expedition, and afterward, if circumstances should render it indispensable. The effect of such desultory operations upon the Indians will, by occupying them for their own safety, and that of their families, prevent their spreading terror and destruction along the frontiers. These sort of expeditions had that precise effect during the last season, and Kentucky enjoyed more repose, and sustained less injury, than for any year since the war with Great Britain. This single effect, independent of the injury done to the force of the Indians, is worth greatly more than the actual expense of such expeditions.

"But, while it is acknowledged that mounted militia may be very proper for sudden enterprises, of short duration, it is conceived that militia are utterly unsuitable to carry on and terminate the war in which we are engaged, with honor and success. And, besides, it would be ruinous to the purposes of husbandry to keep them out long, if it were practicable to accomplish it.

"Good troops, enlisted for a considerable period, armed and well disciplined, in a suitable manner for the nature of the service, will be equal, individually, to the best militia; but when it is considered to these qualities are added the obedience, the patience, the promptness, the economy of discipline, and the inestimable value of good officers, possessing a proper pride of reputation, the comparison no longer holds, and disciplined troops attain, in the mind and in actual execution, that ascendency over the militia which is the result of a just comparative view of their relative force, and the experience of all nations and ages.

"The expediency of employing the Indians in alliance with us against the hostile Indians, cannot be doubted. It has been shown before how difficult, and even impracticable, it will probably be to restrain the young men of the friendly tribes from action, and that if we do not employ them, they will be employed against us. The justice of engaging them would depend upon the justice of the war. If the war be just on our part, it will certainly bear the test of examination, to use the same sort of means in our defense as are used against us. The subscriber, therefore, submits it as his opinion, that it would be proper to employ judiciously, as to time and circumstances, as many of the friendly Indians as may be obtained, not exceeding one thousand in number."*

In the necessity for a competent army, all seem to have agreed,

* American State Papers, v. 198, 199.

but it was the wish of Washington that before this army was organized every effort should be again made to prevent bloodshed. Colonel Pickering, in his meeting of June and July, 1791, with the Iroquois, at the Painted Post, had, among other things, proposed that certain chiefs should, in the following January, go to Philadelphia while Congress was in session, and shake hands with their newly adopted father.

The importance of the proposed visit became more evident after the news of St. Clair's discomfiture, for the fidelity of the New York Indians even was doubted. On the 20th of December, 1791, accordingly, Knox wrote to the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, the Iroquois missionary, pressing through him the invitation given by the commissioner, and especially urging the presence of Brant.

To aid the proposed peace measures, a respectful and kind message was sent to the Senecas on the 7th of January, 1792; while, to guard against surprise, means were adopted to learn the purpose of a great council called at Buffalo creek, and also to ascertain the intentions of the tribes on the Wabash and Miami. This was done in part through the agency of the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, and partly by the mission of Captain Peter Pond and William Stedman, who, on the 9th of January, two days before Knox's two plans above referred to were laid before Congress, received their instructions as secret messengers or spies among the western Indians. From those instructions a few paragraphs are quoted:

"Repair to Niagara and Detroit, without suffering your business to escape you, until the proper time. When at Detroit, assume the character of traders with the Indians—a business Mr. Pond is well acquainted with. Mix with the Miami and Wabash Indians. Find their views and intentions through such channels as your discretion shall direct. Learn the opinions of the more distant Indians. Insinuate upon all favorable occasions, the humane disposition of the United States; and, if you can by any means ripen their judgment, so as to break forth openly, and declare the readiness of the United States to receive, with open arms, the Indians, notwithstanding all that is passed, do it. If such declaration should be made, at the Miami or Wabash, and be well received, you might persuade some of the most influential chiefs to repair to our posts on the Ohio, and so, from post to post, to this place.

"But if you should be so fortunate as to succeed in persuading the chiefs of the Miami, and hostile, and any other neighboring tribes, to repair here, every possible precaution must be taken by

you, and by the commanding officer of the troops, who is hereby required to afford the necessary escorts, in order to guard the Indians from being injured by the whites.

"While among the Indians, or at Niagara, or Detroit, endeavor to find out the numbers and tribes of the Indians who were in the attack of General St. Clair, and their loss, killed and wounded; what number of prisoners they took, and what they did with them; what disposition they made of the cannon taken, arms, tents, and other plunder; what are their intentions for the next year; the numbers of the association; how they are supplied with arms, ammunition, and provisions.

"You will readily perceive, that the information required, must be given me at the earliest period possible. You will, therefore, let me know, by some means which you must devise, your arrival at Niagara, Detroit, and the Miami village; and, if possible, from thence, what are your prospects." *

Pond and his companion, however, could get no further than Niagara. While by the northern route this was attempted, Wilkinson, commanding at Fort Washington, on the 10th of February, was instructed to send word to Major Hamtramck, at Vincennes, that the government wished to secure the agency of the French colonists and friendly Indians in quelling the war-spirit. In February also, further friendly messages were sent to the Senecas, and an invitation forwarded to Brant from the Secretary of War himself, asking him to come to Philadelphia.

In March, fifty Iroquois chiefs reached the city of brotherly love, and in the spirit of love transacted their business with the American rulers; and during April and May, Captain Truman and others were sent from the Ohio to the hostile tribes, bearing messages of friendship. But before we relate the unhappy issue of Truman's expedition, we must notice the steps taken by the Federal Government in reference to military preparations, which were to be looked to in case all else should fail.

St. Clair had requested a court of inquiry to examine the reasons of his defeat, and had expressed his wish to surrender his post as commander of the western forces so soon as the examination had taken place; but this proposition to retain his commission until after his trial was rendered nugatory by the fact, that under the existing system no court of inquiry could be constituted to adjudge

* American State Papers, v. 227.

his case, and Washington accordingly informed him that it was neither possible to grant him the trial he desired nor allow him to retain his position. St. Clair having withdrawn, it became a very difficult question for the Executive to hit upon a person in all respects suited for such a charge. General Morgan, General Scott, General Wayne, Colonel Darke, and General Henry Lee were all thought of. Of these, Wayne was the one selected, although his appointment caused, as General Lee, then Governor of Virginia, wrote Washington, "extreme disgust" among all orders in the Old Dominion.* But the President had selected Wayne not hastily nor through "partiality or influence," and no idle words affected him. In June, General Wayne moved westward to Pittsburgh, and proceeded to organize the army which was to be the ultimate argument of the Americans with the Indian confederation. Through the summer of 1792 the preparation of the soldiers was steadily attended to; "train and discipline them for the service they are meant for," said Washington, "and do not spare powder and lead, so the men be made marksmen."

In December, 1792, the forces now recruited and trained, were gathered at a point about twenty-two miles below Pittsburgh, on the Ohio, called Legionville; the army itself having been denominated the Legion of the United States, divided into four sub-legions and provided with legionary and sub-legionary officers. Meantime, at Fort Washington, Wilkinson had succeeded St. Clair as commandant, and in January had ordered an expedition to examine the field of the late disastrous conflict. This body reached the point designated on February 1st, and from the letter of Captain Buntin to St. Clair, relative to what was found there, is taken the following passage:

"In my opinion, those unfortunate men who fell in the enemy's hands, with life, were used with the greatest torture—having their limbs torn off; and the women have been treated with the most indecent cruelty, having stakes as thick as a person's arm drove through their bodies. The first I observed when burying the dead, and the latter was discovered by Colonel Sargent and Doctor Brown. We found three whole carriages; the other five were so much damaged that they were rendered useless.

"By the general's orders, pits were dug in different places, and all the dead bodies that were exposed to view or could be conveni-

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* See American State Papers, v. 228, 229, 235. Sparks' Washington, x. 240, 244, Note.

ently found, the snow being very deep, were buried. During this time there were sundry parties detached, some for our safety, and others in examining the course of the creek; and some distance in advance of the ground occupied by the militia, they found a large camp, not less than three-quarters of a mile long, which was supposed to be that of the Indians the night before the action. We remained on the field that night, and next morning fixed geared horses to the carriages and moved for Fort Jefferson.

"As there is little reason to believe that the enemy have carried off the cannon, it is the received opinion that they are either buried or thrown into the creek, and I think the latter the most probable; but as it was frozen over with a thick ice and that covered with a deep snow, it was impossible to make a search with any prospect of success. In a former part of this letter I have mentioned the camp occupied by the enemy the night before the action; had Colonel Oldham been able to have complied with your orders on that evening, things at this day might have worn a different aspect."*

While Wayne's army was being collected and drilled, the peace measures of the United States were pressed with equal perseverance. In the first place the Iroquois, through their chiefs who came to Philadelphia, were led to act as peace-makers; in addition to them, on the 3d of April, Colonel Truman received his instructions to repair to the Miami village with friendly messages, offering all reasonable terms:

"Brothers:—The President of the United States entertains the opinion, that the war which exists is founded in error and mistake on your parts. That you believe the United States want to deprive you of your lands and drive you out of the country. Be assured this is not so: on the contrary, that we should be greatly gratified with the opportunity of imparting to you all the blessings of civilized life; of teaching you to cultivate the earth and raise corn; to raise oxen, sheep, and other domestic animals; to build comfortable houses and to educate your children, so as ever to dwell upon the land.

"Brothers:—The President of the United States requests you to take this subject into your serious consideration, and to reflect how abundantly more it will be for your interest to be at peace with the United States, and to receive all the benefits thereof than

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* Dillon, i. 308. See also Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 30.

to continue a war, which, however flattering it may be to you for a moment, must in the end prove ruinous.

"This desire of peace has not arisen in consequence of the late defeat of the troops under Major-General St. Clair; because, in the beginning of the last year, a similar message was sent you by Col. Procter, but who was prevented from reaching you by some insurmountable difficulties. All the Senecas at Buffalo creek can witness for the truth of this assertion, as he held, during the month of April last, long conferences with them, to devise the means of getting to you in safety.

"War, at all times, is a dreadful evil to those who are engaged therein, and more particularly so where a few people engage to act against so great numbers as the people of the United States.

"Brothers:—Do not suffer the advantages you have gained to mislead your judgment, and to influence you to continue the war; but reflect upon the destructive consequences which must attend such a measure.

"The President of the United States is highly desirous of seeing a number of your principal chiefs, and convincing you, in person, how much he wishes to avoid the evils of war for your sake, and the sake of humanity.

"Consult, therefore, upon the great object of peace; call in your parties, and enjoin a cessation of all other depredations: and as many of the principal chiefs as shall choose, repair to Philadelphia, the seat of the General Government, and there make a peace, founded upon the principles of justice and humanity. Remember that no additional lands will be required of you, or any other tribe, to those that have been ceded by former treaties, particularly by the tribes who had a right to make the treaty of Muskingum in the year 1789.

"But, if any of your tribes can prove that you have a fair right to any lands, comprehended by the said treaty, and have not been compensated therefor, you shall receive full satisfaction upon that head.

"The chiefs you send shall be safely escorted to this city; and shall be well fed and provided with all things for their journey; and the faith of the United States is hereby pledged to you for the true and liberal performance of everything herein contained and suggested; and all this is confirmed, in your manner, by the great white belt, hereunto attached." *

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* American State Papers, v. 230.

To assist further in attaining the desired objects, Captain Hendrick, chief of the Stockbridge Indians, on the 8th of May, was dispatched to urge the views of Washington at the approaching council of the north-western confederacy; and on the 22d of the same month, the following instructions were also issued to General Rufus Putnam, to go in company with the Moravian missionary, John Heckewelder, into the Indian country, and strive to secure peace and a permanent treaty.*

"The chiefs of the five nations of Indians, who were so long in this city, lately, were astonished at the moderation of our claim of land, it being very different from what they had been taught, by designing people, to believe.

"It would seem that the Indians have been misled with respect to our claims, by a certain map, published in Connecticut, wherein are laid out ten new States, agreeably to a report of a committee of Congress.

"The United States are desirous, in any treaty which shall be formed in future, to avoid all causes of war, relative to boundaries, by fixing the same in such a manner as not to be mistaken by the meanest capacity. As the basis, therefore, of your negotiation, you will, in the strongest and most explicit terms, renounce, on the part of the United States, all claim to any Indian land which shall not have been ceded by fair treaties, made with the Indian nations.

"You may say—that we conceive the treaty of Fort Harmar to have been formed by the tribes having a just right to make the same, and that it was done with their full understanding and free consent.

"That if, however, the said tribes should judge the compensation to have been inadequate to the object, or that any other tribes have a just claim, in both cases they shall receive a liberal allowance, on their finally settling all disputes upon the subject.

"As the United States never made any treaties with the Wabash Indians, although the said Indians have been repeatedly invited thereto, their claims to the lands east and south of the said Wabash have not been defined.

"This circumstance will be a subject of your inquiry with the assembled Indian tribes; and you may assure the parties concerned, that an equitable boundary shall be arranged with them.

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*American State Papers, v. 233

"You will make it clearly understood, that we want not a foot of their land, and that it is theirs, and theirs only; that they have the right to sell, and the right to refuse to sell, and the United States will guarantee to them the said just right.

"That all we require of the Indians is a peaceable demeanor; that they neither plunder the frontiers of their horses, or murder the inhabitants; that the United States are bound to protect the inhabitants at the risk of every inconvenience of men or money.

"You will represent to them, that a new state of things has taken place in the United States; that formerly we were an association of several separate States, like their several separate tribes, and that there was no portion of union and strength sufficient to regulate the several parts, as belonging to the same machine.

"But, that now we have a general government embracing all parts of the Union, as respects foreign nations and Indian tribes. That General Washington is placed at the head of this government; and that he, or some person immediately authorized by him, must make all treaties with the Indian tribes.

"That, therefore, in future, all the Indian nations may rest with great confidence upon the justice, the humanity, and the liberality of the United States.

"That it is not only the sincere desire of the United States to be at peace with all the neighboring Indian tribes, but to protect them in their just rights, against lawless violent white people. If such should commit any injury on the person or property of a peaceful Indian, they will be regarded equally as the enemies of the general government as of the Indians, and will be punished accordingly.

"That the United States are highly desirous of imparting to all the Indian tribes, the blessings of civilization, as the only means of perpetuating them on the earth.

"That we are willing to be at the expense of teaching them to read and write, to plough and to sow, in order to raise their own bread and meat with certainty, as the white people do.

"In short, that the United States, willing to believe that the conduct of the hostile Indians hitherto has been more the effect of misrepresentations of bad people, than any hardened malignity of the human heart, are desirous of forgetting and burying deep forever, all the evils that have passed, and to administer such good things to the said Indians as will make them rejoice forever at the annual return of the day on which they may conclude a treaty with the United States.

"Your first object on meeting with the Indians, will be to convince them that the United States require none of their lands.

"The second, that we shall guarantee all that remain, and take the Indians under our protection.

"Thirdly: they must agree to the truce, and immediately to call in all their war parties. It will be in vain to be negotiating with them while they shall be murdering the frontier citizens.

"Having happily effected a truce founded on the above assurances, it will then be your primary endeavor to obtain from each of the hostile and neighboring tribes, two of the most respectable chiefs, to repair to the seat of the government, and there conclude a treaty with the President of the United States, in which all causes of difference should be buried forever.

"You will give the chiefs every assurance of personal protection, while on their journey to Philadelphia, and, should they insist upon it, hostages of officers for the safe return of the chiefs, and, in case of their compliance, you will take every precaution by the troops for the protection of the said chiefs, which the nature of the case may require.

"But if, after having used your utmost exertions, the chiefs should decline the journey to Philadelphia, then you will agree with them on a plan for a general treaty.*

"In considering upon this plan, perhaps Pittsburgh or its vicinity would be as proper a place as could be decided upon. Provisions could be procured in abundance, and it would be the point to which the goods could be easily transported.

"In this event, it will be necessary that I should be informed by the earliest opportunity, in order that the principles and arrangements for the treaty should be fixed. It has been conceived that were you to repair to Fort Washington, and thence to Fort Jefferson, you would more readily than from any other point, find a communication with the hostile Indians. Upon a nearer approach you will form your own judgment, and take your own measures. Having given you a view of the object and the train in which things are, the rest must be left entirely to your discretion."

The invitation given in February by the Secretary of War to Brant to visit Philadelphia, has been mentioned. Some of his English friends urged the Mohawk by no means to comply with the request, but he had the independence to think and act for him-

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* American State Papers, v. 234, 236.

self, and on the 20th of June, appeared at the then federal capital. He remained there ten or twelve days, and was treated by all with marked attention; great pains were taken to make him understand the posture of affairs and the wishes of the United States; and, in the hope that he would prove a powerful pacificator, on the 27th of June, a letter was addressed to him by General Knox, laying before him the wishes of the government, and making him another messenger of peace.

The fact that five independent embassies, asking peace, were sent to the inimical tribes; and the tone of the papers which have been extracted so fully, will demonstrate the wish of the United States to do the aborigines entire justice. But the victories they had gained, and the favorable whispers of the British agents, closed the ears of the red men, and all propositions for peace were rejected in one form or another. Freeman, who left Fort Washington, April 7th; Truman, who left it May 22d for the Maumee, and Colonel Hardin, who on the same day started for Sandusky, were all murdered; Truman, it would seem, however, not by a body of Indians, but by a man and boy whom he met in hunting.* Brant, from sickness or caution, did not attend the western council, as had been expected. Hendricks gave his message into the hands of Colonel McKee, and kept away from the gathering of the nations; and of the four individual messengers, Truman, Brant, Hendricks, and Putnam, Putnam alone reached his goal. That gentleman left Marietta on the 26th of June, and on the 2d of July was at Fort Washington; here he heard of Indian hostilities at Fort Jefferson, and of the probability of Truman's murder. He found also that it would be in vain to ask the chiefs, under any circumstances, to go to Philadelphia, and that it was extremely doubtful if they could be prevailed on to visit even Fort Washington.

Under these circumstances, conceiving it desirable that some step should be taken at once, he determined to proceed to Fort Knox, and there meet such of the Wabash leaders as could be got together, in the hope that they might at least be detached from the general league. This determination he carried into effect on the 17th of August, when, with several Indian prisoners to be restored to their friends, and presents for them beside, he left Cincinnati and reached Vincennes in due time, accompanied by the missionary Heckewelder. On the 27th of September, he met thirty-one chiefs,

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* May's Deposition.—American State Papers, v. 243.

representing the Weas, Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias, Peorias, Illinois, Pottawattamies, Musquitoes, Kickapoos and Eel river Indians, and concluded with them a treaty of peace and friendship, on the following terms: *

"A treaty of peace and friendship made and concluded between the President of the United States of America, on the part of the said States, and the undersigned kings, chiefs and warriors, of the Wabash and Illinois Indian tribes, on the part and behalf of the said tribes:

"The parties being desirous of establishing a permanent peace and friendship between the United States and the said Indian tribes, and the citizens and members thereof, and to remove the causes of war, the President of the United States by Rufus Putnam, one of the judges of the territory of the United States north-west of the river Ohio, and Brigadier-General in the army, whom he hath vested with full powers for these purposes; and the said Wabash and Illinois tribes, by the undersigned kings, chiefs, and warriors, representing the said tribes, have agreed to the following articles, namely:

"There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United States of America, and all the individuals, villages and tribes of the said Wabash and Illinois Indians.

"The undersigned kings, chiefs, and warriors, for themselves, and all parts of their villages and tribes, do acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States of America, and stipulate to live in amity and friendship with them.

"The said tribes shall deliver, as soon as practicable, to the commanding officer at Fort Knox, all citizens of the United States, white inhabitants or negroes, who are now prisoners among any of the said tribes.

"The United States solemnly guarantee to the Wabash and Illinois nations or tribes of Indians, all the lands to which they have a just claim, and no part shall ever be taken from them, but by a fair purchase and to their satisfaction. That the lands originally belonged to the Indians: it is theirs, and theirs only. That they have a right to sell, and a right to refuse to sell. And that the United States will protect them in their said just rights.

"The said kings, chiefs, and warriors solemnly promise, on their part, that no future hostilities or depredations shall be committed

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* Dillon's Indiana, p. 317.

by them, or any belonging to the tribes they represent, against the persons or property of any of the citizens of the United States. That the practice of stealing negroes and horses from the people of Kentucky, and other inhabitants of the United States, shall forever cease. That they will, at all times, give notice to the citizens of the United States of any designs which they may know, or suspect to be formed, in any neighboring tribe, or by any person whatever against the peace and interest of the United States.

"In cases of violence on the persons or property of the individuals of either party, neither retaliation or reprisal shall be committed by the other until satisfaction shall have been demanded of the party, of which the aggressor is, and shall have been refused.

"All animosities for past grievances shall henceforth cease, and the contracting parties will carry the foregoing treaty into full execution, with all good faith and sincerity."

This treaty was laid before the Senate for confirmation on the 13th of February, 1793, but the fourth article was deemed objectionable, as containing a guarantee to the Indians of their lands; and after much discussion the Senate refused, on that account, to ratify it.

In October, a great council of all the tribes of the north-west was held at Au Glaize.* It was the largest Indian council of the time. The chiefs of all the tribes of the north-west territory were there. The representatives of the seven nations of Canada were in attendance. Cornplanter, and forty-eight chiefs of the Six Nations of New York, repaired thither. "Beside these," says Cornplanter, "there were so many nations that we cannot tell the names of them. There were three men from the Gora nations; it took them a whole season to come; and twenty-seven nations from beyond Canada." The question of peace or war was long and earnestly discussed. The chiefs of the Shawanese were the only speakers for war, and Red Jacket, the Seneca chief, for peace. A report made by the chiefs of the Six Nations, to the Indian agent in a conference at Buffalo, of the result of their mission to the council, will serve as the best account of its proceedings and conclusions:†

"Brothers, people of the United States, and King's people, take notice:

"Last winter, the President took us by the hand and led us to

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* Fort Defiance, Ohio. † American State Papers, v. 323.

the council fire at Philadelphia; there they made known to us their friendship, and requested of us to proceed to the westward, and to use our influence to make peace with the hostile Indians; we went accordingly, and made known to them our agreement.

"When we returned from Philadelphia to Buffalo creek, the chiefs that remained at home on their seats, were well pleased with what we had done at Philadelphia; and after we had determined to proceed on our journey, some of our chiefs were detained by sickness.

"Brothers, people of the United States, and King's people:

"After we arrived at the westward, we met with an agreeable reception; they informed us that we were their oldest brothers, and appeared as the sun risen upon them, as they always looked to them for advice. It is now four years since we have heard your voices, and should be happy now to hear what you have to relate to us."

The Six Nations then requested of the western Indians what they had to relate to them, as they kindled the council fire.

The western Indians replied:

"About four years since, your voices came to us, desiring us to combine ourselves together, as we were the eldest people of this island, and all of one color, that our minds may be one.

"This they informed us, they had attended to, and exhibited a large belt of wampum to prove the same, from each nation.

"To confirm it still further, they informed us, we sent them a pipe, which passed through all the nations at the west and southward; all smoked out of it, both women and children; and as this pipe has been through all the nations, and all smoked out of it, they then returned it to us, and bid us smoke out of it ourselves.

"Brothers: Listen once to your eldest brothers; our forefathers have handed down to us that we are one people, of one color, on this island, and ought to be of one mind, and had made our minds strong, and had become as one people in peace and friendship.

"This being done, our chiefs agreed to hand it down to future posterity, and the same combination to continue down to them.

"The nation called the Unions, took a brand from our fire and kindled it, and became a people with us; then we considered ourselves as one people combined together.

"And now there is a white people on this island who are watching our conduct; but let us attend to our own concerns, and brighten the chain of friendship with our nations; and as our minds are one, let us consider future posterity, and not consider

those young warriors who are in the prime of life, and so much engaged in the pursuit of land, which is the cause of so much difficulty at present.

"Brothers, consider your country, which is good, and conduct yourselves in such a way as to keep it to yourselves and posterity.

"Now brothers, you present us the pipe you say your oldest brothers sent you; you say your head chiefs all smoked out of it, and returning it to us again, all took it and smoked out of it ourselves in friendship. Now, as we are thus combined together, we are able to lift a heavy burden."

The Shawanese nation replied:

"Our Eldest Brothers:—We have heard what you have related; we have heard it with attention; we consider it as if you delivered it from the outside of your lips; although you consider us your younger brothers, your seats are not at such a distance but that we can see your conduct plainly; these are the reasons why we consider you to speak from the outside of your lips; for whenever you hear the voice of the United States, you immediately take your packs and attend their councils.

"We see plainly folded under your arm the voice of the United States, we wish you to unfold it to us, that we may see it and consult on it. (Speaking on a string of wampum of three strings, throwing it across the fire to us, instead of handing it to us in a friendly manner.)

"Then we proceeded to relate the instructions of Congress, which is too tedious to relate, and which they already know; but when we first related it, we failed for interpreters, so that they had not a proper idea of it; they appeared to be very much ruffled in their minds, and adjourned till the next day; then it was interpreted properly to them, and they appeared easy in their minds.

"Eldest Brothers:—You desire us to consider our country and our property; we will accept of your advice, and proceed accordingly."

The Six Nations replied:

"Let us look back to the time of white people coming into this country; very soon they began to traffic for land. Soon after, Sir William Johnson was sent as an agent for the king, and he began to purchase at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and purchased all east of the Ohio river.

"A few years after this purchase, the people of the States and the king's people broke apart, and we being persuaded to take the king's part became very bad for us. After a few years, the king

was beat; then the States took possession of all the land the English formerly took from the French.

"You tell us we come with the voice of the United States; we do, together with the advice of the king. He tells us not to throw our minds on either side, but to listen to reason, and remain a people confederated."

The Shawanese nation replied:

"Now Eldest Brothers:—You come to us with your opinion and the voice of the United States. It is your mind to put an end to all hostilities.

"Brothers:—Now we will relate what took place last fall, in our country. General Washington sent out an army into our country, which fell into our hands; their orders were thus, to proceed into our country as far as the Miami towns, to the Glaize; thence to Detroit; but not to molest the king's people; and if the army should meet any people that appeared friendly, to leave them behind their backs without harm.

"The President of the United States, must well know why the blood is so deep in our paths. We have been informed, that he has sent messengers of peace on these bloody roads, who fell on the way; and now, as he knows that road to be bloody, no communication can take place through that bloody way, as there is a path through the Six Nations' country, which is smooth and easy. If he wants to send the voice of peace, it must pass through this road.

"Eldest Brothers:—We have been informed that the President of the United States thinks himself the greatest man on this island. We had this country long in peace, before we saw any person of a white skin; we consider the people of a white skin the younger.

"Brothers:—You inform us that it is the wish of the white people to hold council with us, General Washington being the head man; we will consent to treat with them; we desire you, our older brothers, to inform General Washington we will treat with him, at the rapids of Miami, next spring, or at the time when the leaves are fully out.

"We consider ourselves still the proper owners of some land on the east side of the Ohio; but we will deliver up that, for money that has been paid to some individuals for land on the west side of the river Ohio.

"Brothers:—You have given us a dish and one spoon, desiring the whole combination to eat with them; we accept of them, and shall do accordingly.

"We are now about to complete the business you came on. When you return, you will make known to the President what we have done; it may be that he will consent to what we have proposed; and if he will not, we must call on you to assist in the heavy burden that will lie upon us. We have opened a path for them and pointed out a way, and if he will not walk in it we must have your assistance.

"Now our Eldest Brothers:—When the President came to you, he took you aside to hear what he had to say. He desired you to come to us, and deliver the messages; you have delivered them, and we desire you to deliver the messages we have given you to deliver to him; and desire him to send a message back, what he will do, respecting what we have done and concluded on; to forward it to you, and you to us. We will lay the bloody tomahawk aside, until we hear from the President of the United States, and when this message comes to us, we will send it to all the different nations."

After having reported the history and result of their mission in this peculiar way, the chiefs of the Six Nations prepared and forwarded the following report to the President, embodying their advice in regard to the course of policy necessary to be pursued in order to secure a peace with the hostile tribes:

"You sent us on to the westward, with a message of peace to the hostile Indians.

"We proceeded according to your directions, and were protected, going and coming, by the Great Spirit.

"We give thanks to the Great Spirit, that we have all returned safe to our seats.

"While we were at the westward we exerted ourselves to bring about peace. The fatigues we underwent are not small. Now it is our desire for your people on the Ohio to lay down their arms, or otherwise it is all in vain what we have done.

"Now, if you wish for peace, you must make every exertion, and proceed through this path we have directed for you. If peace does not take place, the fault must arise from your own people.

"We now desire you, brother, to send forward agents, who are men of honesty, not proud land-jobbers, but men who love and desire peace. Also, we desire that they may be accompanied by some Friend, or Quaker, to attend the council.

"We wish you to exert yourself to forward the message to the western Indians as soon as possible; and we are taken by the hand, and have agreed, next spring, to attend the council at the rapids of the Miami, when we shall hear all that takes place there."

The armistice which the hostile Indians promised to observe till spring was not, however, very faithfully kept. On the 6th of November, the Kentucky mounted infantry, under Major Adair, was attacked by a body of Indians, in the neighborhood of Fort St. Clair, a post recently established about twenty-five miles north of Fort Hamilton, and near the present site of the town of Eaton, Ohio.

"This morning," says Adair in his report to Wilkinson, "about the first appearance of day, the enemy attacked my camp, within sight of this post. The attack was sudden, and the enemy came on with a degree of courage that bespoke them warriors indeed. Some of my men were hand in hand with them before we retreated, which, however, we did to a kind of stockade, intended for stables; we then made a stand. I then ordered Lieutenant Madison to take a party and gain their right flank, if possible. I called for Lieutenant Hail, to send to the left, but found he had been slain. I then led forward the men that stood near me, which, together with the ensigns, Buchanan and Florin, amounted to about twenty-five, and pressed the left of their centre, thinking it absolutely necessary to assist Madison. We made a manly push, and the enemy retreated, taking all our horses except five or six. We drove them about six hundred yards, through our camp, where they again made a stand, and we fought them some time; two of my men were here shot dead.

"At that moment I received information that the enemy were about to flank us on the right, and on turning that way I saw about sixty of them running to that point. I had yet heard nothing of Madison. I then ordered my men to retreat, which they did with deliberation, heartily cursing the Indians, who pursued us close to our camp, where we again fought them till they gave way; and when they retreated our ammunition was nearly expended, although we had been supplied from the garrison in the course of the action. I did not think proper to follow them again, but ordered my men into the garrison, to draw ammunition. I returned in a few minutes to a hill to which we had first driven them, where I found two of my men scalped, who were brought in.

"Since I began to write this, a few of the enemy appeared in sight, and I pursued them with a party about a quarter of a mile, but could not overtake them, and did not think proper to go further. Madison, whom I sent to the right, was, on his first attack, wounded, and obliged to retreat into the garrison, leaving a man or two dead. To this misfortune I think the enemy are indebted

for the horses they have got; had he gained their right flank, and I once had possession of their left, I think we might have routed them at that stage of the action, as we had them on the retreat.

"I have six killed and five wounded; four men are missing. I think they went off early in the action, on horseback, and are, I suppose, by this time, at Fort Hamilton. My officers, and a number of my men, distinguished themselves greatly. Poor Hail died, calling to his men to advance. Madison's bravery and conduct need no comment; they are well known. Florin and Buchanan acted with a coolness and courage that do them much honor; Buchanan, after firing his gun, knocked an Indian down with the barrel.

"They have killed and taken a great number of the pack-horses. I intend following them this evening, some distance, to ascertain their strength and route, if possible. I can, with propriety, say that about fifty of my men fought with a bravery equal to any men in the world; and had not the garrison been so nigh, as a place of safety for the bashful, I think many more would have fought well. The enemy have, no doubt, as many men killed as myself; they left two dead on the ground, and I saw two carried off. The only advantage they have gained is our horses, which is a capital one, as it disables me from bringing the interview to a more certain and satisfactory conclusion."*

This action, however, together with other evidences of continued hostilities, did not prevent the United States from taking measures to meet the hostile tribes "at the rapids of the Miami (Maumee) when the leaves were fully out." For this purpose the President at first selected Charles Carroll and Charles Thompson, but as they declined the nomination, Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph, and Timothy Pickering were, on the first of March, 1793, appointed to attend the proposed meeting, which it was concluded should be held at Sandusky.

On the 26th of April, the commissioners received their instructions; on the 27th, General Lincoln left Philadelphia for Niagara, by the way of New York; and on the 30th, Pickering and Randolph started by the route through Pennsylvania, which led up the valleys of the Schuylkill, Susquehanna, Lycoming, and Coshocton, and across to Genessee. These, traveling more rapidly, for Lincoln had

*American State Papers, v. 335.

the stores and baggage, reached Niagara on the 17th of May, and were at once invited by Lieutenant-General Simcoe to take up their residence at his seat, Navy Hall; with this invitation they complied and remained there until the 28th of June. The cause of this delay was the belief expressed by M'Kee and others, that the Indians would not be ready to meet the commissioners before the last of June, as private councils had first to be held among the various tribes. While there, the ambassadors, on the 7th of June, presented the following note to Governor Simcoe:

"The commissioners of the United States, for making peace with the western Indians, beg leave to suggest to Governor Simcoe: that the very high importance of the negotiation committed to their management, makes them desirous of using every proper means that may contribute to its success. That they have observed, with pleasure, the disposition manifested by the Governor to afford every requisite assistance in the preparatory arrangements for holding the treaty with the hostile Indians.

"But all the facilities thus afforded, and all the expenses incurred by the British government, on this occasion, will, perhaps, be fruitless, unless some means are used to counteract the deep-rooted prejudices, and unfounded reports among the Indian tribes: for, the acts of a few bad men, dwelling among them, or having a familiar intercourse with them, by cherishing those prejudices, or raising and spreading those reports, may be sufficient to defeat every attempt to accomplish a peace. As an instance of such unfounded reports, the commissioners have noticed the declaration of a Mohawk, from Grand river, *that Governor Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, but not to give up any of their lands.*

"The commissioners further observe, that if any transactions at former treaties were exceptionable, the principles of the present treaty are calculated to remove the causes of complaint; for the views of government are perfectly fair. And, although it is impossible to retrace all the steps then taken, the United States are disposed to recede, as far as shall be indispensable, and the existing state of things will admit; and for the lands retained, to make ample compensation. The views of the United States being thus fair and liberal, the commissioners wish to embrace every means to make them appear so to the Indians, against any contrary suggestions.

"Among these means, the commissioners consider the presence of some gentlemen of the army to be of consequence; for, although the Indians naturally look up to their superintendents as their

patrons, yet the presence of some officers of the army will probably induce them to negotiate with greater confidence on the terms of peace. Independently of these considerations, the commissioners, for their own sakes, request the pleasure of their company. The commissioners, feeling the greatest solicitude to accomplish the object of their mission, will be happy to receive from the governor every information relating to it, which his situation enables him to communicate. He must be aware that the sales and settlements of the lands over the Ohio, founded on the treaties of Forts M'Intosh and Harmar, render it impossible now to make that river the boundary. The expression of his opinion, on this point in particular, will give them great satisfaction." *

To this note the following answer was sent:

"Colonel Simcoe, commanding the King's forces in Upper Canada, has the honor, in answer to the paper delivered to him this morning by the commissioners of the United States for making peace with the western Indians, to state to those gentlemen, that he is duly impressed with the serious importance of the negotiation committed to their charge, and shall be happy to contribute by every proper means that may tend to its success. He is much obliged to them for the polite manner in which they have expressed their sense of his readiness to afford them such facilities as may have been in his power, to assist in the preparatory arrangements for holding the treaty. He is perfectly aware that unfounded reports and deep-rooted prejudices have arisen among the Indian tribes; but whether from the acts of a few bad men living among them, he cannot pretend to say.

"But, he must observe, upon the instance given by the commissioners, of one of 'those unfounded reports, that a Mohawk from the Grand river should say, that Gov. Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, but not to give up their lands,' it is of that nature that cannot be true; the Indians, as yet, not having applied for his advice on the subject; and it being a point, of all others, on which they are the least likely to consult the British officers commanding in Upper Canada.

"Colonel Simcoe considers himself perfectly justified in admitting, on the requisition of the commissioners, some officers to attend the treaty; and, therefore, in addition to the gentlemen appointed to control the delivery of the British provisions, &c., he

* American State Papers, v. 327.

will desire Captain Bunbury, of the fifth regiment, and Lieutenant Givens, who has some knowledge of one of the Indian languages, to accompany the commissioners. Colonel Simcoe can give the commissioners no further information than what is afforded by the speeches of the confederate nations, of which General Hull has authentic copies. But, as it has been, ever since the conquest of Canada, the principle of the British government to unite the American Indians, that, all petty jealousies being extinguished, the real wishes of the several tribes may be fully expressed, and in consequence of all the treaties made with them, may have the most complete ratification and universal concurrence, so, he feels it proper to state to the commissioners, that a jealousy of a contrary conduct in the agents of the United States, appears to him to have been deeply impressed upon the minds of the confederacy."

On the day before this correspondence, the six Quakers, who, by their own request, and that of the Indians, had accompanied the deputation, together with Heckewelder and others, sailed for Detroit to learn how matters stood; and, on the 26th of the month, the commissioners themselves, receiving no news from Sandusky, prepared to embark for the mouth of Detroit river. On the 15th of July, while still detained by head winds, Colonel Butler,† Brant and some fifty natives, arrived from the Maumee, and two days after, in the presence of the Governor, Brant thus addressed the Americans:—

"Brothers:—We have met to-day our brothers, the Bostonians and English; we are glad to have the meeting, and think it is by the appointment of the Great Spirit.

"Brothers of the United States:—We told you the other day at Fort Erie, that at another time, we would inform you why we had not assembled at the time and place appointed for holding the treaty with you. We now inform you that it is because there is so much of the appearance of war in that quarter.

"We have given the reason for our not meeting you; and now we request an explanation of those warlike appearances.

"The people you see here are sent to represent the Indian nations who own the lands north of the Ohio, as their common property, and who are all of one mind—one heart.

"We have come to speak to you for two reasons; one, because your warriors being in our neighborhood, have prevented

† The commander of the Tories at Wyoming, afterward Indian Agent.

our meeting at the appointed place; the other, to know if you are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between the lands of the United States and the Indian nations. We are still desirous of meeting you at the appointed place.

"We wish you to deliberate well on this business. We have spoken our sentiments in sincerity, considering ourselves in the presence of the Great Spirit, from whom, in time of danger, we expect assistance."

On the following day the commissioners replied:

"Brothers:—You have mentioned two objects of your coming to meet us at this place. One, to obtain an explanation of the warlike appearances on the part of the United States on the northwestern side of the Ohio; the other, to learn whether we have authority to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands and ours.

"On the first point we cannot but express our extreme regret, that any reports of warlike appearances, on the part of the United States, should have delayed our meeting at Sandusky. The nature of the case irresistibly forbids all apprehensions of hostile incursions into the Indian country north of the Ohio, during the treaty at Sandusky.

"We are deputed by the Great Chief and the Great Council of the United States to treat with you of peace; and is it possible that the same Great Chief and his Great Council could order their warriors to make fresh war, while we were sitting around the same fire with you, in order to make peace? Is it possible that our Great Chief and his Council could act so deceitfully toward us, their commissioners, as well as toward you?

"We think it not possible; but will quit arguments and come to facts.

"We assure you, that our Great Chief, General Washington, has strictly forbidden all hostilities against you, until the event of the proposed treaty at Sandusky shall be known. Here is the proclamation of his head warrior, General Wayne, to that effect.

"But our Great Chief is so sincere in his professions for peace, and so desirous of preventing everything which could obstruct the treaty and prolong the war, that, besides giving the above orders to his head warrior, he has informed the governors of the several States adjoining the Ohio, of the treaty proposed to be held at Sandusky, and desired them to unite their power with his to prevent any hostile attempts against the Indians north of

the Ohio, until the result of the treaty is made known. Those governors have accordingly issued their orders, strictly forbidding all such hostilities. The proclamations of the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia, we have here in our hands.

"If, after all these precautions of our Great Chief, any hostilities should be committed north of the Ohio, they must proceed from a few disorderly people, whom no considerations of justice or public good can restrain. But we hope and believe that none such can be found.

"After these explanations, we hope you will possess your minds in peace, relying on the good faith of the United States that no injury is to be apprehended by you during the treaty.

"We come now to the second point: whether we are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands and ours.

"We answer explicitly that we have that authority. Where this line should run, will be the great subject of discussion at the treaty between you and us; and we sincerely hope and expect that it may then be fixed to the satisfaction of both parties. Doubtless some concessions must be made on both sides. In all disputes and quarrels, both parties usually take some wrong steps; so that it is only by mutual concessions that a true reconciliation can be effected.

"We wish you to understand us clearly on this head; for we mean that all our proceedings should be made with candor. We therefore repeat and say explicitly that some concession will be necessary on your part, as well as on ours, in order to establish a just and permanent peace.

"After this great point of the boundary shall be fully considered at the treaty, we shall know what concessions and stipulations it will be proper to make on the part of the United States; and we trust they will be such as the world will pronounce reasonable and just.

"You told us you represent the nations of Indians who own the lands north of the Ohio, and whose chiefs are now assembled at the rapids of the Maumee.

"It would be a satisfaction to us to be informed of the names of those nations, and of the numbers of the chiefs of each so assembled.

"We once more turn our eyes to your representation of warlike appearances in your country; to give you complete satisfaction on this point, we now assure you as soon as our council at

this place is ended, we will send a messenger on horseback to the Great Chief of the United States, to desire him to renew and strongly repeat his orders to his head warrior, not only to abstain from all hostilities against you; but to remain quietly at his posts until the event of the treaty shall be known."

On the next day, according to the customary form, the council was convened again, and Brant replied:

"We are glad the Great Spirit has preserved us in peace, to meet together this day.

"Brothers of the United States: Yesterday you made an answer to the message delivered by us, from the great council at the Maumee, in the two particulars which we have stated to you.

"You may depend upon it we fully understood your speech. We shall take with us your belt and white strings, and repeat it to the chiefs at the great council at the Maumee.

"We have something further to say, though not much. We are small compared with our great chiefs at Maumee. But, though small, we have something to say.

"We think from your speech, that there is a prospect of us coming together. We, who are the nations at the westward, are of one mind; and, if we agree with you, as there is a prospect we shall, it will be binding and lasting.

"Our prospects are the fairer, because all our minds are one; you have not before spoken to us unitedly. Formerly, because you did not speak to us unitedly, what was done was not binding. Now you have an opportunity of speaking to us together, and we now take you by the hand, to lead you to the place appointed for the meeting."

Recollecting that he had not replied to the inquiry of the commissioners, in regard to the tribes assembled at the Maumee, Brant rose again and said:

"Brothers:—Yesterday you expressed a wish to be informed of the names of the nations, and numbers of chiefs assembled at the Maumee; but, as they were daily coming in, we cannot give you exact information. You will see for yourselves in a few days. When we left it the following nations were there, to wit: Five Nations, Wyandots, Shawanese, Delawares, Munsees, Miamies, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawattamies, Nantikokies, Mingoes, Cherokees,—the principal men of these were there."

The commissioners then replied:

"Brothers:—Our ears have been open to your speech. It is agreeable to us. We are ready to accompany you to the place of

treaty, where, under the direction of the Great Spirit, we hope for a speedy termination of the present war, on terms equally interesting and agreeable to all parties."

The great anxiety and distrust manifested by the Indians at this conference, arose from what they deemed the hostile movements of General Wayne, in violation, as they affirmed, of the armistice previously agreed upon. Wayne's head-quarters was then near Fort Washington, and he was engaged there in organizing and drilling his army, in forwarding supplies to Fort Jefferson, and in cutting military roads through the Indian country. These proceedings, altogether justifiable on the supposition that a resumption of hostilities was inevitable, were, at that juncture, ill-timed, and calculated to endanger the success of the negotiation and the lives of the commissioners. Under these circumstances the commissioners addressed, under date of July 10th, the following letter to the secretary of war, to ask that all warlike demonstrations should be suspended until the result of their mission should be ascertained:

"We think the coming of the deputation from the western Indians a fortunate event. It must have been their extreme jealousy of the United States that made them solicitous to speak with us in presence of the governor; and our answer being satisfactory, we believe it will have a better effect, than the same sentiments delivered under any other circumstances.

"Our promise to send a special messenger to the President, to desire fresh orders might be sent to General Wayne, *not only to abstain from hostilities, but to remain quietly at his posts*, was thought a very necessary measure; and it will be alike necessary that those orders be issued and strictly observed. In a former letter we intimated our opinion and wishes on this point. We now think, and our duty obliges us to declare it, that an exact observation of the laws of a truce is essential to the success of the treaty.

"The Indians have information, confirmed by repeated scouts, that General Wayne has cut and cleared a road, straight from Fort Washington into the Indian country, in a direction that would have missed Fort Jefferson, but that, meeting with a large swamp, it was of necessity, turned to that fort, and then continued six miles beyond it: that large quantities of provisions are accumulated at the forts, far exceeding the wants of the garrisons, and numerous herds of horses and cattle assembled beyond Fort Jefferson,

guarded by considerable bodies of troops. With these preparations for war in their neighborhood, for it is but three days' journey from thence to the Glaize, they say their minds cannot rest easy. The distance here mentioned, is from Captain Brant's information, and is, no doubt, exact. We suppose that twenty to twenty-five miles may be deemed a day's journey.

"The manner in which negotiations for peace are conducted by Indians, demands a particular consideration. On such occasions, not commissioners or a few counselors, but the body of the nations assemble. The negotiations will of course be delayed or interrupted, if the movements of their enemies call the warriors from the council to watch or check them. The measures pursued by Gen. Wayne appear to have produced this unhappy effect, and probably strengthened jealousies, before almost insurmountable. We know that those measures are viewed by the British as unfair and unwarrantable, and we cannot suppose that their opinion will be concealed from the Indians; if the latter have not previously entertained the same ideas.

"After this detail, it can hardly be necessary to express our opinions on the subject. It is obvious, that to ensure a quiet, uninterrupted treaty, the cattle, horses, and troops, beyond what are proper for the posts themselves, should not be advanced from the Ohio: any that are now in advance beyond Fort Jefferson, should certainly be immediately withdrawn; and we doubt whether that would be satisfactory, if their numbers, in any degree, correspond with the reports among the Indians at their council."

On the 14th of July the commissioners left Fort Erie, and arrived on their way to the council, on the 21st, at the mouth of the Detroit river. Their further advance was prevented by the British authorities at Detroit; and accordingly they took up their quarters at the house of Mathew Elliott, the famous renegade, then a subordinate agent in the British Indian department, under Alexander M'Kee. M'Kee was in attendance at the council, and the commissioners addressed him a note, borne by Elliott, to inform him of their arrival, and to ask when they could be received.

Elliott returned on the 29th, bringing with him a deputation of twenty chiefs from the council. On the next day a conference was held, and Sa-wagh-da-wunk, a chief of the Wyandots, presented to the commissioners in writing, the following explicit demand in regard to their powers and purposes:

"Brothers:—The deputies we sent you did not fully explain our

meaning. We have therefore sent others to meet you once more, that you may fully understand the great question we have to ask you, and to which we expect an explicit answer in writing.

"You are sent here by the United States, in order to make peace with us, the confederated Indians.

"You know very well that the boundary line which was run by the white people and us, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, was the river Ohio.

"If you seriously design to make a firm and lasting peace, you will immediately remove all your people from our side of the river.

"We therefore ask you, Are you fully authorized by the United States to continue and fix firmly on the Ohio river, as the boundary line between your people and ours?

"Done in general council, at the foot of the Miami rapids, on the 27th of July, 1793. In behalf of ourselves and the whole confederacy, and agreed to in full council."

This message was signed by the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies, Mingoes, Pottawattamies, Ottawas, Connoys, Chippewas, and Munsees. In the afternoon of the next day, the commissioners delivered the following answer to them in writing:

"Brothers:—You yesterday addressed us, mentioning a former deputation who met us at Niagara. At that meeting you said we did not come to a right understanding; that your deputies did not fully explain your meaning to us, nor we ours to them; that you desired we might rightly understand each other, and therefore thought it best that what you had to say should be put into writing. Then, handing us a paper, you said, 'here is the meaning of our hearts.' Brothers: That paper is directed to the commissioners of the United States, and speaks to them these words, viz: [Here was repeated the written address of the Indians.]

"Brothers, the deputies present: We have now repeated the words contained in the paper which you delivered to us; and those words are interpreted to you. We presume the interpretation agrees with your ideas of the contents of the paper. It is expressed to be signed by the Wyandots, Delawares, Miamies, Shawanese, Mingoes, Pottawattamies, Ottawas, Connoys, Chippewas, and Munsees, in behalf of themselves and the whole confederacy, and agreed to in full council.

"We are a little surprised at the suggestion, that, in the conference at Niagara, we did not come to a right understanding, and that your deputies did not fully explain your meaning. Those deputies appeared to be men of good understanding, and

when we saw them they were perfectly sober: in short, we never saw men in public council more attentive, or behave with more propriety. We could not, therefore, suppose they could mistake your meaning or ours. Certainly we were sufficiently explicit, for, in plain terms, we declared, 'that in order to establish a just and permanent peace, some concessions would be necessary, on your part as well as on ours.'

"These words, brothers, are a part of our speech to your deputies; and that speech, they assured us they fully understood. What those concessions should be, on both sides, and where the boundary line should be fixed, were proper subjects of discussion at the treaty, when we should speak face to face. This we are certain would be the best way to remove all difficulties. But your nations have adopted another mode, which, by keeping us at a distance, prevents our knowing each other, and keeps alive those jealousies which are the greatest obstacles to a peace. We are, therefore, desirous of meeting your nations in full council, without more delay. We have already waited in this province sixty days beyond the time appointed for opening the treaty.

"We have now expressed our opinion of the proper mode of settling the differences between you and the United States; but, as your nations have desired answers to certain questions, previous to our meeting, and we are disposed to act with frankness and sincerity, we will give you an explicit answer to the great question you have now proposed to us. But, before we do this, we think it necessary to look back to some former transactions, and we desire you patiently to hear us.

"We do know very well, that, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, *twenty-five years ago*, the river Ohio was agreed on as the boundary line between you and the white people of the British colonies; and, we all know that, about seven years after that boundary was fixed, a quarrel broke out between your father, the king of Great Britain, and the people of those colonies, which are now the United States. This quarrel was ended by the treaty of peace made with the king, about ten years ago, by which the Great Lakes, and the waters which unite them, were by him declared to be the boundaries of the United States.

"Peace having been thus made, between the king of Great Britain and the United States, it remained to make peace between them and the Indian nations, who had taken part with the king; for this purpose, commissioners were appointed, who sent messengers to all those Indian nations, *inviting them to come and*

make peace. The first treaty was held about nine years ago, at Fort Stanwix, with the Six Nations, which has stood firm and unviolated to this day. The next treaty was made about ninety days after, at Fort M'Intosh, with the Half-King of the Wyandots, Captain Pipe, and other chiefs, in behalf of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, and Chippewa nations.

"Afterward, treaties were made with divers Indian nations south of the Ohio river; and the next treaty was made with Ka-kia-pilathy, here present, and other Shawanee chiefs, in behalf of the Shawanee nation, at the mouth of the Great Miami, which runs into the Ohio.

"The commissioners who conducted the treaties in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the Great Council of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of large tracts of land thereby ceded, and a great number of people removed from other parts of the United States, and settled upon them: also many families of your ancient fathers, the French, came over the great waters, and settled upon a part of the same lands.*

"After some time, it appeared that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Miami; therefore, the Great Council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their commissioner, with full powers, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, regulating trade, and settling boundaries, between the Indian nations in the northern department and the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council fire which he kindled at the falls of the Muskingum.

"While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out; so he kindled a council fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians, of different nations, attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix; and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh; some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, and Sacs were also parties to the treaty of Fort Harmar.

"All these treaties we have here with us. We have, also, the speeches of many chiefs who attended them, and who voluntarily declared their satisfaction with the terms of the treaties.

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* The French settlement at Gallipolis.

"After making all these treaties, and after hearing the chiefs express freely their satisfaction with them, the United States expected to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold the lands ceded by them. Accordingly large tracts have been sold and settled, as before mentioned. And now, brothers, we answer explicitly, that, for the reasons here stated to you, *it is impossible to make the river Ohio the boundary between your people and the people of the United States.*

"You are men of understanding, and if you consider the customs of white people, the great expenses which attend their settling in a new country, the nature of their improvements, in building houses and barns, and clearing and fencing their lands, how valuable the lands are thus rendered, and thence how dear they are to them, you will see that it is now impracticable to remove our people from the northern side of the Ohio. Your brothers, the English, know the nature of white people, and they know that, under the circumstances which we have mentioned, the United States cannot make the Ohio the boundary between you and us.

"You seem to consider all the lands in dispute on your side of the Ohio, as claimed by the United States; but suffer us to remind you that a large tract was sold by the Wyandot and Delaware nations to the State of Pennsylvania. This tract lies east of a line drawn from the mouth of Beaver creek, at the Ohio, due north to Lake Erie. This line is the western boundary of Pennsylvania, as claimed under the charter given by the king of England to your ancient friend, William Penn; of this sale made by the Wyandot and Delaware nations, to the State of Pennsylvania, we have never heard any complaint.

"We are, on this occasion, obliged to make a long speech. We again desire you to hear us patiently. The business is of the highest importance, and a great many words are necessary fully to explain it; for we desire you may perfectly understand us, and there is no danger of your forgetting what we say, because we will give you our speech in writing.

"We have explicitly declared to you, that we cannot now make the Ohio river the boundary between us. This agrees with our speech to your deputies at Niagara, 'that in order to establish a just and permanent peace, some concessions would be necessary on your part, as well as on ours.'

"The concessions which we think necessary on your part are, that you yield up, and finally relinquish to the United States,

some of the lands on your side of the river Ohio. The United States wish to have confirmed *all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar; and, also, a small tract of land at the Rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clark, for the use of himself and warriors.* And, in consideration thereof, the United States *would give such a large sum, in money or goods, as was never given, at one time, for any quantity of Indian lands, since the white people first set their foot on this island.* And because those lands did, every year, furnish you with skins and furs, with which you bought clothing and other necessaries, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies; and, therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will, every year, deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best suited to the wants of yourselves, your women and children.

"If all the lands, before mentioned, cannot be delivered up to the United States, then we shall desire to treat and agree with you on a new boundary line; and for the quantity of land you relinquish to us within that new boundary line we shall stipulate a generous compensation, not only for a large sum to be paid at once, but for a yearly rent, for the benefit of yourselves and your children forever.

"Here you see one concession, which we are willing to make on the part of the United States. Now, listen to another, of a claim which probably has more disturbed your minds than any other whatever.

"*The commissioners of the United States have formerly set up a claim to your whole country, southward of the Great Lakes, as the property of the United States;* grounding this claim on the treaty of peace with your father, the king of Great Britain, who declared, as we have before mentioned, the middle of those lakes, and the waters which unite them, to be the boundaries of the United States.

"We are determined that our whole conduct shall be marked with openness and sincerity. We therefore frankly tell you, that we think those commissioners put an erroneous construction on that part of our treaty with the king. As he had not purchased the country of you, of course he could not give it away. He only relinquished to the United States his claim to it. That claim was founded on a right acquired by treaty with other white nations, to exclude them from purchasing or settling in any part of your country; and it is this right which the king granted to the United States. Before that grant, the king alone had a right to

purchase of the Indian nations, any of the lands between the Great Lakes, the Ohio and the Mississippi, excepting the part within the charter boundary of Pennsylvania; and the king, by the treaty of peace, having granted this right to the United States, they alone have now the right of purchasing; so that now neither the king nor any of his people, have any right to interfere with the United States, in respect to any part of those lands. All your brothers, the English, know this to be true; and it agrees with the declarations of Lord Dorchester, to your deputies, two years ago at Quebec.

"We now concede this great point. We, by the express authority of the President of the United States, acknowledge the property, or right of soil, of the great country above described, to be in the Indian nations, so long as they desire to occupy the same. We only claim particular tracts in it, as before mentioned, and the general right granted by the king, as above stated, and which is well known to the English and Americans, and called the right of pre-emption, or the right of purchasing of the Indian nations disposed to sell their lands, to the exclusion of all other white people whatever.

"We have now opened our hearts to you. We are happy in having an opportunity of doing it; though we should have been more happy to have done it in the full council of your nations. We expect soon to have this satisfaction, and that your next deputation will take us by the hand, and lead us to the treaty. When we meet, and converse with each other freely, we may easily remove any difficulties which may come in the way of peace."

On the next day, Sa-wagh-da-wunk replied:

"Brothers:—We are all brothers you see here now.

"It is now three years since you desired to speak with us. We heard you yesterday, and understood you well—perfectly well. We have a few words to say to you.

"You mentioned the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Beaver creek,* and other places. Those treaties were not complete. There were but a few chiefs who treated with you. You have not bought our lands. They belong to us. You tried to draw off some of us.

"Many years ago, we all know that the Ohio was made the boundary. It was settled by Sir William Johnson. This side is ours. We look upon it as our property.

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*Fort McIntosh.

"You mentioned General Washington. He and you know you have your houses and your people on our land. You say you cannot move them off: and we cannot give up our land.

"We are sorry we cannot come to an agreement. The line has been fixed long ago.

"We don't say much. There has been much mischief on both sides. We came here upon peace, and thought you did the same. We shall talk to our head warriors. You may return whence you came, and tell Washington."

The council here breaking up, Captain Elliott went to the Shawanese chief Ka-kia-pilathy, and told him that the last part of the speech was wrong. The chief came back and said it was wrong. Girty said that he had interpreted truly what the Wyandot chief spoke.

An explanation took place; and Girty added as follows: "Brothers:—Instead of going home, we wish you to remain here for an answer from us. We have your speech in our breasts, and shall consult our head warriors."*

On the 16th of August, the commissioners received from two Wyandot runners, the following final answer from the council to their message of the 31st of July:

"*To the Commissioners of the United States.*—Brothers: We have received your speech, dated the 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different nations. We have been long in sending you an answer, because of the great importance of the subject. But we now answer it fully; having given it all the consideration in our power.

"You tell us that, after you had made peace with the king, our father, about ten years ago, 'it remained to make peace between the United States and the Indian nations, who had taken part with the king. For this purpose commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those Indian nations, inviting them to come and make peace;' and after reciting the periods at which you say treaties were held, at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh and Miami, all which treaties, according to your own acknowledgment, were for the sole purpose of making peace, you then say, 'Brothers, the commissioners who conducted these treaties, in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the general council of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory

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*American State Papers, v. 349.

to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of the lands thereby ceded.'

"This is telling us plainly, what we always understood to be the case, and it agrees with the declarations of those few who attended those treaties, viz: That they went to your commissioners to make peace; but, through fear, were obliged to sign any paper that was laid before them; and it has since appeared that deeds of cession were signed by them, instead of treaties of peace.

"You then say, 'after some time it appears that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaties of Forts McIntosh and Miami, therefore the council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their commissioner, with full power, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy relating to trade, and settling boundaries, between the Indian nations in the northern department and the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council fire he kindled at the falls of the Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out; so he kindled a council fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians, of different nations, attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix; and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh; some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, and Sacs, were also parties to the treaty of Fort Harmar.' Now, brothers, these are your words; and it is necessary for us to make a short reply to them.

"A general council of all the Indian confederacy was held, as you well know, in the fall of the year 1788, at this place; and that general council was invited by your commissioner, Governor St. Clair, to meet him for the purpose of holding a treaty, with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh.

"We are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed on that occasion, between those deputed by the confederated Indians, and Governor St. Clair, the commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your said commissioner, in the beginning of the year 1789, and after having been informed by the general council of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands would be considered as valid or binding unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless, persisted in collecting together a few chiefs of two or three nations only, and with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in

which they were no more interested, than as a branch of the general confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or concession whatever.

"How then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold these lands, when your commissioner was informed, long before he had the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of a general council was absolutely necessary to convey any part of these lands to the United States. The part of these lands which the United States now wish us to relinquish, and which you say are settled, have been sold by the United States since that time.

"You say 'the United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a small tract at the rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clark, for the use of himself and his warriors. And, in consideration thereof, the United States would give such a large sum of money or goods, as was never given, at any one time, for any quantity of Indian lands, since the white people first set their feet on this island. And, because these lands did every year furnish you with skins and furs, with which you bought clothing and other necessaries, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies. And, therefore, beside the great sum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best fitted to the wants of yourselves, your women, and children.'

"Money to us is of no value; and to most of us unknown; and, as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children, we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed, and peace thereby obtained.

"We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. Divide, therefore, this large sum of money, which you have offered to us, among these people. Give to each, also, a proportion of what you say you would give to us, annually, over and above this very large sum of money; and, as we are persuaded, they would most readily accept of it, in lieu of the land you sold them. If you add, also, the great sums you must expend in raising and paying armies, with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purpose of repaying these settlers for all their labor and their improvements.

"You have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us who have only been defending

our just rights against your invasions. We want peace. Restore to us our country, and we shall be enemies no longer.

"You make one concession to us by offering us your money; and another by having agreed to do us justice, after having long and injuriously withheld it; we mean in the acknowledgment you now have made, that the king of England never did, nor never had a right to give you our country, by the treaty of peace. And you want to make this act of common justice a great part of your concessions; and seem to expect that, because you have at last acknowledged our independence, we should, for such a favor, surrender to you our country.

"You have talked, also, a great deal about pre-emption, and your exclusive right to purchase Indian lands, as ceded to you by the king, at the treaty of peace.

"We never made any agreement with the king, nor with any other nation, that we would give to *either*, the exclusive right of purchasing our lands; and we declare to you, that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands, whenever and to whomsoever we please. If the white people, as you say, made a treaty that none of them but the king should purchase of us, and that he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you and him, and not us; we have never parted with such a power.

"At our general council, held at the Glaize last fall, we agreed to meet commissioners from the United States, for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio, and we determined not to meet you, until you gave us satisfaction on that point; that is the reason we have never met.

"We desire you to consider, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back and review the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no further; because the country behind hardly affords food for its inhabitants; and we have, therefore, resolved to leave our bones in this small space to which we are now confined.

"We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary. This is the great point which we hoped would have been explained before you left your homes, as our message, last fall, was principally directed to obtain that information.

"Done in general council, at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, the 13th day of August, 1793."

The commissioners immediately sent the following answer to the council.

"*To the chiefs and warriors of the Indian nations, assembled at the foot of the Maumee rapids.*

"Brothers: We have just received your answer, dated the 13th instant, to our speech of the 31st of last month, which we delivered to your deputies at this place. You say it was interpreted to all your nations; and we presume it was well understood. We therein explicitly declared to you that it was now impossible to make the river Ohio the boundary between your lands and the lands of the United States; your answer amounts to a declaration that you will agree to no other boundary than the Ohio. The negotiation is therefore at an end. We sincerely regret that peace is not the result, but knowing the upright and liberal views of the United States, which, so far as you gave us an opportunity, we have explained to you; we trust that impartial judges will not attribute the continuance of the war to them.

"Done at Captain Elliott's, at the mouth of Detroit river, on the 16th day of August, 1793."

Thus closed the efforts of the government to negotiate with the Indians, and there remained of necessity no other mode of settling the question at issue, than the decision of war. Liberal terms were indeed offered to them, but the boundary of the Ohio was the only condition on which the confederate tribes would lay down their arms. Among the rude statesmen of the wilderness, there was exhibited here as pure patriotism and as lofty devotion to the good of their race, as ever won applause among civilized men. The white men had, ever since they came into the country, been encroaching upon their lands. They had long before occupied all the regions beyond the mountains. They had crushed the confederacy which the far-sighted Pontiac had formed to protect his race, thirty years before. They had taken possession of the common hunting grounds of all the tribes, on the faith of treaties they did not acknowledge. They were now laying out settlements and building forts in the heart of the country, to which all the tribes had been driven, and which now was all they could call their own. And now they asked that it should be guaranteed to them, that the boundary which they had so long asked for should be drawn, and a final end should be made of the continual aggressions of the whites, or, if not, they solemnly determined to stake their all

against fearful odds, in defense of their homes, their country and the inheritance of their children. Nothing could be more patriotic than the position they occupied, and nothing could be more noble than the declarations of their great council.

But while it was noble and patriotic thus to stake their very existence on the issue of the contest for their rights, a prudent policy would have dictated to them the necessity of acceding to the very liberal terms offered by the government. But there were two reasons for the decision they made. They had a very inadequate idea of the strength and resources of the white men, and the victories they had gained were to them the presage of success. Aside from this, they had hope of British, and even of Spanish aid in their contest with the Americans. The proof of this is to be found in the declarations of the Indians themselves, and in the recorded speeches and messages of the British and Spanish emissaries.

"For several years," said Brant, "we were engaged in getting a confederacy formed, and the unanimity occasioned by these endeavors among our western brethren, enabled them to defeat two American armies. The war continued without our brothers, the English, giving any assistance, except a little ammunition; and they seeming to desire that a peace might be concluded, we tried to bring it about at a time that the United States desired it very much, so that they sent commissioners from among their first people, to endeavor to make peace with the hostile Indians.

"We assembled also for that purpose at the Miami (Maumee) river, in the summer of 1793, intending to act as mediators in bringing about an honorable peace; and if that could not be obtained, we resolved to join our western brethren in trying the fortune of war. But to our surprise, when upon the point of entering upon a treaty with the commissioners, we found that it was opposed by those acting under the British government, and hopes of further assistance were given to our western brethren, to encourage them to insist on the Ohio as a boundary between them and the United States."*

Through Elliott, McKee and Butler, this confidence in English aid was thus excited among the savages, before their final refusal of the generous terms offered by Washington; and soon after, the higher functionaries endorsed the representations of their subordi-

* Stone, ii., 358.

nates. In February, 1794, Lord Dorchester, addressing the deputies from the council of 1793, said:

"Children:—I was in expectation of hearing from the people of the United States what was required by them; I hoped that I should have been able to bring you together, and make you friends.

"I have waited long, and listened with great attention, but have not heard one word from them.

"I flattered myself with the hope that the line proposed in the year eighty-three, to separate us from the United States, *which was immediately broken by themselves as soon as the peace was signed*, would have been mended, or a new one drawn, in an amicable manner. Here, also, I have been disappointed.

"Since my return, I find no appearance of a line remains; and from the manner in which the people of the United States rush on, and act, and talk on this side; and from what I learn of their conduct toward the sea, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if so, a line must then be drawn by the warriors.

"You talk of selling your lands to the State of New York. I have told you that there is no line between them and us. I shall acknowledge no lands to be theirs which have been encroached on by them since the year 1783. They then broke the peace; as they kept it not on their part, it doth not bind on ours.

"They then destroyed their right of pre-emption. Therefore, all their approaches toward us since that time, and all the purchases made by them, I consider as an infringement on the king's rights. And when a line is drawn between us, be it in peace or war, they must lose all their improvements and houses on our side of it. Those people must all be gone who do not obtain leave to become the king's subjects. What belongs to the Indians will, of course, be secured and confirmed to them.

"What further can I say to you? You are witnesses that on our parts we have acted in the most peaceable manner, and borne the language and conduct of the people of the United States with patience. But I believe our patience is almost exhausted."

And when, during the summer of 1794, there was a contest between the United States and the Six Nations, relative to the erection of a fort by the former at Presqu' Isle, on Lake Erie, Brant, in writing to the British authorities, on the 19th of July, says:

"In regard to the Presqu' Isle business, should we not get an answer at the time limited, it is our business to push those fellows

hard, and therefore it is my intention to form my camp at Pointe Appineau; and I would esteem it a favor if his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor would lend me four or five batteaux. Should it so turn out, and should those fellows not go off, and O'Biel continue in the same opinion, an expedition against those Yankees must of consequence take place.

"His Excellency has been so good as to furnish us with a hundred weight of powder, and ball in proportion, which is now at Fort Erie; but in the event of an attack upon Le Bœuf people, I could wish, if consistent, that his Excellency would order a like quantity in addition to be at Fort Erie, in order to be in readiness; likewise I would hope for a little assistance in provision."

But the conduct of England, in sending, as she did, Governor Simcoe, in the month of April, 1794, to the rapids of the Maumee, there, within the acknowledged territories of the United States, to erect a fort, was the strongest assurance that could have been given to the north-western tribes, that she would espouse their quarrel. In May of 1794, a messenger from the Mississippi provinces of Spain also appeared in the north-west, offering assistance.*

"Children!" he said, "you see me on my feet, grasping the tomahawk to strike them. We will strike together. I do not desire you to go before me, in the front, but to follow me.

"I present you with a war-pipe, which has been sent in all our names to the Musquakies, and all those nations who live toward the setting sun, to get upon their feet and take hold of our tomahawk: and as soon as they smoked it, they sent it back with a promise to get immediately on their feet, and join us, and strike this enemy.

"You hear what these distant nations have said to us, so that we have nothing further to do but to put our designs into immediate execution, and to forward this pipe to the three warlike nations who have so long been struggling for their country, and who now sit at the Glaize. Tell them to smoke this pipe, and forward it to all the lake Indians and their northern brethren. Then nothing will be wanting to complete our general union from the rising to the setting of the sun, and all nations will be ready to add strength to the blow we are going to make."†

The explanation of the conduct of England is not difficult. In

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* American State Papers, v. 503.

† Stone's Brant, ii., 375.

March, 1793, Great Britain and Russia had united for the purpose of cutting off all the commerce of revolutionary France, in the hope thereby of conquering her. In June, the court of St. James, in accordance with this agreement, issued orders—

"To stop and detain all vessels loaded wholly or in part with *corn*, *flour*, or *meal*, bound to any port in France, or any port occupied by the armies of France, and to send them to such ports as should be most convenient, in order that such corn, meal, or flour might be purchased on behalf of his majesty's government, and the ships to be released after such purchase, and after a due allowance for freight; or that the masters of such ships, on giving due security, to be approved by the court of admiralty, be permitted to dispose of their cargoes of corn, meal, or flour, in the ports of any country in amity with his majesty."

Against this proceeding the United States protested, while England justified the measure as a very mild application of international law. On both sides great irritation prevailed, and during this period it was that the various acts of Governor Simcoe and others took place.

As for Spain, she had long been fearful and jealous of the western colonists; she had done all in her power to sow dissensions between the Americans and the southern Indians, and now hoped to cripple her Anglo-Saxon antagonist by movements at the north.

But the Americans were not disposed to yield even to this "Hydra" of British, Spanish, and Indian hostility, as General Wayne characterized it. On the 16th of August, the commissioners received the final answer of the council. On the 17th they left the mouth of the Detroit river, and arrived on the 23d at Fort Erie, where they immediately dispatched messengers to General Wayne, to inform him of the issue of the negotiation. Wayne had spent the winter of 1792 at Legionville, in collecting and organizing his army. On the 30th of April, 1793, the army moved down the river, and encamped near Fort Washington, at a point called by the soldiers Hobson's Choice, because from the extreme high water they were prevented from landing elsewhere. Here Wayne was engaged, during the negotiations for peace, in drilling his soldiers in cutting roads and collecting supplies in the Indian country, and in making preparations for an immediate campaign in case that the efforts of the commissioners to obtain peace should be unsuccessful.

On the 5th of October, he addressed the following letter to the secretary of war:

"Agreeably to the authority vested in me by your letter of the 17th of May, 1793, I have used every means in my power to bring forward the mounted volunteers from Kentucky, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence with his excellency Governor Shelby and Major-General Scott upon this interesting occasion. I have even adopted their own proposition, by ordering a draft of militia. Add to this, that we have a considerable number of officers and men sick and debilitated, from fevers and other disorders, incident to all armies. But this is not all; we have recently been visited by a malady called the influenza, which has pervaded the whole line in a most alarming and rapid degree. Fortunately, this complaint has not been fatal except in a few instances, and I have now the pleasure of informing you, that we are generally recovered, or in a fair way; but our effective force will be much reduced. After leaving the necessary garrisons at the several posts, which will generally be composed of the sick and invalids, I shall not be able to advance beyond Fort Jefferson with more than twenty-six hundred regular effectives, officers included. What auxiliary force we shall have is yet to be determined; at present their numbers are only thirty-six guides and spies, and three hundred and sixty mounted volunteers.

"This is not a pleasant picture, but something must be done immediately, to save the frontiers from impending savage fury.

"I will therefore advance to-morrow with the force I have, in order to gain a strong position about six miles in front of Fort Jefferson, so as to keep the enemy in check (by exciting a jealousy and apprehension for the safety of their own women and children,) until some favorable circumstance or opportunity may present to strike with effect.

"The present apparent tranquillity on the frontiers, and at the head of the line, is a convincing proof to me, that the enemy are collected or collecting in force, to oppose the legion, either on its march, or in some unfavorable position for the cavalry to act in. Disappoint them in this favorite plan or maneuver, they may probably be tempted to attack our lines. In this case I trust they will not have much reason to triumph from the encounter.

"They cannot continue long embodied for want of provision, and at their breaking up they will most certainly make some desperate effort upon some quarter or other; should the mounted volunteers advance in force, we might yet compel those haughty savages to sue for peace, before the next opening of the leaves. Be that as it may, I pray you not to permit present appearances to cause too much anxiety either in the mind of the president, or yourself, on

account of this army. Knowing the critical situation of our infant nation, and feeling for the honor and reputation of government, (which I will support with my latest breath,) you may rest assured that I will not commit the legion unnecessarily; and unless more powerfully supported than I at present have reason to expect, I will content myself by taking a strong position in advance of Jefferson, and by exerting every power, endeavor to protect the frontiers, and to secure the posts and army during the winter, or until I am honored with your further orders.

On the 23d of October, Wayne wrote again to the Secretary of War, from his camp on the south-west branch of the Great Miami, six miles beyond Fort Jefferson.

"I have the honor to inform you that the legion took up its line of march from Hobson's Choice, on the 7th inst., and arrived at this place in perfect order, and without a single accident, at ten o'clock on the morning of the 13th, when I found myself arrested for want of provisions. Notwithstanding this defect, I do not despair of supporting the troops in our present position, or rather at a place called Still Water, at an intermediate distance between the field of St. Clair's battle and Fort Jefferson. The safety of the western frontiers, the reputation of the legion, the dignity and interest of the nation, all forbid a retrograde maneuver, or giving up one inch of ground we now possess, until the enemy are compelled to sue for peace. The greatest difficulty which at present presents itself, is that of furnishing a sufficient escort to secure our convoys of provisions and other supplies from insult and disaster, and at the same time to retain a sufficient force in camp to sustain and repel the attacks of the enemy, who appear to be desperate and determined. We have recently experienced a little check to our convoys, which may probably be exaggerated into something serious by the tongue of fame, before this reaches you. The following is, however, the fact:

"Lieutenant Lowry, of the second sub-legion, and Ensign Boyd, of the first, with a command consisting of ninety non-commissioned officers and privates, having in charge twenty wagons, belonging to the quartermaster-general's department, loaded with grain, and one of the contractor's wagons, loaded with stores, were attacked early on the morning of the 17th instant, about seven miles advanced of Fort St. Clair, by a party of Indians. Those gallant young gentlemen, (who promised, at a future day, to be ornaments to their profession,) together with thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates, bravely fell, after an obstinate resistance against

superior numbers, being abandoned by the greater part of the escort, upon the first discharge. The savages killed or carried off about seventy horses, leaving the wagons and stores standing in the road, which have all been brought to this camp, without any other loss or damage, except some trifling articles.

"One company of light infantry, and one troop of dragoons, have been detached this morning, to reinforce four other companies of infantry commanded by Colonel Hamtramck, as an escort to the quartermaster-general's and contractor's wagons and pack-horses. I have this moment received the return of the mounted volunteers, consisting of about one thousand men, from Kentucky, under General Scott, recently arrived and encamped in the vicinity of Fort Jefferson. I shall immediately order a strong detachment of those volunteers, as a further reinforcement to Colonel Hamtramck. I fear the season is too far advanced to derive that essential service which, otherwise, might be expected from them. Whether they can act with effect or not, is yet eventual. It is reported that the Indians at Au Glaize have sent their women and children into some secret recess or recesses, from their towns, and that the whole of the warriors are collected or collecting in force. The savages, however, cannot continue long embodied, for want of provisions. On the contrary, we have, by great exertions, secured in this camp seventy thousand rations. I expect one hundred and twenty thousand, in addition, by the return of the present convoy, unless they meet with a disaster—a thing that can scarcely happen, should my orders be duly executed, which I have no cause to doubt, from the character, vigilance, and experience of the commanding officer, Colonel Hamtramck. A great number of men, as well as officers, have been left sick and debilitated at the respective garrisons, from a malady called the influenza. Among others, General Wilkinson has been dangerously ill; he is now at Fort Jefferson, and on the recovery. I hope he will soon be sufficiently restored to take his command in the legion."

The approach of winter, which was regarded as an unfavorable season for carrying on active hostilities against the Indians, induced General Wayne to dismiss the Kentucky militia, and to place the regular troops in winter quarters. On a tributary of the southwest branch of the Great Miami river he erected Fort Greenville, near the site of the present town of Greenville, Ohio, where he established his head-quarters.

This being done on the 23d or 24th of December, a detachment was sent forward to take possession of the field of St. Clair's defeat.

They arrived upon the spot upon Christmas day. "Six hundred skulls," says one present, "were gathered up and buried; when we went to lay down in our tents at night, we had to scrape the bones together and carry them out, to make our beds."* Here was built Fort Recovery, which was properly garrisoned, and placed under the charge of Captain Alexander Gibson. During the early months of 1794, Wayne was steadily engaged in preparing everything for a sure blow when the time came, and by means of Captain Gibson and his various spies, kept himself informed of the plans and movements of the savages. All his information showed the faith in British assistance which still animated the doomed race of red men; thus, two Pottawattamies, taken by Captain Gibson, June 5th, in reply to various questions, answered as follows:

"When did your nation receive the invitation from the British to join them, and go to war with the Americans?

"On the first of the last moon; the message was sent by three chiefs, a Delaware, a Shawanee, and a Miami.

"What was the message brought by those Indian chiefs, and what number of British troops were at Roche de Bout, (foot of rapids of the Maumee,) on the 1st of May?

"That the British sent them to invite the Pottawattamies to go to war against the United States; that they, the British, were then at Roche de Bout, on their way to war against the Americans; that the number of British troops then there was about four hundred, with two pieces of artillery, exclusive of the Detroit militia, and had made a fortification around Colonel McKee's house and stores at that place, in which they had deposited all their stores of ammunition, arms, clothing and provision with which they promised to supply all the hostile Indians in abundance, provided they would join and go with them to war.

"What tribes of Indians, and what were their numbers, at Roche de Bout on the 1st of May?

"The Chippewas, Wyandots, Shawanese, Tawas, Delawares, and Miamies. There were then collected about one thousand warriors, and were daily coming in and collecting from all those nations.

"What number of warriors do you suppose actually collected at that place at this time, and what number of British troops and militia have promised to join the Indians to fight this army?

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*American Pioneer, i. 294. Letter of George Will. Dillon's Indiana, i. 360.

"By the latest and best information, and from our own knowledge of the number of warriors belonging to those nations, there cannot be less than two thousand warriors now assembled; and were the Pottawattamies to join, agreeably to invitation, the whole would amount to upward of three thousand hostile Indians. But we do not think that more than fifty of the Pottawattamies will go to war. The British troops and militia that will join the Indians to go to war against the Americans, will amount to fifteen hundred, agreeably to the promise of Governor Simcoe.

"At what time and at what place do the British and Indians mean to advance against this army?

"About the last of this moon, or the beginning of the next, they intend to attack the legion of this place. Governor Simcoe, the great man who lives at or near Niagara, sent for the Pottawattamies, and promised them arms, ammunition, provisions, and clothing, and everything they wanted, on condition that they would join him, and go to war against the Americans; and that he would command the whole.

"He sent us the same message last winter; and again on the first of the last moon, from Roche de Bout; he also said he was much obliged to us for our past services, and that he would now help us to fight, and render us all the services in his power against the Americans.

"All the speeches that we have received from him, were as red as blood; all the wampum and feathers were painted red; the war pipes and hatchets were red, and even the tobacco was painted red.

"We received four different invitations from Governor Simcoe, inviting the Pottawattamies to join in the war; the last was on the first of the last moon, when he promised to join us with fifteen hundred of his warriors, as before mentioned. But we wished for peace; except a few of our foolish young men.

"Examined, and carefully reduced to writing, at Greenville, this 7th of June, 1794.*

A couple of Shawanese warriors, captured June 22d, were less sanguine as to their white allies, but still say that which proves the dependence of Indian action upon English promises. As their evidence gives some *data* relative to the Indian forces, as well as the temper of the western tribes we extract nearly the whole of it.

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*American State Papers, v. 489.

"They say that they left Grand Glaize five moons since, *i. e.* about the time that the Indians sent in to Wayne a flag, with propositions of peace.

"That they belonged to a party of twenty, who have been hunting all this spring on the waters of the Wabash, nearly opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river, and were on their return when taken.

"That, on their way in, they met with a party consisting of four Indians, *i. e.* three Delawares and one Pottawattamie, who were then on their way to the Big-bone Lick, to steal horses; that this party informed them that all the Indians on White river were sent for to come immediately to Grand Glaize, where the warriors of several nations were now assembled; that the chiefs are yet in council and would not let their warriors go out; that they could not depend upon the British for effectual support; that they were always setting the Indians on, like dogs after game, pressing them to go to war and kill the Americans, but did not help them; that unless the British would turn out and help them, they were determined to make peace; that they would not be any longer amused by promises only.

"That the Shawanese have three hundred and eighty warriors at and in the vicinity of Grand Glaize, and generally can, and do, bring into action about three hundred.

"Their great men or sachems, are the Black Wolf and Kakia-pi-la-thy or Tame Hawk; their principal warriors are Blue Jacket and Captain Johnny; that the Delawares have in and about Grand Glaize, four hundred and eighty warriors; that they actually had four hundred in the action against St. Clair; that the Miamies are at present but about one hundred warriors, who live near Grand Glaize, several of them having removed toward Post Vincennes and by the Mississippi; that the Wyandots never send into action more than about one hundred and fifty warriors; they live along the lake, towards Sandusky; they don't know the number of the Pottawattamies, nor the number of the other Indians or nations that would actually join in war, should they determine to continue it; that the Chippewas would be the most numerous, and were generally on their way to the council; but, that war or peace depended on the conduct of the British; if they would help them, it would probably be war, but if they would not, it would be peace; that the Indians would no longer be set on like dogs, by themselves, unless the British would help them to fight; that the British were at the foot of the rapids, and had fortified at Roche de Bout; that

there was a great number of British soldiers at that place; that they told the Indians they were now come to help them to fight; and if the Indians would generally turn out and join them, they would advance and fight the American army; that Blue Jacket had been sent by the British to the Chippewas and northern Indians, a considerable time since, to invite them, and bring them to Roche de Bout, there to join the British and other hostile Indians, in order to go to war."

And the conduct of the Indians demonstrated the truth of these representations. On the 30th of June, an escort of ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons, under the command of Major McMahon, was attacked under the walls of Fort Recovery, by a force of more than one thousand warriors, led by the celebrated Miami chief, Little Turtle.

"They were soon repulsed," says Wayne in his letter to the Secretary of War, "with great slaughter, but immediately rallied, and reiterated the attack, keeping up a very heavy and constant fire, at a more respectable distance, for the remainder of the day; which was answered with spirit and effect by the garrison, and that part of Major McMahon's command that had regained the post.

"The savages were employed during the night, which was dark and foggy, in carrying off their dead by torch-light, which occasionally drew a fire from the garrison. They, nevertheless, succeeded so well that there were but eight or ten bodies left on the field, and those close under the fire from the fort.

"The enemy renewed the attack on the next morning, but were ultimately compelled to retreat, with loss and disgrace, from the very field where they had, upon a former occasion, been proudly victorious.

"It would appear that the real object of the enemy was to have carried that post by a *coup de main*, for they could not possibly have received intelligence of the escort under Major McMahon, whose presence there was an accidental, perhaps a fortunate event. By every information, as well as from the extent of their encampments, which were perfectly square and regular, and their line of march, in seventeen columns, forming a wide and extended front, their numbers could not have been less than fifteen hundred to two thousand warriors. It would also appear that they were rather in want of provisions, as they killed and ate a number of pack-horses in their encampment, on the evening after the assault; also, at their next encampment, on their retreat, which was but seven miles from Fort Recovery.

"I had detached three small parties of Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians, a few days previous to this affair, toward Grand Glaize, in order to obtain provisions, and for the purpose of gaining intelligence. One of these parties fell in with a large body of Indians, at the place called Girty's town, on Harmar's route, apparently bending their course toward Chillicothe, near the Great Miami. This party returned on the 28th, with the further information that there was a great number of white men with the Indians.

"The other two parties got much scattered in following the trails of the hostile Indians, at some distance in their rear, and were also in with them when the assault commenced on Fort Recovery. These Indians all insist that there was a considerable number of armed white men in the rear, whom they frequently heard talking in our language, and encouraging the savages to persevere in the assault; that their faces were generally blacked, except three British officers, who were dressed in scarlet, and appeared to be men of great distinction, from being surrounded by a large body of white men and Indians, who were very attentive to them. These kept a distance in the rear of those that were engaged.

"Another strong corroborating fact that there were British, or British militia, in the assault, is, that a number of ounce balls and buck shot were lodged in the block-houses and stockades of the fort. Some were delivered at so great a distance as not to penetrate, and were picked up at the foot of the stockades.

"It would also appear that the British and savages expected to find the artillery that were lost on the 4th of November, 1791, and hid by the Indians in the beds of old fallen timber, or logs, which they turned over, and laid the cannon in, and then turned the logs back into their former berth. It was in this artful manner that we generally found them deposited. The hostile Indians turned over a great number of logs during the assault, in search of those cannon, and other plunder, which they had probably hid in this manner, after the action of the 4th of November, 1791.

"I, therefore, have reason to believe that the British and Indians depended much upon this artillery to assist in the reduction of that post; fortunately, they served in its defense."

On the 26th of July, Scott, with some sixteen hundred mounted men from Kentucky, joined Wayne at Greenville, and on the 28th the legion moved forward. On the 8th of August, the army was near the junction of Au Glaize and Maumee, at Grand Glaize, and proceeded at once to build Fort Defiance, where the rivers

meet.* The Indians had hastily abandoned their towns upon hearing of the approach of the army, from a runaway member of the quarter-master's corps, who was afterward taken at Pittsburgh.

It had been Wayne's plan to reach the head-quarters of the savages, Grand Glaize, undiscovered; and in order to do this, he had caused two roads to be cut, one toward the foot of the rapids, (Roche de Bout,) the other to the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, while he pressed forward between the two; and this stratagem he thinks would have been successful but for the deserter referred to.

While engaged upon Fort Defiance, the American commander received full and accurate accounts of the Indians, and the aid they would receive from the volunteers of Detroit and elsewhere; he learned the nature of the ground, and the circumstances favorable and unfavorable; and upon the whole, considering the spirit of his troops, officers and men, regulars and volunteers, he determined to march forward and settle matters at once. But yet, true to the last, to the spirit of compromise and peace, so forcibly taught by Washington, on the 13th of August, he sent Christopher Miller, who had been naturalized among the Shawanese, and had been taken prisoner on the 11th, by Wayne's spies, as a special messenger, offering terms of friendship in these words:

"*To the Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies, and Wyandots, and to each and every of them, and to all other nations of Indians north-west of the Ohio, whom it may concern:*

"I, Anthony Wayne, Major-General and Commander-in-chief of the federal army, now at Grand Glaize, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States of America, for settling the terms upon which a permanent and lasting peace shall be made with each and every of the hostile tribes, or nations of Indians north-west of the Ohio, and of the said United States, actuated by the purest principles of humanity, and urged by pity for the errors into which bad and designing men have led you, from the head of my army, now in possession of your abandoned villages and settlements, do hereby once more extend the friendly hand of peace towards you, and invite each and every of the hostile tribes of Indians to appoint deputies to meet me and my army, without delay, between this

* See American Pioneer, ii. 387, for plan and account of Fort Defiance.

place and Roche de Bout, in order to settle the preliminaries of a lasting peace, which may eventually and soon restore to you, the Delawares, Miamies, Shawanese, and all other tribes and nations lately settled at this place, and on the margins of the Miami and Au Glaize rivers, your late grounds and possessions, and to preserve you and your distressed and hapless women and children from danger and famine, during the present fall and ensuing winter.

"The arm of the United States is strong and powerful, but they love mercy and kindness more than war and desolation.

"And, to remove any doubts or apprehensions of danger to the persons of the deputies whom you may appoint to meet this army, I hereby pledge my sacred honor for their safety and return, and send Christopher Miller, an adopted Shawanee, and a Shawanee warrior, whom I took prisoner two days ago, as a flag, who will advance in their front to meet me.

"Mr. Miller was taken prisoner by a party of my warriors, six moons since, and can testify to you the kindness which I have shown to your people, my prisoners, that is, five warriors and two women, who are now all safe and well at Greenville.

"But, should this invitation be disregarded, and my flag, Mr. Miller, be detained, or injured, I will immediately order all those prisoners to be put to death, without distinction, and some of them are known to belong to the first families of your nation.

"Brothers:—Be no longer deceived or led astray by the false promises and language of the bad white men at the foot of the Rapids; they have neither power nor inclination to protect you. No longer shut your eyes to your true interest and happiness, nor your ears to this overture of peace. But, in pity to your innocent women and children, come and prevent the further effusion of your blood; let them experience the kindness and friendship of the United States of America, and the invaluable blessings of peace and tranquillity.

ANTHONY WAYNE.

Grand Glaize, August 13th, 1794."

Unwilling to waste time, the troops moved forward on the 15th, and on the 16th met Miller returning, with the message, that if the Americans would wait ten days at Grand Glaize, they (the Indians) would decide for peace or war, to which Wayne replied only by marching straight on. On the 18th, the legion had advanced forty-one miles from Grand Glaize, and being near the long-looked for foe, began to throw up some light works called Fort Deposite,

wherein to place the heavy baggage during the expected battle. On that day, five of Wayne's spies, among whom was May, the man who had been sent after Truman, and had pretended to desert to the Indians, rode into the very camp of the enemy; in attempting to retreat again, May's horse fell, and he was taken. The next day, and day before the battle, he was tied to a tree, and shot at as a target.* During the 19th, the army still labored on their works; on the 20th, at seven or eight o'clock, all baggage having been left behind, the white forces moved down the north bank of the Maumee—

"The legion on the right, its flank covered by the Maumee; one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier-General Todd, and the other in the rear under Brigadier-General Barbee. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficently advanced, so as to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war.

"After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat. The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood, which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front; the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their mode of warfare.

"The savages were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, and extending for near two miles at right angles with the river. I soon discovered, from the weight of their fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first; and directed Major-General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route; at the same time ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up, to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs,

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* American Pioneer, i. 52, 318.—American State Papers, v. 243.

followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again.

"I also ordered Captain Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers, were drove from all their coverts in so short a time, that although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd, and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action; the enemy being drove in the course of an hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one half their number. From every account the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants.

"The troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence between Major Campbell, the commandant, and myself, upon the occasion.

"The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the generals down to the ensigns, merit my highest approbation. There were, however, some whose rank and situation placed their conduct in a very conspicuous point of view, and which I observed with pleasure, and the most lively gratitude. Among whom I must beg leave to mention Brigadier-General Wilkinson, and Colonel Hamtramck, the commandants of the right and left wings of the legion, whose brave example inspired the troops. To those I must add the names of my faithful and gallant aids-de-camp, Captains De Butt and T. Lewis, and Lieutenant Harrison, who, with the Adjutant-General, Major Mills, rendered the most essential service by communicating my orders in every direction, and by their conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory.

"Enclosed is a particular return of the killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was more than that of the federal army. The woods were strewed for a considerable distance with the dead

bodies of Indians, and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets.

"We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Maumee, in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and cornfields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance both above and below Fort Miami, as well as within pistol shot of the garrison, who were compelled to remain tacit spectators to this general devastation and conflagration, among which were the houses, stores and property of Colonel McKee, the British Indian agent, and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

"The army returned to this place (Fort Defiance,*) on the 27th, by easy marches, laying waste the villages and cornfields for about fifty miles on each side of the Maumee. There remains yet a great number of villages and a great quantity of corn, to be consumed or destroyed, upon the Au Glaize and the Maumee above this place, which will be effected in the course of a few days."

The loss of the American army in this engagement according to the official returns was, of the legion, twenty-one privates and five officers killed, and seventy-four privates and thirteen officers wounded; of the Kentucky volunteers, seven privates killed and ten privates and three officers wounded. It is difficult to determine the force of the enemy. A Canadian who was taken in the battle gives the following estimates:

"That the Delawares have about five hundred men, including those who live on both rivers, the White river, and Bean creek.

"That the Miamies are about two hundred warriors; part of them live on the St. Joseph's, eight leagues from this place; that the men were all in the action, but the women are yet at that place, or Piquet's village; that a road leads from this place directly to it; that the number of warriors belonging to that place, when altogether, amounts to about forty.

"That the Shawanese have about three hundred warriors; that the Tawas, on this river, are two hundred and fifty; that the Wyandots are about three hundred.

"That those Indians were generally in the action on the 20th instant, except some hunting parties. That a reinforcement of regular troops, and two hundred militia, arrived at Fort Miami a few days before the army appeared; that the regular troops in the fort amounted to two hundred and fifty, exclusive of the militia.

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*Au Glaize.

"That about seventy of the militia, including Captain Caldwell's corps, were in the action. That Colonel McKee, Captain Elliott, and Simon Girty, were in the field, but at a respectable distance, and near the river.

"That the Indians have wished for peace for some time, but that Colonel McKee always dissuaded them from it, and stimulated them to continue the war."

Immediately after the engagement the army marched down the Maumee, and encamped on its bank within view of the British fort.* Alarmed at the near approach of the Americans, and doubtless chagrined at the defeat of his allies, Major Campbell addressed the following note, on the next day after the battle, to General Wayne:

"An army of the United States of America, said to be under your command, having taken post on the banks of the Miami, (Maumee,) for upward of the last twenty-four hours, almost within reach of the guns of this fort, being a post belonging to his majesty the king of Great Britain, occupied by his majesty's troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes my duty to inform myself, as speedily as possible, in what light I am to view your making such near approaches to this garrison. I have no hesitation, on my part, to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America."

To this demand General Wayne returned at once the following decided answer:

"I have received your letter of this date, requiring from me the motives which have moved the army under my command to the position they at present occupy, far within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States of America. Without questioning the authority or the propriety, sir, of your interrogatory, I think I may, without breach of decorum, observe to you, that were you entitled to an answer, the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms, yesterday morning, in the action against the horde of savages in the vicinity of your post, which terminated gloriously to the American arms; but, had it continued until the Indians, &c., were driven under the influence of the post and guns you mention, they would not have much impeded the progress of the victorious army under my command, as

* Fort Miami, built in the spring of 1794, by order of Governor Simcoe.

no such post was established at the commencement of the present war between the Indians and the United States."

On the next day Major Campbell replied:

"Although your letter of yesterday's date fully authorizes me to any act of hostility against the army of the United States in this neighborhood, under your command, yet still anxious to prevent that dreadful decision which, perhaps, is not intended to be appealed to by either of our countries, I have foreborne, for these two days past, to resent those insults you have offered to the British flag flying at this fort, by approaching within pistol shot of my works, not only singly, but in numbers, with arms in their hands. Neither is it my wish to wage war with individuals; but, should you, after this, continue to approach my post in the threatening manner you are at this moment doing, my indispensable duty to my king and country, and the honor of my profession, will oblige me to have recourse to those measures, which thousands of either nation may hereafter have cause to regret, and which I solemnly appeal to God I have used my utmost endeavors to arrest."

Immediately upon the receipt of this communication the fort was reconnoitered in every direction. It was found to be a regular, strong work, the front covered by a wide river, and protected by four guns. The rear had two regular bastions, furnished with eight pieces of artillery; the whole surrounded by a wide, deep ditch, about twenty feet deep from the top of the parapet. After thus making provision for an assault if necessary, Wayne dispatched the following note to Campbell:

"In your letter of the 21st instant, you declare, 'I have no hesitation, on my part, to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America.' I, on my part, declare the same, and that the only cause I have to entertain a contrary idea at present, is the hostile act you are now in commission of, *i. e.* by recently taking post far within the well known and acknowledged limits of the United States, and erecting a fortification in the heart of the settlements of the Indian tribes now at war with the United States. This, sir, appears to be an act of the highest aggression, and destructive to the peace and interest of the Union. Hence it becomes my duty to desire, and I do hereby desire and demand, in the name of the President of the United States, that you immediately desist from any further act of hostility or aggression, by forbearing to fortify, and by withdrawing the troops, artillery, and stores, under your orders and direction, forthwith, and removing to the nearest post occupied by his Britannic majesty's troops at

the peace of 1783, and which you will be permitted to do unmolested by the troops under my command."

To this demand Major Campbell replied:

"I have this moment to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date; in answer to which I have only to say, that, being placed here in command of a British post, and acting in a military capacity only, I cannot enter into any discussion either on the right or impropriety of my occupying my present position. Those are matters that I conceive will be best left to the ambassadors of our different nations.

"Having said this much, permit me to inform you that I certainly will not abandon this post, at the summons of any power whatever, until I receive orders for that purpose from those I have the honor to serve under, or the fortune of war should oblige me. I must still adhere, sir, to the purport of my letter this morning, to desire that your army, or individuals belonging to it, will not approach within reach of my cannon, without expecting the consequences attending it.

"Although I have said, in the former part of my letter, that my situation here is totally military, yet, let me add, sir, that I am much deceived if his majesty, the king of Great Britain, had not a post on this river at and prior to the period you mention."

"The only notice taken of this letter," says Wayne, "was by immediately setting fire to and destroying every thing within view of the fort, and even under the muzzles of the guns. Had Major Campbell carried his threats into execution, it is more than probable he would have experienced a storm."

On the 14th of September the army marched from Fort Defiance towards the Miami village, at the juncture of the St. Joseph's and the St. Mary's. It reached that place on the 17th, and on the 18th, General Wayne selected a site for a fort. On the 22d of October, the fort was completed and garrisoned by a detachment, under Major Hamtramck, who gave to it the name of Fort Wayne. During this period the army suffered much from disease and from the want of provisions, so much so, indeed, that a pint of salt, it is said, was sold, on the 24th of September, for six dollars. On the 14th of October, the mounted volunteers, from Kentucky, who had become dissatisfied and mutinous, were moved to Fort Washington, where they were immediately mustered out of the service and discharged. On the 28th of October, the legion marched from Fort Wayne to Fort Greenville, where, on his arrival, General Wayne re-established his head-quarters.

While the army remained at Fort Wayne, the brother of a Canadian, taken in the battle on the 20th of August, came into the camp with three American prisoners, whom he had purchased from the Indians, to exchange for his brother. The exchange was of course granted, and, in addition, he was induced to make the following statement:

"Governor Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and Captain Brant, arrived at Fort Miami, at the foot of the rapids, on the 30th ultimo, (September.) Brant had with him one hundred Indians, Mohawks and Messasagoes.

"Governor Simcoe sent for the chiefs of the different hostile Indians, and invited them to meet him at the mouth of Detroit river, eighteen miles below Detroit, to hold a treaty; Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and Captain Brant, together with Blue Jacket, Buckongehelas, the Little Turtle, Captain Johnny, and other chiefs of the Delawares, Miamies, Shawanese, Tawas, and Pottawattamies, set out accordingly for the place assigned for the treaty, about the 1st instant; the Indians are well and regularly supplied with provisions from the British magazines, at a place called Swan Creek, near Lake Erie.

"Previously to the arrival of Governor Simcoe, Blue Jacket, the Shawanese chiefs, two of the principal chiefs of the Tawas, and the principal chiefs of the Pottawattamies, had agreed to accompany him with a flag to this place.

"Blue Jacket informed him, after the arrival of Simcoe, he would not now go with him until after the intended treaty; but, that his wishes, at present, were for peace; that he did not know what propositions Governor Simcoe had to make them, but that he and all the chiefs would go and hear; and, in the interim, desired him to inquire of General Wayne in what manner the chiefs should come to him and whether they would be safe, in case they should determine on the measure, after the treaty with Simcoe and after he should return to Detroit; had it not been for the arrival of Governor Simcoe, Colonel McKee and Captain Brant, with his Indians, he is confident the chiefs already mentioned would have accompanied him to this place, at this time, as before related."*

This communication was further confirmed by statements from the Wyandots, some of whom were in the American interest. Indeed it appeared afterward that on the 10th of October, the Indians

* American State Papers, v. 526.

met the British at the Big Rock, and were advised that their griefs would be laid before the king; and in connection with this, as General Wayne learned from the friendly Wyandots,—

Governor Simcoe insisted that the Indians should not listen to any terms of peace from the Americans, but to propose a truce, or suspension of hostilities, until the spring, when a grand council and assemblage of all the warriors and tribes of Indians should take place, for the purpose of compelling the Americans to cross to the east side of the Ohio; and in the interim, advised every nation to sign a deed or conveyance of all their lands, on the west side of the Ohio, to the king, in trust for the Indians, so as to give the British a pretext or color for assisting them, in case the Americans refused to abandon all their posts and possessions on the west side of that river; and which the Indians should warn them to do, immediately after they, the Indians, were assembled in force in the spring, and to call upon the British to guarantee the lands thus ceded in trust, and to make a general attack upon the frontiers at the same time; that the British would be prepared to attack the Americans, also, in every quarter, and would compel them to cross the Ohio, and to give up the lands to the Indians.

Captain Brant also told them to keep a good heart, and be strong; to do as their father advised; that he would return home for the present, with his warriors, and come again early in the spring, with an additional number, so as to have the whole summer before them, to fight, kill, and pursue the Americans, who could not possibly stand against the force and numbers that would be opposed to them; that he had been always successful, and would insure them victory. But that he would not attack the Americans at this time, as it would only put them upon their guard, and bring them upon the Indians in this quarter, during the winter; therefore he advised them to amuse the Americans with a prospect of peace, until they should collect in force to fall upon them early in the spring, and when least expected.

That, agreeably to this plan or advice, the real hostile tribes will be sending flags frequently during the winter, with propositions of peace, but this is all fraud and art, to put the Americans off their guard.

The British made large presents to the Indians at the late council, and continued to furnish them with provision from Colonel M'Kee's new stores, near the mouth of the Miames of Lake Erie, where all the Indians are hutted or in tents, whose towns and property were destroyed last summer, and who will

sign away their lands and do exactly what the British request them; this was the general prevailing opinion at the breaking up of the council; since which period, the message and propositions of the 5th of November, addressed to the different tribes of Indians proposing the treaty of the 9th of January, 1789, held at the mouth of Muskingum, as a preliminary upon which a permanent peace should be established, has been communicated to them; upon which, a considerable number of the chiefs of several of the tribes assembled again, and were determined to come forward to treat, say about the first of this moon. But Colonel M'Kee was informed of it, and advised them against the measure, and to be faithful to their father, as they had promised. He then made them additional presents, far beyond any thing that they had ever heretofore received, which inclined a majority to adhere to Governor Simcoe's propositions, and they returned home accordingly.

That, notwithstanding this, the chiefs and nations are much divided, some for peace, and some for war; the Wyandots of Sandusky are for peace; those near Detroit for war; the Delawares are equally divided, so are the Miamies, but are dependent on the British for provision; the Shawanese and Tawas are for war; the Pottawattamies and Chippewas are gone home, sore from the late action.

That such of the chiefs and warriors as are inclined for peace will call a council, and endeavor to bring it about, upon the terms proposed, as they wish to hold their lands under the Americans, and not under the British, whose title they do not like.*

News also came from the West that the Indians were crossing the Mississippi; in New York, on the 11th of November, Pickering made a new treaty with the Iroquois; while in the north fewer and fewer of the savages lurked about Forts Defiance and Wayne. Nor was it long before the wish of the natives to make peace became still more apparent; on the 28th and 29th of December, the chiefs of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawattamies, and Miamies, came with peace messages to Colonel Hamtramck, at Fort Wayne, and on the 24th of January, 1795, at Greenville, entered, together with the Delawares, Wyandots, and Shawanese, into preliminary articles with the commander-in-chief.

The truth was, the red men had been entirely disappointed in the conduct of their white allies after the action of the 20th of

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* American State Papers, v. 548, 550, 559, 566, 567.

August; as Brant said, "a fort had been built in their country under pretense of giving refuge in case of necessity, but when that time came, the gates were shut against them as enemies." During the winter, Wayne having utterly laid waste their fertile fields, the poor savages were wholly dependent on the English, who did not half supply them; their cattle and dogs died, and they were themselves nearly starved. Under these circumstances, losing faith in the English, and at last impressed with a respect for American power, after the carnage experienced at the hands of the "Black Snake," the various tribes, by degrees, made up their minds to ask for peace. During the winter and spring they exchanged prisoners, and made ready to meet General Wayne at Greenville, in June, for the purpose of forming a definite treaty, as it had been agreed should be done by the preliminaries of January 24th. One scene among the many of that time seems deserving of a transfer to these pages; it is from the narrative of John Brickell, who had been a captive for four years among the Delawares, and adopted into the family of Whingwy Pooshies, or Big Cat, a noted warrior of that tribe:

"On the breaking up of spring," Brickell says, "we all went up to Fort Defiance, and, on arriving on the shore opposite, we saluted the fort with a round of rifles, and they shot a cannon thirteen times. We then encamped on the spot. On the same day, Whingwy Pooshies told me I must go over to the fort. The children hung round me crying, and asked me if I was going to leave them? I told them I did not know. When we got over to the fort, and were seated with the officers, Whingwy Pooshies told me to stand up, which I did; he then rose and addressed me in about these words:

"'My son, there are men the same color with yourself. There may be some of your kin there, or your kin may be a great way off from you. You have lived a long time with us. I call on you to say if I have not been a father to you? If I have not used you as a father would use a son?' I said, 'You have used me as well as a father could use a son.' He said, 'I am glad you say so. You have lived long with me; you have hunted for me; but our treaty says you must be free. If you choose to go with the people of your own color, I have no right to say a word; but if you choose to stay with me, your people have no right to speak. Now reflect on it, and take your choice, and tell us as soon as you make up your mind.'

"I was silent a few minutes, in which time it seemed as if I

almost thought of every thing. I thought of the children I had just left crying; I thought of the Indians I was attached to, and I thought of my people which I remembered; and this latter thought predominated, and I said, 'I will go with my kin.' The old man then said, 'I have raised you—I have learned you to hunt. You are a good hunter—you have been better to me than my own sons. I am now getting old, and I cannot hunt. I thought you would be a support to my age. I leaned on you as a staff. Now it is broken —you are going to leave me and I have no right to say a word, but I am ruined.' He then sunk back in tears to his seat. I heartily joined him in his tears—parted with him, and have never seen nor heard of him since."*

During the month of June, the representatives of the north-western tribes began to gather at Greenville, and on the 16th of that month, Wayne met in council, the Delawares, Ottawas, Potta-wattamies, and Eel river Indians; and the conferences, which lasted till August 10th, commenced. On the 21st of June, Buck-ongehelas arrived; on the 23d, the Little Turtle and other Miamies; on the 13th of July, Tarke and other Wyandot chiefs reached the appointed spot; and upon the 18th, Blue Jacket with thirteen Shawanese, and Masass with twenty Chippewas.

Most of these, as it appeared by their statements, had been tampered with by McKee, Brant and other English agents, even after they had agreed to the preliminaries of January 24th, and while Mr. Jay's treaty was still under discussion. They had, however, all determined to make a permanent peace with the thirteen fires, and although some difficulty as to the ownership of the lands to be ceded, at one time seemed likely to arise, the good sense of Wayne and of the chiefs prevented it, and upon the 30th of July, the treaty was agreed to which was to bury the hatchet forever. Between that day and the 3d of August it was engrossed, and having been signed by the various nations upon the day last named, on the 7th was finally acted upon, and the presents from the United States distributed forthwith. While the council was in session, some mischief had been done in Virginia by a band of Shawanese, but on the 9th of September these also came to Green-ville, gave up their prisoners, and asked for forgiveness.

The basis of the treaty of Greenville was the previous one made at Fort Harmar, and its leading provisions were as follows:—hostilities were to cease and all prisoners were to be restored.

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* See American Pioneer, i. 54.

"The general boundary lines between the lands of the United States and the lands of the said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence down that branch to the crossing place above Fort Laurens; thence westwardly, to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami river, running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loramie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie; thence a westerly course, to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence southwesterly, in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of Kentucky or Cuttawa river.

"And in consideration of the peace now established; of the goods formerly received from the United States; of those now to be delivered; and of the yearly delivery of goods now stipulated to be made hereafter; and to indemnify the United States for the injuries and expenses they have sustained during the war—the said Indian tribes do hereby cede and relinquish, forever, all their claims to the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of the general boundary line now described; and these lands, or any part of them, shall never hereafter be made a cause or pretense, on the part of the said tribes, or any of them, of war or injury to the United States, or any other people thereof.

"And for the same consideration, and as an evidence of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and desire to provide for their accommodation, and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties, the said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States the following pieces of land, to wit:

"One piece of land six miles square, at or near Loramie's store, before mentioned.

"One piece, two miles square, at the head of the navigable water or landing, on the St. Mary's river, near Girty's town.

"One piece, six miles square, at the head of the navigable waters of the Au Glaize river.

"One piece, six miles square, at the confluence of the Au Glaize and Miami rivers, where Fort Defiance now stands.

"One piece, six miles square, at or near the confluence of the rivers St. Mary's and St. Josephs, where Fort Wayne now stands, or near it.

"One piece, two miles square, on the Wabash river, at the end of

the portage from the Miami of the lake, and about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne.

"One piece, six miles square, at the Ouiatenon, or old Wea towns, on the Wabash river.

"One piece, twelve miles square, at the British fort on the Miami of the lake, at the foot of the rapids.

"One piece, six miles square, at the mouth of the said river, where it empties into the lake.

"One piece, six miles square, upon Sandusky lake, where a fort formerly stood.

"One piece, two miles square, at the lower rapids of Sandusky river.

"The post of Detroit, and all the lands to the north, the west, and the south of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and so much more land to be annexed to the district of Detroit, as shall be comprehended between the river Raisin on the south, and Lake St. Clair on the north, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the west end of Lake Erie and Detroit river.

"The post of Michilimackinack, and all the land on the island on which that post stands, and the main land adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished, by gifts or grants to the French or English government; and a piece of land on the main, to the north of the island, to measure six miles on Lake Huron, or the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan, and to extend three miles back from the water on the lake or strait; and also the Island de Bois Blanc, being an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation.

"One piece of land, six miles square, at the mouth of Chicago river, emptying into the south-west end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood.

"One piece, twelve miles square, at or near the mouth of the Illinois river, emptying into the Mississippi.

"One piece, six miles square, at the old Peorias fort and village, near the south end of the Illinois lake, on said Illinois river.

"And whenever the United States shall think proper to survey and mark the boundaries of the lands hereby ceded to them, they shall give timely notice thereof to the said tribes of Indians, that they may appoint some of their wise chiefs to attend and see that the lines are run according to the terms of this treaty.

"And the said Indian tribes will allow to the people of the United

States a free passage, by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country, along the chain of posts hereinbefore mentioned; that is to say, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, at or near Loramie's store, thence along said portage to the St. Mary's, and down the same to Fort Wayne, and then down the Miami to Lake Erie; again, from the commencement of the portage, at or near Loramie's store, along the portage, from thence to the river Au Glaize, and down the same to its junction with the Miami, at Fort Defiance; again, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, to Sandusky river, and down the same to Sandusky bay and Lake Erie, and from Sandusky to the post which shall be taken at or near the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the lake; and from thence to Detroit. Again, from the mouth of the Chicago to the commencement of the portage between that river and the Illinois, and down the Illinois river to the Mississippi; also, from Fort Wayne, along the portage aforesaid, which leads to the Wabash, and then down the Wabash to the Ohio. And the said Indian tribes will also allow to the people of the United States the free use of the harbors and mouths of rivers, along the lakes adjoining the Indian lands, for sheltering vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes, when necessary for their safety.

"In consideration of the peace now established, and of the cessions and relinquishments of lands made in the preceding article, by the said tribes of Indians, and to manifest the liberality of the United States, as the great means of rendering this peace strong and perpetual, the United States relinquish their claims to all other Indian lands, northward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the great lakes, and the waters uniting them, according to the boundary line agreed on by the United States and the king of Great Britain, in the treaty of peace made between them in the year 1783. But from this relinquishment by the United States, the following tracts of land are explicitly excepted:

"The tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres, near the rapids of the river Ohio, which has been assigned to General Clark, for the use of himself and his warriors.

"The post at St. Vincennes, on the river Wabash, and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished.

"The lands at all other places, in possession of the French people, and other white settlers among them, of which the Indian title has been extinguished, as mentioned heretofore.

"The post of Fort Massac, toward the mouth of the Ohio. To which several parcels of land, so excepted, the said tribes relinquish all the title and claim which they, or any of them, may have.

"And, for the same considerations, and with the same views as above mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Indian tribes a quantity of goods to the value of twenty thousand dollars, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge; and henceforward, every year, forever, the United States will deliver, at some convenient place northward of the river Ohio, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of nine thousand five hundred dollars, reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods, in the city or place in the United States where they shall be procured. The tribes to which those goods are to be annually delivered, and the proportions in which they are to be delivered, are the following:

To the Wyandots, the amount of one thousand dollars.

To the Delawares, the amount of one thousand dollars.

To the Shawanese, the amount of one thousand dollars.

To the Miamies, the amount of one thousand dollars.

To the Ottawas, the amount of one thousand dollars.

To the Chippewas, the amount of one thousand dollars.

To the Pottawattamies, the amount of one thousand dollars.

And to the Kickapoo, Wea, Eel River, Piankeshaw and Kaskaskia tribes, the amount of five hundred dollars each.

"Provided, that if either of the said tribes shall hereafter, at an annual delivery of their share of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils, convenient for them, and in compensation to useful artificers who may reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit, the same shall, at the subsequent annual deliveries, be furnished accordingly.

"To prevent any misunderstanding about the Indian lands relinquished by the United States, in the fourth article, it is now explicitly declared, that the meaning of that relinquishment is this: the Indian tribes who have a right to these lands, are quietly to enjoy them, hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon, so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States; and until such sale, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes, in the quiet enjoyment of their lands, against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who

intrude upon the same. And the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the said United States, and no other power whatever.

"The Indians or United States may remove and punish intruders on Indian lands.

"Indians may hunt within ceded lands.

"Trade shall be opened in substance, as by provisions in treaty of Fort Harmar.

"All injuries shall be referred to law; not privately avenged; and all hostile plans known to either, shall be revealed to the other party.

"All previous treaties annulled."

This great and abiding peace document was signed by the various nations named in the fourth article, and dated August the 3d, 1795. It was laid before the Senate, December 9th, and ratified December 22d. So closed the old Indian wars of the West.*

During the six years through which the Indian wars of the north-west continued, many events of great importance in the history of the West occurred, to which it is proper now to make reference. Among the first of these stands the admission of Kentucky into the Union. In 1789, she had requested certain changes in the law authorizing separation, which had been passed by Virginia, and these changes were made; it being requested, however, at the same time, that a ninth Kentucky convention should meet, in July, 1790, to express the sentiments of the people of the western district, and to take other needful steps.

Upon the 26th of July, accordingly, the convention came together; the terms of Virginia were agreed to; June 1, 1792, was fixed as the date of independence; and measures adopted to procure the agreement of the federal legislature. It was also resolved, that in December, 1791, persons should be chosen, to serve seven months, who, on the first Monday in April, 1792, should meet at Danville, to form a constitution for the coming state, and determine what laws should be in force.

In December, 1790, the president of the United States presented the subject of the admission of Kentucky, to Congress, and upon the 4th of February, 1791, that action was taken, which terminated the long frustrated efforts of the land of Boone, Clark, and Logan,

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* See the treaty and minutes of the council, American State Papers, v. 562 to 583.

to obtain self-government. In the following December the elections took place, for persons to frame a constitution, and in April, 1792, the instrument which was to lie at the basis of Kentucky law, was prepared, mainly, it would seem, by George Nicholas, of Mercer county.*

The ultimate design of the British agents, in their long intrigue with the Indians of the north-west, was to unite them together in a great confederacy, in order that the United tribes might be able to secure, either by negotiation or war, the recognition of the Ohio as a permanent boundary between them and the Americans. They were influenced by no philanthropic desire to protect the rights of the savages, in the attempt to secure them against the encroachments of the American settlers; on the contrary, they sought through that policy to establish a British protectorate over the north-western tribes, and thus, in effect, to remove the line of Canada to the Ohio, and to extend the authority of the British crown over the whole region covered by the ordinance of 1787.

It was to further this ultimate policy, as well as to retaliate upon the confederation the injury done to British creditors, by the refusal of the State of Virginia to repeal her laws against the payment of their claims, that the British cabinet refused, in contravention of the treaty of 1783, to surrender the posts retained at the close of the war of independence, within the limits of the United States. But the defeat of the Indians at the battle of the Fallen Timbers, deranged that policy, dispelled all hope they entertained of ever recovering the British supremacy in that region, and disposed them to cultivate more friendly relations with the Americans, and to surrender the posts in the north-west, and by consequence, their control over the savages into the hands of the American government.

The difficulties that had existed for ten years between the United States and Great Britain, in regard to their mutual infractions of the treaty of 1783, assumed, during the period of the Indian war, a very grave aspect and threatened to involve the two nations again in war, and it was the apprehension of such a result, in addition to the motives of an ulterior policy, that stimulated the British cabinet and its agents in Canada to excite the hostilities of the Indians against the Americans. But all those difficulties were at length

* Marshall's Kentucky, i. 360, 414.—Sparks' Washington, xii. 13, 32.

settled amicably by negotiation, and the imminent danger of another war averted.

On the 19th of April, 1794, John Jay was appointed the Envoy Extraordinary of the United States to Great Britain, with full power to negotiate with the representatives of the British Government, concerning all matters of difference between the two countries. After a long negotiation Mr. Jay concluded, on the 19th of November, a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, with Lord Greenville, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, which included and decided all the questions at issue. The second article of that treaty provided that—

"His Majesty will withdraw all his troops and garrisons from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States. This evacuation shall take place on or before the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, and all the proper measures shall be taken, in the interval, by concert, between the government of the United States and his Majesty's Governor-General in America, for settling the previous arrangements which may be necessary respecting the delivery of the said posts: the United States, in the meantime, at their discretion, extending their settlements to any part within the said boundary line, except within the precincts or jurisdiction of any of the said posts.

"All settlers and traders within the precincts or jurisdiction of the said posts, shall continue to enjoy, unmolested, all their property, of every kind, and shall be protected therein. They shall be at full liberty to remain there, or to remove with all or any part of their effects; and it shall also be free to them to sell their lands, houses or effects, or retain the property thereof, at their discretion; such of them as shall continue to reside within the said boundary lines shall not be compelled to become citizens of the United States, or to take any oath of allegiance to the government thereof; but they shall be at full liberty so to do if they think proper; they shall make and declare their election within one year after the evacuation aforesaid. And all persons who shall continue there after the expiration of the said year, without having declared their intention of remaining subjects to his Britannic Majesty, shall be considered as having elected to become citizens of the United States."

The attempt of the agents of the French minister in the United States, to enlist the people of Kentucky in an invasion of Louisiana, deserves to be noticed.

A great interest was exhibited by the people of the United States in the popular cause, at the outbreak of the revolution in France; and when M. Genet presented himself at Philadelphia, on the 18th of May, 1793, as the representative of the French Republic, he was received with unbounded enthusiasm. That feeling of sympathy he at once began to use to serve the ulterior purposes of the leaders of the revolution. It appears that he brought with him *open* instructions, in which the United States were spoken of as naturally neutral, in the contest between France and united Holland, Spain and England; and *secret* instructions, the purpose of which was to induce the government, and if that could not be done, the people of the American republic, to make common cause with the founders of the dynasty of the guillotine.

In pursuance of this plan, Genet began a system of operations, the tendency of which was to involve the people of the United States in a war with the enemies of France, without any regard to the views of the federal government; and knowing very well the old bitterness of the frontier-men, in relation to the navigation of the Mississippi, he formed the plan of embodying a band of troops beyond the Alleghenies, for the conquest of Louisiana. Early in November, 1793, four persons were sent westward to raise troops and issue commissions, in the name of the French republic. They moved openly and boldly, secure in the strong democratic feelings of the inhabitants of the region drained by the great river which Spain controlled; and so far succeeded as to persuade even the political founder of Kentucky, George Rogers Clark, to become a Major-General in the armies of France, and Commander-in-chief of the revolutionary forces on the Mississippi.*

Nor did the French emissaries much mistake the temper of the people of Kentucky, as is evident from an "address to the inhabitants of the United States, west of the Allegheny and Appallachian mountains," issued by the Democratic Society of Kentucky, on the 13th of December, 1793, over the signature of John Breckenridge, chairman:

"*Fellow Citizens:*—The Democratic Society of Kentucky having had under consideration the measures necessary to obtain the exercise of your rights to the free navigation of the Mississippi, have

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* Pitkin's United States, ii. 359, 360.—Genet's pamphlet and correspondence with Mr. Jefferson, published in Philadelphia, 1793.—American State Papers, i. 454 to 460.—Marshall's Kentucky, ii. 99 to 100, 103.—Butler's Kentucky, 224 to 234, and 524 to 531. Second Edition.

determined to address you upon that important topic. In so doing, they think that they only use the undoubted right of citizens to consult for their common welfare. This measure is not dictated by party or faction; it is the consequence of unavoidable necessity. It has become so from the neglect shown by the general government to obtain for those of the citizens of the United States who are interested therein, the navigation of that river.

"Experience, fellow citizens, has shown us that the general government is unwilling that we should obtain the navigation of the river Mississippi. A local policy appears to have an undue weight in the councils of the Union. It seems to be the object of that policy to prevent the population of this country, which would draw from the Eastern States their industrious citizens. This conclusion inevitably follows, from a consideration of the measures taken to prevent the purchase and settlement of the lands bordering on the Mississippi. Among those measures, the unconstitutional interference which rescinded sales, by one of the States, to private individuals, makes a striking object. And, perhaps, the fear of a successful rivalship, in every article of their exports, may have its weight. But, if they are not unwilling to do us justice, they are, at least, regardless of our rights and welfare.

"We have found prayers and supplications of no avail, and should we continue to load the table of Congress with memorials from a part only of the western country, it is too probable that they would meet with a fate similar to those which have been formerly presented. Let us, then, all unite our endeavors in the common cause. Let all join in a firm and manly remonstrance to the President and Congress of the United States, stating our just and undoubted right to the navigation of the Mississippi, remonstrating against the conduct of the government with regard to that right, which must have been occasioned by local policy or neglect, and demanding of them speedy and effectual exertions for its attainment. We cannot doubt that you will cordially and unanimously join in this measure.

"It can hardly be necessary to remind you that considerable quantities of beef, pork, flour, hemp, tobacco, &c., the produce of this country, remain on hand for want of purchasers, or are sold at inadequate prices. Much greater quantities might be raised, if the inhabitants were encouraged by the certain sale which the free navigation of the Mississippi would afford. An additional increase of those articles, and a greater variety of produce and manufac-

tures, would be supplied by means of the encouragement which the attainment of that great object would give to emigration.

"But it is not only your own rights which you are to regard; remember that your posterity have a claim to your exertions to obtain and secure that right. Let not your memory be stigmatized with a neglect of duty. Let not history record that the inhabitants of this beautiful country lost a most invaluable right, and half the benefits bestowed upon it by a bountiful Providence, through your neglect and supineness. The present crisis is favorable. Spain is engaged in a war which requires all her forces. If the present golden opportunity be suffered to pass without advantage, and she shall have concluded a peace with France, we must then contend against her undivided strength.

"But what may be the event of the proposed application is still uncertain. We ought, therefore, to be still upon our guard, and watchful to seize the first favorable opportunity to gain our object. In order to this, our union should be as perfect and lasting as possible. We propose that societies should be formed, in convenient districts, in every part of the western country, who shall preserve a correspondence upon this and every other subject of a general concern. By means of these societies, we shall be enabled speedily to know what may be the result of our endeavors, to consult upon such further measures as may be necessary to preserve union, and finally, by these means, to secure success.

"Remember that it is a common cause, which ought to unite us; that cause is indubitably just, that ourselves and posterity are interested, that the crisis is favorable, and that it is only by union that the object can be achieved. The obstacles are great, and so ought to be our efforts. Adverse fortune may attend us, but it shall never dispirit us. We may, for awhile, exhaust our wealth and strength, but until the all-important object is procured, we pledge ourselves to you, and let us all pledge ourselves to each other, that our perseverance and our friendship will be inexhaustible."

And the same spirit is manifested in a remonstrance of the citizens of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, to the President and Congress of the United States, prepared, probably, at the same time. It sets forth—

"That your remonstrants, and the other inhabitants of the United States, west of the Allegheny and Apallachian mountains, are entitled, by nature and stipulation, to the free and undisturbed navigation of the river Mississippi; and that, from the year 1783

to this day, they have been prevented uniformly, by the Spanish king, from exercising that right. Your remonstrants have observed, with concern, that the general government, whose duty it was to have preserved that right, have used no effectual measures for its attainment; that even their tardy and ineffectual negotiations have been veiled with the most mysterious secrecy; that that secrecy is a violation of the political rights of the citizens, as it declares that the people are unfit to be entrusted with important facts relative to their rights, and that their servants may retain from them the knowledge of those facts. Eight years are surely sufficient for the discussion of the most doubtful and disputable claim. The right to the navigation of the Mississippi admits neither of doubt or dispute.

"Your remonstrants, therefore, conceive that the negotiations on that subject have been unnecessarily lengthy, and they expect that it be demanded categorically of the Spanish king whether he will acknowledge the right of the citizens of the United States to the free and uninterrupted navigation of the river Mississippi, and cause all obstructions, interruption, and hindrance to the exercise of that right, in future, to be withdrawn and avoided; that immediate answer be required, and that such answer be the final period of all negotiations upon the subject.

"Your remonstrants further represent, that the encroachment of the Spaniards upon the territory of the United States, is a striking and melancholy proof of the situation to which our country will be reduced, if a tame policy should still continue to direct our councils.

"Your remonstrants join their voice to that of their fellow-citizens in the Atlantic States, calling for satisfaction for the injuries and insults offered to America; and they expect such satisfaction shall extend to every injury and insult done or offered to any part of America, by Great Britain and Spain; and as the detention of the posts, and the interruption to the navigation of the Mississippi, are injuries and insults of the greatest atrocity, and of the longest duration, they require the most particular attention to those subjects."

The pretensions and proceedings of Genet and his agents, at once excited the solicitude of the government; the ministers of Great Britain and Spain, remonstrated against the policy they were pursuing, and it was determined by the cabinet to demand the recall of the obnoxious minister. Accordingly, Mr. Jefferson addressed a communication to Governeur Morris, the American

Minister at Paris, intended for the French Government, in which he thus characterizes the conduct of Genet:

"When the government forbids their citizens to arm and engage in the war, he undertakes to arm and engage them. When they forbid vessels to be fitted in their ports for cruising on nations with whom they are at peace, he commissions them to fit and cruise. When they forbid an unceded jurisdiction to be exercised within their territory by foreign agents, he undertakes to uphold that exercise, and to avow it openly. That friendship, which dictates to us to bear with his conduct yet awhile, lest the interests of his nation here should suffer injury, will hasten them to replace an agent whose disposition is such a misrepresentation of theirs, and whose continuance here is inconsistent with order, peace, respect, and that friendly correspondence which we hope will ever subsist between the two nations. His government will see, too, that the case is pressing. That it is impossible for two sovereign and independent authorities to be going on within our territory, at the same time, without collision. They will foresee that if M. Genet perseveres in his proceedings, the consequences would be so hazardous to us, the example so humiliating and pernicious, that we may be forced even to suspend his functions before a successor can arrive to continue them. If our citizens have not already been shedding each other's blood, it is not owing to the moderation of M. Genet, but to the forbearance of the government."*

A copy of this letter from the Secretary of State to Mr. Morris, was sent to M. Genet, who, on the 18th of September, 1793, wrote to Mr. Jefferson a letter which contained the following remarkable expressions:

"It is in the name of the French people, that I am sent to their brethren—to free and sovereign men. It is then for the representatives of the American people, *and not for a single man*, to exhibit against me an act of accusation, if I have merited it. A despot may singly permit himself to demand from another despot the recall of his representative, and to order his expulsion in case of refusal. That is what the Empress of Russia did with respect to myself, from Louis XVI. But in a free state it cannot be so, unless order be entirely subverted; unless the people in a moment of blindness, choose to rivet their fetters, in making to a single individual the abandonment of their most precious rights.

*American State Papers, i. 170.

"You are made to reproach me with having indiscreetly given to my official proceedings, a tone of color, which has induced a belief, that they did not know, in France, either my character or my manners. I will tell you the reason, sir: it is that a pure and warm blood runs with rapidity in my veins; that I love passionately my country; that I adore the cause of liberty; that I am always ready to sacrifice my life to it; that to me, it appears inconceivable that all the enemies of tyranny, that all virtuous men, do not march with us to the combat; and that, when I find an injustice is done to my fellow citizens, that their interests are not espoused with the zeal which they merit, no consideration in the world would hinder either my pen or my tongue from tracing, from expressing my pain. I will tell you then without ceremony, that I have been extremely wounded, sir:—

"That the President of the United States was in a hurry, before knowing what I had to transmit to him, on the part of the French republic, to proclaim sentiments, on which decency and friendship should at least have drawn a veil.

"That he did not speak to me at my first audience, but of the friendship of the United States toward France, without saying a word to me, with announcing a single sentiment, on our revolution; while all the towns from Charleston to Philadelphia, had made the air resound with their most ardent wishes for the French republic.

"That he had received and admitted to a private audience, before my arrival, Noailles and Talon, known agents of the French counter-revolutionists, who have since had intimate relations with two members of the federal government.

"That this first magistrate of a free people, decorated his parlor with certain medallions of Capet* and his family, which served at Paris as signals of rallying.

"That the first complaints which were made to my predecessor on the armaments and prizes which took place at Charleston on my arrival, were, in fact, but a paraphrase of the notes of the English minister.

"That the Secretary of War, † to whom I communicated the wish of our governments of the Windward Islands, to receive promptly some fire-arms and some cannon, which might put into a state of defense, possessions guarantied by the United States,

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* Louis XVI. † General Henry Knox.

had the front to answer with an ironical carelessness, that the principles established by the President, did not permit him to lend us so much as a pistol.

"That the Secretary of the Treasury,* with whom I had a conversation on the proposition which I made to convert almost the whole American debt, by means of an operation of finance authorized by law, into flour, rice, grain, salted provisions, and other objects of which France had the most pressing need, added to the refusal which he had already made officially of favoring this arrangement, the positive declaration, that, even if it were practicable, the United States could not consent to it because England would not fail to consider this extraordinary reimbursement furnished to a nation with which she is at war, as an act of hostility.

"That, by instructions from the President of the United States, the American citizens who ranged themselves under the banners of France, have been prosecuted and arrested; a crime against liberty unheard of, of which a virtuous and popular jury avenged with eclat the defenders of the best of causes.

"That incompetent tribunals were suffered to take cognizance of facts relative to prizes which treaties interdict them expressly from doing: that, on their acknowledgment of their incompetency, this property, acquired by the right of war, was taken from us, that it was thought ill of, that our consuls protested against these arbitrary acts, and that, as a reward for his devotion to his duty, the one at Boston was imprisoned as a malefactor.

"That the President of the United States took on himself to give to our treaties arbitrary interpretations, absolutely contrary to their true sense, and that, by a series of decisions which they would have us receive as laws, he left no other indemnification to France for the blood she spilt, for the treasure she dissipated in fighting for the independence of the United States, but the illusory advantage of bringing into their ports the prizes made on their enemies, without being able to sell them.

"That no answer is yet given to the notification of the decree of the National Convention for opening our ports in the two worlds to the American citizens, and granting the same favors to them as to the French citizens—advantages which will cease if there be a continuance to treat us with the same injustice.

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*Alexander Hamilton.

"That he (Washington) has deferred, in spite of my respectful insinuations, to convoke congress immediately, in order to take the true sentiments of the people, to fix the political system of the United States, and to decide whether they will break, suspend or tighten their bands with France—an honest measure which would have avoided to the general government much contradiction and subterfuge, to me much pain and disgust, to the local governments, embarrassments so much the greater, as they found themselves placed between treaties, which are laws, and decisions of the federal government, which are not: in fine, to the tribunals, duties so much the more painful to fulfill, as they have been often under the necessity of giving judgments contrary to the intentions of the government. It results from all these facts, sir, that I could not but be profoundly affected with the conduct of the federal government toward my country."*

Genet was recalled in compliance with the demand of the American Government, his acts were disowned, and M. Fauchet was appointed his successor; and during the period of his connection with the government, "used all the means in his power to prevent French armaments in the United States."

The recall of Genet, however, did not immediately arrest the scheme of his emissaries, and the preparations they were making for the invasion of Louisiana were for the time prosecuted with unabated vigor. It was the first object of the conspirators to excite the sympathy, and thus to secure the co-operation of the French inhabitants of Louisiana; and the Democratic Society of Philadelphia with that view published and circulated in Louisiana, the following address "from the freemen of France to their brothers in Louisiana:"†

"Liberty, Equality.

"The Freemen of France to their brothers in Louisiana: 2d year of the French Republic.

"The moment has arrived when despotism must disappear from the earth. France, having obtained her freedom, and constituted herself into a republic, after having made known to mankind their rights, after having achieved the most glorious victories over her enemies, is not satisfied with successes by which she alone would profit, but declares to all nations that she is ready to give her pow-

*American State Papers—Foreign Relations, i. 172.

†Gayarre's Spanish domination in Louisiana, p. 337.

erful assistance to those that may be disposed to follow her virtuous example.

"Frenchmen of Louisiana, you still love your mother country; such a feeling is innate in your hearts. The French nation, knowing your sentiments, and indignant at seeing you the victims of the tyrants by whom you have been so long oppressed, can and will avenge your wrongs. A perjured king, prevaricating ministers, vile and insolent courtiers, who fattened on the labors of the people whose blood they sucked, have suffered the punishment due to their crimes. The French nation, irritated by the outrages and injustices of which it had been the object, rose against those oppressors, and they disappeared before its wrath, as rapidly as dust obeys the breath of an impetuous wind.

"The hour has struck, Frenchmen of Louisiana; hasten to profit by the great lesson which you have received.

"Now is the time to cease being the slaves of a government to which you were shamefully sold; and no longer to be led on like a herd of cattle, by men who, with one word, can strip you of what you hold most dear—liberty and property.

"The Spanish despotism has surpassed in atrocity and stupidity all the other despotisms that have ever been known. Has not barbarism always been the companion of that government, which has rendered the Spanish name execrable and horrible in the whole continent of America? Is it not that nation who, under the hypocritical mask of religion, ordered or permitted the sacrifice of more than twenty millions of men? Is it not the same race that depopulated, impoverished and degraded whole countries, for the gratification of an insatiable avarice? Is it not the nation that has oppressed and still oppresses you under a heavy yoke?

"What have been the fruits of so many crimes? The annihilation, the disgrace, the impoverishment, and the besotting of the Spanish nation in Europe, and a fatal lethargy, servitude, or death for an infinite number of the inhabitants of America.

"The Indians cut down the tree whose fruits they wish to reach and gather. A fit illustration of despotism! The fate of nations is of no importance in the eye of tyranny. Everything is to be sacrificed to satisfy capricious tastes and transient wants, and all those it rules over must groan under the chains of slavery.

"Frenchmen of Louisiana, the unjust treatment you have undergone must have sufficiently convinced you of these sad truths, and your misfortunes must undoubtedly have deeply impressed your souls with the desire of seizing an honorable opportunity of avenging your wrongs.

"Compare with your situation that of your friends—the free Americans. Look at the province of Kentucky, deprived of outlets for its products, and yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, and merely through the genial influence of a free government, rapidly increasing its population and wealth, and already presaging a prosperity which causes the Spanish government to tremble.

"Treasure up in your minds the following observations: They divulge the secret springs of all despotic governments, because they tear off the veil which covers their abominable designs. Men are created and born to love another, to be united and happy, and they would be so effectually, if those who call themselves the images of God on earth—if kings—had not found out the means of sowing discord among them and destroying their felicity.

"The peopling of Kentucky has been the work of a few years; your colony, although better situated, is daily losing its population, because it lacks liberty.

"The Americans, who are free, after consecrating all their time to cultivating their lands and to expanding their industry, are sure to enjoy quietly the fruits of their labors; but, with regard to yourselves, all that you possess depends on the caprice of a viceroy, who is always unjust, avaricious, and vindictive.

"These are evils which a firm determination, once taken, can shake off. Only have resolution and energy, and one instant will suffice to change your unhappy condition. Wretched indeed would you become, if you failed in such an undertaking! Because, the very name of Frenchmen being hateful to all kings and their accomplices, they would, in return for your attachment to us, render your chains more insupportable, and would persecute you with unheard of vexations.

"You quiver, no doubt, with indignation; you feel in your hearts the desire of deserving the honorable appellation of freemen, but the fear of not being assisted and of failing in your attempt deadens your zeal. Dismiss such apprehensions: know ye, that your brethren the French, who have attacked with success the Spanish government in Europe, will in a short time present themselves on your coasts with naval forces; that the republicans of the western portion of the United States are ready to come down the Ohio and Mississippi in company with a considerable number of French republicans, and to rush to your assistance under the banners of France and liberty; and that you have every assurance of success. Therefore, inhabitants of Louisiana, show who you are; prove that you have not been stupified by despotism, and that you

have retained in your breasts French valor and intrepidity; demonstrate that you are worthy of being free and independent, because we do not solicit you to unite yourselves with us, but to seek your own freedom. When you shall have the sole control of your actions, you will be able to adopt a republican constitution, and being assisted by France so long as your weakness will not permit you to protect or defend yourselves, it will be in your power to unite voluntarily with her and your neighbors—the United States—forming with these two republics, an alliance which will be the liberal basis on which, henceforth, shall stand our mutual political and commercial interests. Your country will derive the greatest advantages from so auspicious a revolution, and the glory with which you will cover yourselves will equal the prosperity which you will secure for yourselves and descendants. Screw up your courage, Frenchmen of Louisiana. Away with pusillanimity —ça ira—ça ira—audaces fortuna juvat."

In order to prevent the invasion of the territory of a foreign power by unlawful and unauthorized military expeditions from the United States, Washington took early and efficient measures to enforce the laws and to preserve the neutrality of the country. For this purpose he called upon the Governors of Kentucky, and of the North Western Territory, to take all the measures in the course of the law, and if necessary to use military force for the prevention of any hostile enterprise against Louisiana.

Governor St. Clair immediately published a proclamation, exhorting all good citizens to avoid any connection with the scheme of the French emissaries, and warning them of the consequences of participating in it.

Governor Shelby was however in sympathy, if not directly implicated in the affair; and in his reply to the dispatch of the government, said:

"I have great doubts, even if they (the agents of Genet) do attempt to carry their plan into execution, (provided they manage their business with prudence,) whether there is any legal authority to restrain or punish them, at least before they have actually accomplished it; for, if it is lawful for one citizen of this State to leave it, it is equally so for any number of them to do so. It is also lawful for them to carry with them any quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition; and if the act is lawful in itself, there is nothing in the particular intention with which it is done, that can possibly make it unlawful; but, I know of no law which inflicts a punishment on intention only, or a criterion by which to decide what

would be sufficient evidence of that intention if it was a legal object of censure. I shall, upon all occasions, be averse to the exercise of any power with which I do not consider myself as being clearly and explicitly invested; much less would I assume a power to exercise it against men, whom I consider as friends and brethren, in favor of a man whom I view as an enemy and a tyrant."

With the connivance of the governor and many other of the prominent politicians of Kentucky, the French party in that State continued their efforts through the succeeding winter, to raise an army for the reduction of Louisiana. They enlisted men, purchased boats, provisions, arms and ammunition, and fixed the rendezvous of the army of two thousand men, which was said was to descend the Mississippi under General Clark, on the 15th of April, 1794, at the falls of the Ohio.

These hostile movements had been closely watched by the British and Spanish governments. They doubtless contributed much to the unfriendly feeling the British agents in Canada entertained toward the United States, and which they were so ready to instill into the minds of the Indians, and may have furnished the motive for the establishment of the British post that was erected during the winter of that year on the Maumee. They assuredly did furnish the reason why the Spanish agents were employed at that time in fomenting dissatisfaction and hostility among the Indians, both of the North and of the South, against the federal government.

To arrest the further progress of this conspiracy against Louisiana, at once dishonorable to the country and at war with its peace and interests, Washington issued a proclamation warning all good citizens against participation in measures likely to prove so pernicious to their country and to themselves; forbidding all persons not authorized by the law to enlist troops for the purpose of any such invasion; and giving notice that all lawful means would be strictly put in execution for securing obedience to the laws, and for punishing such daring and dangerous combinations against the peace of the country.

In addition to this, he dispatched orders to General Wayne, then near Fort Washington, directing him to send a detachment to Fort Massac, to arrest the progress of the invading army from Kentucky. Wayne ordered Major Doyle, with a detachment of infantry and artillery, to perform the service. His instructions were—

"If any such parties make their appearance in the neighborhood

of your garrison, and you should be well informed that they are armed and equipped for war, and entertain the criminal intention described in the President's proclamation, you are to send to them some person in whose veracity you could confide, (and if such person should be a peace officer he would be the most proper messenger,) and warn them of their evil proceedings, and forbid their attempting to pass the fort, at their peril. But if, notwithstanding every peaceable effort to persuade them to abandon their criminal design, they should still persist in their attempts to pass down the Ohio, you are to use every military means in your power for preventing them; and for which this will be your sufficient justification, provided you have taken all the pacific steps before directed."

The decided measures thus adopted by the President to prevent the infraction of the laws of the country, effectually broke up the schemes of the French party in Kentucky, and De La Chaise, the principal agent of Genet, abandoned the State, leaving behind him the following address to the Democratic Society of Lexington:

"*Citizens:*—Unforeseen events, the effects of causes which it is unnecessary here to develop, have stopped the march of two thousand brave Kentuckians, who, strong in their courage, in the justice of their rights, in the purity of their cause, and in the general assent of their fellow citizens, and convinced of the brotherly disposition of the Louisianians, waited only for their orders to go and take away, by the irresistible power of their arms, from those despotic usurpers, the Spaniards, the possession of the Mississippi, secure for their country the navigation of it, break the chains of the Americans and of their French brethren in the province of Louisiana, hoist up the flag of liberty in the name of the French republic, and lay the foundation of the prosperity and happiness of two nations, destined by nature to be but one, and so situated as to be the most happy in the universe.

"Citizens: The greater the attempts you have made toward the success of that expedition, the more sensible you must be of the impediments which delay its execution, and the more energetic should your efforts be toward procuring new means of success. There is one from which I expect the greatest advantages, and which may be decisive; that is, an address to the National Convention, or to the Executive Council of France. In the name of my countrymen of Louisiana, in the name of your own interest, I dare once more ask you this new proof of patriotism.

"Being deprived of my dearest hopes, and of the pleasure, after an absence of fourteen years and a proscription of three, of return-

ing to the bosom of my family, my friends, and my countrymen, I have only one course to follow—that of going to France, and expressing to the representatives of the French people the cry, the general wish of the Louisianians to become part of the French republic—informing them, at the same time, of the most ardent desire which the Kentuckians have had, and will continue to have forever, to take the most active part in any undertaking tending to open to them the free navigation of the Mississippi.

"The French republicans, in their sublime constitutional act, have proffered their protection to all those nations who may have the courage to shake off the yoke of tyranny. The Louisianians have the most sacred right to it. They are French, but have been sacrificed to despotism by arbitrary power. The honor, the glory, the duty of the National Convention, is to grant them their powerful support.

"Every petition or plan relative to that important object would meet with the highest consideration. An address from the Democratic Society of Lexington would give it a greater weight.

"Accept, citizens, the farewell, not the last, of a brother who is determined to sacrifice everything in his power for the liberty of his country, and the prosperity of the generous inhabitants of Kentucky. Salut en la patrie."

Francisco Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, succeeded Miro as the governor of Louisiana, on the 30th of December, 1791. The threatened invasion of that province by the partisans of the French republic in Kentucky, greatly alarmed Carondelet, and led him to adopt every measure within his reach to avert the impending danger. With that view, he completed the fortifications of New Orleans, repaired and strengthened the forts at Walnut Hill, Natchez, and New Madrid, concluded a treaty of alliance with the Chickasaws, and organized a militia force of six thousand men, in addition to the Spanish troops under his command, for the defense of the province. Not disposed to trust entirely to these measures of defense, he adopted the policy that had been pursued by Miro, and sought to produce a division among the people of Kentucky, by the bestowment of commercial privileges upon influential men among them, whom it was desirable to attach to the Spanish interest. The prompt interference of the American government dispelled the danger of an invasion of Louisiana, and led immediately to a change in the policy of Carondelet. The Mississippi question was still unsettled; the Genet intrigue had proved that the politicians of Kentucky were hostile to the Federal government; the

intrigue of Miro had proved that they were venal, and Carondelet determined to withdraw the commercial privileges he had granted to the Spanish party, and then to induce them, by the payment of liberal bribes, to tempt the people of Kentucky to dismember the Union, and to form an alliance with Spain, in order to secure the benefits of the trade of the Mississippi.

For this purpose he selected as his emissary Thomas Power, an Englishman, who had become a naturalized subject of Spain, and who was full of zeal for the Spanish interest, and gifted with a natural disposition for intrigue. Power visited Kentucky, ostensibly for the purpose of collecting materials for a Natural History of the West, held private conferences with many of the prominent men of the Spanish party in that State, and on his return made a favorable report to Carondelet, of the disposition they manifested in regard to the purposes he had in view.

Encouraged by the representations of Power, Carondelet dispatched the following letter, under date of July 16th, 1795, to Sebastian, who had been retained by Miro in the pay of the Spanish government, and who, he was led to believe, was ready to renew the intrigue:

"SIR,—The confidence reposed in you by my predecessor, Brigadier-General Miro, and your former correspondence with him, have induced me to make a communication to you highly interesting to the country in which you live, and to Louisiana.

"His majesty, being willing to open the navigation of the Mississippi to the people of the western country, and being also desirous to establish certain regulations, reciprocally beneficial to the commerce of both countries, has ordered me to proceed on the business, and to effect, in a way the most satisfactory to the people of the western country, his benevolent designs.

"I have, therefore, made this communication to you, in expectation that you will procure agents to be chosen, and fully empowered, by the people of your country, to negotiate with Colonel Gayoso on the subject, at New Madrid, whom I shall send there in October next, properly authorized for that purpose, with directions to continue in that place, or its vicinity, until the arrival of your agents.

"I am, by information, well acquainted with the character of some of the most respectable inhabitants of Kentucky, particularly of Innis, Nicholas and Murray, to whom I wish you to communicate the purport of this address; and, should you and those gentlemen think as important of it as I do, you will doubtless accede,

without hesitation, to the proposition I have made of sending a delegation of your countrymen, sufficiently authorized to treat on a subject which so deeply involves the interest of both our countries."

Innis, Nicholas and Murray were consulted, and it was deemed advisable that Sebastian should meet and confer with Gayoso in person. Sebastian met Power at Red Bank, on the Ohio, and was escorted by him to the mouth of the river, opposite which Gayoso was employed with his command in erecting a small stockade fort, rather to furnish a pretext for his presence at that point than for any ulterior object. Gayoso and Sebastian proceeded to New Madrid, where a conference between them was held in regard to the subject of the freedom of the Mississippi. Gayoso presented the outline of a commercial treaty the Spanish government was ready to conclude separately with the people of the West. It conceded to them the privilege of the navigation of the Mississippi, and the trade with Louisiana, upon payment of a duty of four per cent. on all articles of the growth and manufacture of the West. Sebastian claimed that the people of Kentucky were entitled to the free navigation of the Mississippi, and that they would not consent to the imposition of any duty whatever. In order to determine the difference between them, he proposed to proceed with Gayoso to New Orleans, and to confer with Carondelet in relation to the question of the duties. On their arrival Carondelet consented to remove the proposed restrictions, and appointed a day for the conclusion of the treaty with Sebastian. A few days preceding the time appointed for the interview, Sebastian received a message requesting him to wait immediately on the governor, who informed him that a courier had arrived from Havana, with intelligence that a treaty had been concluded between the United States and Spain, in respect to all the matters in dispute between the two countries, and that their negotiation was now at an end.

The court of Madrid had long, under vain pretexts, declined to make any settlement of the questions that had been at issue between it and the United States, ever since the recognition of their independence, in the hope that its agents in Louisiana might be able to effect a separate negotiation in respect to those questions, with the people of the West, and thus to secure a dismemberment of the Union. There was much to encourage the hope that that line of policy would be successful, and that the whole Mississippi valley would by that means be detached from the Union, and fall, if not under the dominion, at least under the

control of the Spanish crown. The American government was new, was weak, and had not yet attached to itself the affection of the people. It was burthened with the debts of the Revolution, it was engaged in a disastrous war with the Indian tribes, it was on the eve, apparently, of another war with Great Britain; the spirit of insubordination was rife among the people, and the Spanish statesmen, little acquainted with the inherent strength of republicanism, were ready to conclude that the republic was on the point of dissolution, and prepared to join the other powers of Europe in making a partition of its territories among them.

But the schemes of the Spanish agents in the West were fruitless; the victory of Wayne closed the Indian war; the difficulties with England were adjusted by negotiations; the internal difficulties of the Union were overcome by the wisdom and prudence of Washington, and no hope was left to the Spanish Government of success in its policy. Aside from this, Spain was becoming involved in the wars that grew out of the French Revolution, and, rather in fear of the hostility of the United States than from any desire to cultivate friendly relations with them, the Spanish cabinet proposed through its minister at Philadelphia, that if an envoy of adequate powers were sent to Madrid, the questions at issue between the two governments might be amicably arranged. Accordingly, Mr. Pinckney was appointed envoy to Spain, on the 24th of November, 1794, and after a long negotiation, a treaty of amity, limits and navigation was concluded.

This treaty, signed by Thomas Pinckney, "a citizen of the United States, and their envoy extraordinary to His Catholic Majesty," on the one part, and on the other by "the most Excellent Lord Don Manuel de Godoy and Alvarez de Faria, Rios, Sanchez, Zarzosa, Prince de la Paz, Duke de la Alcudia, Lord of the Soto de Roma and of the State of Albala, Grandee of Spain of the first class, Perpetual Regidor of the city of Santiago, Knight of the illustrious order of the Golden Fleece and Great Cross of the the royal and distinguished Spanish order of Charles III, commander of Valencia del Ventoso Rivera, and Aceuchal in that of Santiago, Knight and Great Cross of the religious order of St. John, Counselor of State, First Secretary of State and Despatcho, Secretary to the Queen, Superintendent General of the Ports and Highways, Protector of the Royal Academy of the noble Arts and of the Royal Societies of Natural History, Botany, Chemistry, and Astronomy, Gentleman of the King's Chamber, in employment, Captain General of his armies, Inspector and Major of the Royal

Corps of Body Guards, &c. &c. &c.," contains, among other provisions, the following, once deeply interesting to the West:

"It is likewise agreed that the Western boundary of the United States, which separates them from the Spanish colony of Louisiana, is in the middle of the channel or bed of the river Mississippi, from the northern boundary of the said States to the completion of the thirty-first degree of latitude north of the equator. And his Catholic Majesty has likewise agreed that the navigation of the said river in its whole breadth, from its source to the ocean, shall be free only to his subjects and the citizens of the United States, unless he should extend this privilege to the subjects of other powers by special convention.

"And in consequence of the stipulations contained in the fourth article, his Catholic Majesty will permit the citizens of the United States, for the space of three years from this time, to deposit their merchandise and effects in the port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the stores; and his Majesty promises either to continue this permission, if he finds, during that time, that it is not prejudicial to the interests of Spain, or if he should not agree to continue it there, he will assign to them, on another part of the banks of the Mississippi, an equivalent establishment."*

Nothing has hitherto been said in relation to those political parties which arose during the administration of Washington, and which, for many years, divided the country. It may be proper here to refer to their origin and principles, since, though doubtless not responsible for the origin, they assuredly became identified with the progress of the popular commotions in Western Pennsylvania, growing out of the opposition to the excise upon ardent spirits known as the Whisky Insurrection.

When the united colonies had won their independence, and the rule of George III. over them ended, the question, of course, arose as to the nature of the government which was to succeed. Two fears prevailed among the people of the freed provinces. On the one hand, a tendency to monarchy and ultimate tyranny was dreaded; it was thought that a foreign despot had been warred with in vain, if by the erection of a strong central or federal power the foundations of domestic despotism were laid instead; the sovereignty of the several States, balancing one another, and each

* American State Papers, i. 547, 549.

easily controlled by the voice of the people, was, with this party of thinkers, to be the security of the freedom that had been achieved. In Europe, republicanism had been overthrown by the centralizing process, which had substituted the great monarchies for the federal system, and the Italian and Flemish commonwealths; and in America the danger, it was thought, would be of too great a concentration of power in the hands of a central Federal sovereignty.

While these views prevailed among one portion of the American people, another portion dreaded the excess of popular democratic passions, tending constantly to anarchy. To this party, a strong central power seemed essential, not only for financial and commercial purposes, but also to restrain the inevitable disposition of popular governments to the abandonment of all law, all reverence, and all social unity. History and reflection, in short, showed men on the one side, that human rulers are readily converted into despots; on the other, that human subjects were impatient of even wholesome control, and readily converted into licentious and selfish anarchists.

When at length the business sufferings of the country, and the worthlessness of the old confederacy, led to the formation of the present constitution, these parties were forced to compromise, and while the strong executive, and complete centralization of Hamilton, Jay and Adams, had to be abondoned by them and their friends, the complete independence of the States, and the corresponding nullity of Congress, which Patrick Henry, Mason, and Harrison preferred, had also to be given up, or greater evils follow. In this same spirit of compromise upon which our constitution rested, Washington framed his cabinet, and directed his administration, and it seemed possible, that in time, the bitterness of feeling which had shown itself before and during the discussion of the Bond of Union, would die away. But the difficulties of the first administration were enormous, such as no man but Washington could have *met* with success, and even he could not secure the unanimity he wished for.

Among those difficulties, none were greater than the payment of the public debt, and the arrangement of a proper system of finance. The party which dreaded anarchy, which favored a strong central rule, an efficient Federal Government—the federalists, feeling that the whole country, as such, had contracted debts, felt bound in honor and honesty to do every thing to procure their payment; it also felt that the future stability and power of the Federal Government depended greatly upon the establishment of

its credit at the outset of its career. The anti-federalists, who dreaded centralization, on the other hand, favoring State sovereignty, and wishing but a slight national union, neither desired the creation of a national credit, nor felt the obligation of a national debt in the same degree as their opponents, and feared the creation of a moneyed aristocracy by speculations in the public stocks.

When, therefore, Mr. Hamilton, upon whom it devolved, as Secretary of the Treasury, to offer a plan for liquidating the debts of the confederation, attempted the solution of the financial problem, he was certain to displease one party or the other. In generalities, compromises had been found possible, but in details they were not readily admitted. Hamilton, moreover, was one of the most extreme friends of centralization, and any measure emanating from him was sure to be resisted. When he brought forward his celebrated series of financial measures, accordingly, the whole strength of the two divisions, of which mention has been made, appeared for, and against his plans. And it is to be noted, that the question was not a mere question of finance; it involved the vital principles for, and against which the federal and anti-federal parties were struggling. The former actually hoped by means of the funding and bank systems, to found a class whose interests would so bind them to the government, as to give it permanency, while their opponents actually anticipated the formation of a moneyed aristocracy, which would overthrow the power and liberties of the people; they felt they were "sold to stockholders," and like the Roman debtors condemned to slavery.

In the West, the opponents of the central government were numerous. Its formation had been resisted, and its measures were almost all unpopular. The Indian War was a cause of complaint, because Harmar and St. Clair had been defeated; the army was a cause of complaint, because it was the beginning of a system of standing armies. The funding system was hated because of its injustice, inasmuch as it aided speculation, and because it would lead to the growth of a favored class; the western posts were retained by England, the navigation of the Mississippi was under the control of Spain, the frontier was ravaged by the savages, and the popular leaders in the West, persuaded the people that the federal government was doing nothing adequate to remove any of these grievances. It was not strange, then, that the people of Western Pennsylvania, generally of foreign birth or descent, should object to the payment of a tax for the support of a government

they disliked and distrusted, especially, when levied in a form that was peculiarly odious to them.

In all countries the excise has been a hated form of taxation, and Western Pennsylvania at that period was settled chiefly by emigrants from the north of Ireland, where then the ordinary power of the government was insufficient to suppress riots having their origin in the excise laws of England; and they were little disposed to submit peaceably to the imposition of a similar tax, after they had acquired the license and insubordination that naturally grows up on the frontier. They had already acquired a spirit of resistance to that form of taxation. The clashing jurisdictions of Pennsylvania and Virginia had excited animosities in the minds of the advocates of each party, hardly yet healed by the concessions of both; and opposition to the laws of Pennsylvania was not yet effaced by the knowledge of its authority. The idea of a new State west of the mountains had been early broached among them, and became so prevalent that an act of the Assembly declared it high treason to propose it.

Under these circumstances, an attempt had been previously made to enforce an excise law of *Pennsylvania* among these disaffected people of the frontier. In 1786, the excise officer, in his progress through Washington county, was seized by a number of persons, collected from different quarters, his hair cut off from one half of his head, his papers taken from him, and he compelled to tear up his commission and trample it under his feet. Then in a body, increasing as they proceeded, they conducted him out of the county, with every mark of contumely toward him and the government, and with threats of death if he returned. No punishment was inflicted upon the rioters, no further attempt was made to execute the law, and the excise fell in consequence into disuse.

An excise upon ardent spirits moreover was supposed to be a peculiarly oppressive form of taxation. The only means of transporting the produce of the settlements to the eastern markets, at that time, was by means of pack-horses over the mountains. One of these could carry, it was estimated, only four bushels of rye, but was able to transport to market the whisky made from twenty-four bushels. There was no outlet for the exportation of the surplus productions of the West down the Ohio, in consequence, as the people of that region imagined, of the remissness of the General government in not opening for them the navigation of the Mississippi; there was no other form in which that surplus could be better transported to the East than in that of whisky, and, in conse-

quence, that article became almost the sole medium of exchange between the East and the West. Aside from this, it was at that period an article of almost universal use among all classes of the community, and the idea of restraining by law, or otherwise, either its use or abuse, was one that the people of that day were not prepared to appreciate. A tax, therefore, upon whisky was felt to be an unequal burthen, not only or mainly upon the manufacturers of ardent spirits, but especially upon the growers of the agricultural products that entered into it, and upon the whole community, to whom it was an universal beverage. And when the tax upon whisky assumed the form of an excise, which that community had been accustomed to hate, and learned to oppose, it was natural to expect that they would be ready to manifest an opposition to it.

It will thus be seen that the opposition to the excise had its origin in a variety of influences at work among the people of Western Pennsylvania. Many of the more intelligent classes of the population had become attached to the party of the anti-federalists, in opposition to the administration of Washington; and, in addition to their partisan dislikes of the existing government, had many local causes of discontent, real or imaginary, of which they were ready to complain; and this partisan spirit they manifested was, it proved, sufficient to induce them not merely to criticise, but to excite opposition to the measures of the administration. The less intelligent classes were influenced by a blind hatred of all excises, a dislike of the existing government, the example of their leaders, and a spirit of insubordination to the laws of the land.

It was found at the assembling of Congress, in 1790, that it was indispensably necessary to provide means for increasing the revenue of the government. The nation was burthened by the debts of the Revolution, the war in the north-west demanded a greatly increased outlay of the public money, the commerce of the country was small, and consequently the revenue arising from duties was inadequate to meet the public necessities.

It was determined, in compliance with the recommendation of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, to levy a duty on foreign and domestic spirits, to meet the exigencies of the government. A bill for that purpose was introduced into the House of Representatives, on the suggestion of Alexander Hamilton, and passed. It imposed certain rates of taxes on all distilled spirits, according to their strength. Inspection districts were created by the act, in each of which an inspector was to be appointed, whose duty it was to execute the provisions of the law. All distillers were

bound to furnish to the inspector of the district descriptions of their buildings and apparatus, to allow their casks to be branded and gauged by the inspector or his agents, and to pay the duty on their liquors before removing them from their distilleries. But it was provided that small distillers, not in any town or village, should pay, in lieu of the duties, an annual tax, according to the capacity of their stills.

Immediately after the passage of the law, a spirit of opposition began to manifest itself in the West.* At first this opposition was confined to efforts to discourage persons from holding offices connected with the excise; next, associations were formed of those who were ready to "forbear" compliance with the laws; but as men talked with one another, and the excise became more and more identified with the tyranny of Federalism, stronger demonstrations were inevitable, and upon the 27th of July, 1791, a meeting was called at Brownsville, (Redstone,) to consider the growing troubles of the western district of Pennsylvania. This meeting, which was attended by influential and able men, agreed to a convention of representatives from the five counties of Washington, Allegheny, Westmoreland, Fayette and Bedford, included in the fourth survey under the law in question, to be held at Washington, upon the 23d of August.

In relation to the proceedings of that convention, Hamilton says:

"This meeting passed some intermediate resolutions, which were afterward printed in the Pittsburgh Gazette, containing a strong censure on the law, declaring that any person who had accepted or might accept an office under Congress, in order to carry it into effect, should be considered as inimical to the interests of the country; and recommending to the citizens of Washington county to treat every person who had accepted, or might thereafter accept, any such office, with contempt, and absolutely refuse all kind of communication or intercourse with the officers, and to withhold from them all aid, support, or comfort.

"Not content with this vindictive proscription of those who might esteem it their duty, in the capacity of officers, to aid in the execution of the constitutional laws of the land, the meeting proceeded to accumulate topics of crimination of the Government, though foreign to each other; authorizing by this zeal for censure

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* The principal authorities in relation to the Whisky Insurrection, used in the preparation of the following sketch, are the American State Papers, vol. xx, Brackenridge's Incidents. Findley's History, and Sparks' Washington, vol. x, &c. &c.

a suspicion that they were actuated, not merely by the dislike of a particular law, but by a disposition to render the Government itself unpopular and odious.

"This meeting, in further prosecution of their plan, deputed three of their members to meet delegates from the counties of Westmoreland, Fayette and Allegheny, on the first Tuesday of September following, for the purpose of expressing the sense of the people of those counties in an address to the Legislature of the United States, upon the subject of the excise law and other grievances."

Here, for the first time, the connection of the antagonism to the excise, with other topics, was brought forward, and a political character given to the movement, by a general assault upon the measures of the Federal Government. This assault assumed a yet more distinctive character at a subsequent meeting of delegates held at Pittsburgh, upon the 7th of September; at which the salaries of the Federal officers, the interest paid upon the national debt, the want of distinction between the original holders of that debt and those who had bought it at a discount, and the creation of a United States Bank, were all denounced in common with the tax on whisky. At these meetings all was conducted with propriety; and the resolutions adopted gave no direct countenance to violence. And when did the leaders of a community, its legislators, judges and clergy, ever express, in any manner, however, quiet, their utter disregard of law, without a corresponding expression by the masses, if uneducated, in acts of violence? It was not strange, therefore, that upon the day previous to the meeting last named, the collector for the counties of Allegheny and Washington was attacked. One report says:

"A party of men, armed and disguised, waylaid him at a place on Pigeon creek, in Washington county, seized, tarred and feathered him, cut off his hair, and deprived him of his horse, obliging him to travel on foot, a considerable distance, in that mortifying and painful situation.

"The case was brought before the district court of Pennsylvania, out of which processes were issued against John Robertson, John Hamilton, and Thomas McComb, three of the persons concerned in the outrage.

"The serving of these processes was confided by the then marshal, Clement Biddle, to his deputy, Joseph Fox, who, in the month of October, went into Allegheny county for the purpose of serving them.

"The appearances and circumstances which Mr. Fox observed himself in the course of his journey, and learned afterward upon his arrival at Pittsburgh, had the effect of deterring him from the service of the processes, and unfortunately led to adopt the injudicious and fruitless expedient of sending them to the parties by a private messenger, under cover.

"The deputy's report to the marshal states a number of particulars, evincing a considerable fermentation in the part of the country to which he was sent, and inducing a belief, on his part, that he could not with safety have executed the processes. The marshal transmitting this report to the district attorney, makes the following observations upon it: 'I am sorry to add that he, the deputy, found the people, in general, in the western part of the State, and particularly beyond the Allegheny mountains, in such a ferment on account of the act of Congress for laying a duty on distilled spirits, and so much opposed to the execution of the said act, and from a variety of threats to himself personally, although he took the utmost precaution to conceal his errand, that he was not only convinced of the impossibility of serving the process, but that any attempt to effect it would have occasioned the most violent opposition from the greater part of the inhabitants; and he declares that, if he had attempted it, he believes he should not have returned alive. I spared no expense nor pains to have the process of the court executed, and have not the least doubt that my deputy would have accomplished it, if it could have been done.'

"The reality of the danger to the deputy was countenanced by the opinion of Gen. Neville, the inspector of the revenue, a man who before had given, and since has given, numerous proofs of a steady and firm temper; and what followed is a further confirmation of it.

"The person who had been sent with the processes was seized, whipped, tarred and feathered; and, after having his horse and money taken from him, was blindfolded and tied in the woods, in which condition he remained for five hours.

"These intemperate expressions of their feelings by word and deed, startled the government, and puzzled its executive officers: it was determined, however, to await the influence of time, thought, information and leniency, and to attempt, by a reconsideration of the law, at the earliest possible moment, to do away any real cause of complaint which might exist. But popular fury once aroused is not soon allayed; the worst passions of the same people who sent out the murderers of the Moravian Indians, in 1782, had been excited, and excess followed excess.

"Some time in October, 1791, an unhappy man, by the name of Wilson, a stranger in the country, and manifestly disordered in his intellects, imagining himself to be a collector of the revenue, or invested with some trust in relation to it, was so unlucky as to make inquiries concerning distillers who had entered their stills, giving out that he was to travel through the United States, to ascertain and report to Congress the number of stills, &c. This man was pursued by a party in disguise, taken out of his bed, carried about five miles back, to a smith's shop; stripped of his his clothes, which were afterward burnt; and, having been himself inhumanly burnt in several places with a heated iron, was tarred and feathered, and about daylight dismissed, naked, wounded, and otherwise in a very suffering condition.

"These particulars are communicated in a letter from the inspector of the revenue, of the 17th of November, who declares that he had then himself seen the unfortunate maniac, the abuse of whom, as he expressed it, exceeded description, and was sufficient to make human nature shudder. The affair is the more extraordinary, as persons of weight and consideration in that county are understood to have been actors in it, and as the symptoms of insanity were, during the whole time of inflicting the punishment, apparent; the unhappy sufferer displayed the heroic fortitude of a man who conceived himself to be a martyr to the discharge of some important duty.

"Not long after, a person by the name of Roseberry, underwent the humiliating punishment of tarring and feathering with some aggravations, for having, in conversation, hazarded the very natural and just, but unpalatable, remark, that the inhabitants of that county could not reasonably expect protection from a government whose laws they so strenuously opposed.

"The audacity of the perpetrators of these excesses was so great, that an armed banditti ventured to seize and carry off two persons who were witnesses against the rioters, in the case of Wilson, in order to prevent their giving testimony of the riot in a court then sitting, or about to sit."

Notwithstanding the course of the western people, the federal government, during the session of 1791 and '92, proceeded in the discussion of the obnoxious statute; and upon the 8th of May, 1792, passed an amendatory act, making such changes as were calculated to allay the angry feelings that had been excited, except so far as they were connected with political animosities, and which, in most districts, produced the intended results.

But in Western Pennsylvania the opposition continued unabated, and it was announced that the inspectors who, by the new law, were to be appointed for all the counties, should not be allowed to open their offices. Nor was this a mere threat; no buildings could be obtained for the use of the United States, and when, at length, in Washington county, one Captain Faulkner dared to agree that a building of his should be occupied by the inspector, he was waylaid by a mob, a knife drawn upon him, and was threatened with scalping, the burning of his property, and other injuries, if he did not revoke his agreement. So that, upon the 20th of August, under the influence of fear, he did actually break his contract, and upon the next day advertised what he had done in the Pittsburgh Gazette.

On the day of this advertisement, a meeting was held in Pittsburgh, headed by members of the State Legislature, judges, clergymen, and other leading characters. Of these, the late Albert Gallatin was secretary to the meeting; the chairman of the committee was Daniel Bradford, who acted as a leader in many of the violent proceedings.

"This meeting entered into resolutions not less exceptionable than those of its predecessors. The preamble suggests that a tax on spirituous liquors is unjust in itself and oppressive upon the poor; that internal taxes upon consumption must, in the end, destroy the liberties of every country in which they are introduced; that the law in question, from certain local circumstances which are specified, would bring immediate distress and ruin upon the western country; and concludes with the sentiment that they think it their duty to persist in remonstrance to Congress, and in every other legal measure that may obstruct the operation of the law.

"The resolutions then proceed, first, to appoint a committee to prepare and cause to be presented to Congress an address, stating objections to the law, and praying for its repeal; secondly, to appoint committees of correspondence for Washington, Fayette and Allegheny, charged to correspond together, and with such committees as should be appointed for the same purpose in the county of Westmoreland, or with any committees of a similar nature that might be appointed in other parts of the United States; and also, if found necessary, to call together either general meetings of the people in their respective counties, or conferences of the several committees; and lastly, to declare that they will, in future, consider those who hold offices for the collection of the duty as unworthy of their friendship; that they will have no inter-

course nor dealings with them, will withdraw from them every assistance, withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that, as men and fellow citizens, we owe to each other, and will, upon all occasions, treat them with contempt, earnestly recommending to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct toward them."

When notice of this meeting, and of the means used to intimidate Faulkner, was given to the government, Washington issued a proclamation, dated September 15th; the supervisor of the district was sent to the seat of trouble to learn the true state of facts, and to collect evidence; while the attorney general was instructed to inquire into the legality of the proceedings of the Pittsburgh meeting, with a view to the indictment of the leaders. Mr. Randolph, however, felt so much doubt as to the character of the meeting of August 21st, that no prosecutions on that score were instituted, and in serving process upon two persons, said to have been among the assailants of Faulkner, either an error was made, or the accusation proved to be false, which caused that matter also to be dropped by the government. It was then proposed to attempt a gradual suppression of the resistance to the law, by adopting these measures, to wit:

"The prosecution of all distillers who were not licensed, when it could be done with certainty of success, and without exciting violence. The seizure of all illegal spirits on their way to market, when it could be done without leading to outbreaks, and by care that only spirits which had paid duty were bought for the use of the army."

The influence of these measures was in part lost in consequence of the introduction of whisky that paid no tax into the north-western territory, over which some of the laws relative to the matter did not extend; but still their effect was decided. In November, 1792, Wolcott wrote that the opposition was confined to a small part of Pennsylvania, and would soon cease, and through the whole of 1793—although the collector for Fayette county was obliged by force to give up his books and papers, and to promise a resignation, while the Inspector of Allegheny was burnt in effigy before the magistrates, and no notice of the act taken by them; and although when warrants were issued for the rioters in the former case, the Sheriff of the county refused to execute them, yet obedience to the excise became more general, and many of the leading distillers, yielding to the suggestions of pecuniary interest, for the first time entered their stills, and abandoned the party of Bradford and his coadjutors.

This abandonment, the political antagonists of the law by no means relished; still even they might have been subdued, but for the introduction at that very juncture, of Mr. Genet's famous system of democratic societies, which, like the Jacobin clubs of Paris, were to be a power above the government. Genet reached the United States, April 8th; on the 18th of May, he was presented to the President; and by the 30th of that month, the Democratic Society of Philadelphia was organized. By means of this, its affiliated bodies, and other societies based upon it, or suggested by it, the French minister, his friends and imitators, waged their war upon the administration, and gave new energy to every man who, on any ground, was dissatisfied with the laws of his country. Among those dissatisfied, the enemies of the excise were of course to be numbered; and there can be little or no doubt that to the agency of societies formed in the disaffected districts, after the plan of those founded by Genet, the renewed and excessive hostility of the western people to the tax upon spirits is to be ascribed.

The proper Democratic Societies, when the crisis came, disapproved of the violence committed, and so did Gallatin and many others; but, however much they may have disliked an appeal to force, even from the outset, their measures, their extravagances, and political fanaticism, were calculated to result in violence and nothing else. Through the year 1793, the law seemed gaining ground; but with the next January, the demon was loosed again.

"William Richmond, who had given information against some of the rioters in the affair of Wilson, had his barn burnt, with all the grain and hay which it contained; and the same thing happened to Robert Shawhan, a distiller, who had been among the first to comply with the law, and who had always spoken favorably of it; but in neither of these instances, (which happened in the county of Allegheny) though the presumptions were violent, was any positive proof obtained.

"The inspector of the revenue, in a letter of the 27th of February, writes that he had received information that persons living near the dividing line of Allegheny and Washington counties, had thrown out threats of tarring and feathering one William Cochran, a complying distiller, and of burning his distillery; and that it had also been given out that in three weeks there would not be a house standing in Allegheny county of any person who had complied with the laws. In consequence of which, he had been induced to pay a visit to several leading individuals in that quarter, as well to ascertain the truth of the information as to endeavor to avert the attempt to execute such threats.

"It appeared afterward that, on his return home, he had been pursued by a collection of disorderly persons, threatening, as they went along, vengeance against him. On their way, these men called at the house of James Kiddoe, who had recently complied with the laws, broke into his still-house, fired several balls under his still, and scattered fire over and about the house.

"In May and June new violences were committed. James Kiddoe, the person above mentioned, and William Cochran, another complying distiller, met with repeated injury to their property. Kiddoe had parts of his grist-mill, at different times, carried away, and Cochran suffered more material injuries. His still was destroyed; his saw-mill was rendered useless, by the taking away of the saw; and his grist-mill so injured as to require to be repaired, at considerable expense.

"At the last visit, a note in writing was left, requiring him to publish what he had suffered in the Pittsburgh Gazette, on pain of another visit, in which he is threatened, in figurative but intelligible terms, with the destruction of his property by fire. Thus adding to the profligacy of doing wanton injuries to a fellow-citizen the tyranny of compelling him to be the publisher of his wrongs.

"June being the month for receiving annual entries of stills, endeavors were used to open offices in Westmoreland and Washington counties, where it had hitherto been found impracticable. With much pains and difficulty, places were procured for the purpose. That in Westmoreland county was repeatedly attacked in the night by armed men, who frequently fired upon it; but, according to a report which has been made to this department, it was defended with so much courage and perseverance, by John Wells, an auxiliary officer, and Philip Ragan, the owner of the house, as to have been maintained during the remainder of the month.

"That in Washington county, after repeated attempts, was suppressed. The first attempt was confined to pulling down the sign of the office, and threats of future destruction; the second effected the object, in the following mode: About twelve persons, armed and painted black, in the night of the 6th of June, broke into the house of John Lynn, where the office was kept, and, after having treacherously seduced him to come down stairs, and put himself into their power, by a promise of safety to himself and his house, they seized and tied him, threatened to hang him, took him to a retired spot in a neighboring wood, and there, after cutting off his hair, tarring and feathering him, swore him never again to allow the use of his house for an office, never to disclose their names,

and never again to have any sort of agency in aid of the excise; having done which, they bound him, naked, to a tree, and left him in that situation till morning, when he succeeded in extricating himself. Not content with this, the malcontents, some days after, made him another visit, pulled down part of his house, and put him in a situation to be obliged to become an exile from his own home, and to find an asylum elsewhere."

Even these acts, however, were followed by nothing on the part of the government more stringent than the institution, in the June following, of several suits against the rioters, and also against the non-complying distillers, to serve process in which the Marshal of the United States himself visited the West. This led to the catastrophe. These suits were in the United States Court, which sat east of the mountains, where the accused must, of course, be tried. But the seizure of offenders to be tried out of their own neighborhood, was opposed to the feelings of the Americans, and to the principles of that English law upon which they had relied through the discussions which preceded the Revolution. The federal government, it was said, in taking men to Philadelphia to be tried for alleged misdemeanors, was doing what the British did in carrying Americans beyond the sea. Then was shown the power of those societies to which reference has been made. In February, 1794, a society had been formed at Mingo creek, consisting of the militia of that neighborhood, the same persons who led in all future excesses. In April, a second association, of the same character, and a regular democratic club, were formed in the troublesome district. In the latter, nothing was done in relation to the excise, so far as is known, but in the two first named bodies there is reason to believe that the worst spirit of the French clubs was naturalized; the excise and the government thoroughly canvassed, and rebellion, disunion and bloodshed, sooner or later, made familiar to the minds of all.

It may be readily understood that under such circumstances, great excitement was likely to prevail upon slight provocation. Notwithstanding, the marshal for the State, David Lennox, was suffered to serve his writs unresisted, until, when he went with the last process in his hands, he unwisely took with him the inspector of the county, General John Neville, a man once very popular, but who had become odious to the misguided populace, on account of the faithful performance of what he regarded his duty, in the attempt to execute the law. After serving this process, the marshal and inspector were followed by a crowd and a gun was fired,

though without doing any injury. The marshal returned to Pittsburgh and the inspector to his own house; but it being noised abroad that both were at General Neville's, a number of militiamen, who were gathered under the United States law, agreed the next morning to pay the inspector a visit.

For some time, Neville had been looking for an attack, knowing his unpopularity, and had armed his negroes and barricaded his windows. An attack upon his house, with a view to the destruction of his papers, had probably been in contemplation, and those who gathered on the morning of the 16th of July, were determined to carry the proposed destruction into effect. When General Neville discovered the party on that morning around his door, he asked their business, and upon receiving evasive replies, proceeded at once to treat them as enemies; shut his door again and opened a fire, by which six of the assailants were wounded, one of them mortally. This, of course, added greatly to the anger and excitement previously existing; news of the bloodshed was diffused through the Mingo creek neighborhood, and before nightfall steps were taken to avenge the sufferers.

"Apprehending," says Hamiton, "that the business would not terminate here, General Neville made application by letter to the judges, generals of militia and sheriff of the county, for protection. A reply to his application, from John Wilkins, Jr., and John Gibson, magistrates and militia officers, informed him that the laws could not be executed so as to afford him the protection to which he was entitled, owing to the too general combination of the people, in that part of Pennsylvania, to oppose the revenue law; adding, that they would take every step in their power to bring the rioters to justice, and would be glad to receive information of the individuals concerned in the attack upon his house, that prosecutions might be commenced against them; and expressing their sorrow that should the *posse comitatus* of the county be ordered out in support of the civil authority, very few could be gotten that were not of the party of the rioters.

"The day following the insurgents re-assembled with a considerable augmentation of numbers, amounting, as has been computed, to at least five hundred; and, on the 17th of July, renewed their attack upon the house of the inspector, who, in the interval, had taken the precaution of calling to his aid a small detachment from the garrison of Fort Pitt, which, at the time of the attack, consisted of eleven men, who had been joined by Major Abraham Kirkpatrick, a friend and connexion of the inspector.

"There being scarcely a prospect of effectual defense against so large a body as then appeared, and as the inspector had every thing to apprehend for his person, if taken, it was judged advisable that he should withdraw from the house to a place of concealment; Major Kirkpatrick generously agreeing to remain with the eleven men, in the intention, if practicable, to make a capitulation in favor of the property; if not, to defend it as long as possible.

"A parley took place under cover of a flag, which was sent by the insurgents to the house to demand that the inspector should come forth, renounce his office, and stipulate never again to accept an office under the same laws. To this it was replied, that the inspector had left the house upon their first approach, and that the place to which he had retired was unknown. They then declared that they must have whatever related to his office. They were answered that they might send persons, not exceeding six, to search the house and take away whatever papers they could find appertaining to the office. But not satisfied with this, they insisted, unconditionally, that the armed men who were in the house for its defense, should march out and ground their arms, which Major Kirkpatrick peremptorily refused; considering it and representing it to them as a proof of a design to destroy the property. This refusal put an end to the parley.

"A brisk firing then ensued between the insurgents and those in the house, which, it is said, lasted for nearly an hour, till the assailants, having set fire to the neighboring and adjacent buildings, eight in number, the intenseness of the heat, and the danger of an immediate communication of the fire to the house, obliged Major Kirkpatrick and his small party to come out and surrender themselves. In the course of the firing, one of the insurgents was killed and several wounded, and three of the persons in the house were also wounded. The person killed is understood to have been the leader of the party, of the name of James McFarlane, then a major in the militia, formerly a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania line. The dwelling house, after the surrender, shared the fate of the other buildings, the whole of which were consumed to the ground. The loss of property to the inspector, upon this occasion, is estimated, and, as it is believed with great moderation, at not less than three thousand pounds, or ten thousand dollars.

The marshal, together with Col. Presly Neville, and several others, were taken by the insurgents going to the inspector's house. All, except the marshal and Col. Neville, soon made their escape; but these were carried off some distance from the place where the

affray had happened, and detained till one or two o'clock the next morning. In the course of their detention, the marshal, in particular, suffered very severe and humiliating treatment, and was frequently in imminent danger of his life. Several of the party frequently presented their pieces at him with every appearance of a design to assassinate, from which they were with difficulty restrained by the efforts of a few more humane and more prudent.

"Nor could he obtain safety nor liberty, but upon the condition of a promise, guaranteed by Col. Neville, that he would serve no other process on the west side of the Allegheny mountains. The alternative being immediate death, extorted from the marshal a compliance with this condition, notwithstanding the just sense of official dignity, and the firmness of character which were witnessed by his conduct throughout the trying scenes he had experienced.

"The insurgents, on the 18th, sent a deputation of two of their number (one a justice of the peace) to Pittsburgh, to require of the marshal, a surrender of the process in his possession intimating that his compliance would satisfy the people, and add to his safety; and also to demand of Gen. Neville, in peremptory terms the resignation of his office, threatening, in case of refusal, to attack the place and take him by force; demands which both these officers did not hesitate to reject, as alike incompatible with their honor and their duty.

"As it was well ascertained that no protection was to be expected from the magistrates or inhabitants of Pittsburgh, it became necessary to the safety, both of the inspector and the marshal, to quit that place; and, as it was known that all the usual routes to Philadelphia were beset by the insurgents, they concluded to descend the Ohio, and proceed, by a circuitous route, to the seat of government, which they began to put in execution on the night of the 19th of July."

The following points, which are of great importance, do not appear in the above narrative. First, it seems the attack was so deliberate that a committee of three was chosen to superintend it, who sat upon an elevation, and directed the various movements. Second, it seems that the object aimed at was the destruction of official papers, and not property or life. Third, McFarlane, the commander of the rebels was shot dead, when he exposed himself in consequence of a call from the house to cease firing; this was regarded as intentional murder on the part of the defenders. Fourth, there is no doubt as to the burning having been authorized by the committee of attack.

The attack upon Neville's house was an outrage of so violent a character, and the feeling that caused it was of so mixed a nature, that further movements were, of necessity, to be expected. Those who thought themselves justified, as the early actors in the Revolution had been, would of course go forward; those who anticipated the vengeance of the laws, thought it safer to press on and make the rebellion formidable, than to stop and so be unable to hope for terms from the government. The depraved looked for plunder, the depressed for a chance to rise; the ambitious had the great men of France in view before them, and the cowardly followed what they dared not try to withstand.

These various feelings showed themselves at a meeting held July 23d, at Mingo creek, the particulars of which are given by Brackenridge, who attended, in a vivid and clear narrative. The masses were half-mad, filled with true Parisian fury, and drove their apparent leaders powerless before them. At this gathering, a general convention to meet on the 14th of August, at Parkinson's Ferry, now Williamsport, upon the Monongahela, was agreed on; but the more violent meanwhile determined upon steps that would entirely close the way to reconciliation with the government: these were, first, the robbery of the mail, by which they expected to learn who were their chief opponents; next, the expulsion from the country of the persons thus made known; and, lastly, the seizure of the United States arms and ammunition at Pittsburgh. The leading man in these desperate acts was David Bradford, an attorney and politician of some eminence.

The first step was successfully taken on the 26th of July, and General John Gibson, Colonel Presly Neville, son of General John Neville, and three others, were found to have written letters in relation to the late proceedings. This being known, the people of Pittsburgh were requested by the Jacobins of the country to expel these persons forthwith, and such was the fear of the citizens, that the order was obeyed, though unwillingly. But the third project succeeded less perfectly. In order to effect it, a meeting of the masses had been called for August 1st, at Braddock's field; this call was made in the form usual for militia musters, and all were notified to come armed and equipped. Brackenridge was again present, though in fear and trembling. Terror, indeed, appears to have ruled as perfectly as beyond the Atlantic. The Pittsburgh representatives had gone to the conference from fear of being thought lukewarm in the rebel cause, and finding themselves suspected, passed the day in fear.

The object of the gathering, an attack upon the United States arsenal, had been divulged to few, and upon further consultation was abandoned. But it was determined to march to Pittsburgh at any rate, for the purpose of intimidating the disaffected, robbing a few houses, and burning a few stores. The women of the country had gathered to see the sack of the city at the Forks—and it was with difficulty that the conflagration and robbery were prevented; the leaders in general opposed the excesses of their followers; the brother of the murdered M'Farlane protected the property of Major Kirkpatrick, and as others who were most interested in the insurrection showed equal vigor in the prevention of violence, the march to Pittsburgh resulted in nothing worse than the burning of a few barns and sheds.

When a knowledge of the attack on Neville's house, and the subsequent proceedings reached the federal government, it was thought to be time to take decided steps. On the 5th of August, Hamilton laid the whole matter before the president; Judge Wilson of the Supreme Court, having, on the 4th, certified the western counties to be in a state of insurrection; and upon the 7th, Washington issued his proclamation, giving notice that every means in his power would be used to put down the rebellion. As it was his wish, however, and also that of Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania, that no pains should be spared to prevent a recourse to arms, commissioners were appointed, three by the United States, and two by the State, to visit the West, and try to procure an abandonment of the insurrection without bloodshed. The commissioners on the part of the United States were James Ross, a senator in Congress, and a gentlemen very popular with the people in Western Pennsylvania, Jasper Yeates, an Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of that State, and William Bradford, the Attorney General of the United States. Those on the part of Pennsylvania were Thomas M'Kean, Chief Justice of the State, and William Irvine, a Representative in Congress.

When these messengers reached the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, the meeting at Parkinson's ferry was in session, and Gallatin and others were trying to prevent matters from becoming worse than they already were. This meeting, upon receiving notice of the approach of the commissioners, agreed to send a committee of conference, consisting of delegates from the counties of Westmoreland, Allegheny, Fayette, and Washington, in Pennsylvania, and from Ohio county, in Virginia, to treat with them; and at the same time named a standing committee, one from each township, making

sixty in number, to whom the former were to report, and who were authorized to call a new meeting of deputies, or recall the old ones, in order to accept or reject the terms offered on the part of government.

On the 21st of August, the commissioners and committee of conference met, and after some discussion agreed upon terms, which the representatives of the insurgents thought their constituents would do well to accept. They were then submitted to the standing committee, but in that body so much fear and mutual distrust prevailed, as to lead to a mere recommendation to the people to accept the terms offered, by a vote of thirty-four to twenty-three, while the committee themselves failed to give the pledges which had been required of them. This state of things and the knowledge of the fact that even the recommendation was obtained only by shielding the voters through a vote by ballot, proved to the agents for government that little was yet done toward tranquilizing the country.

All the committee-men and leaders were in dread of popular violence, and after various letters had passed, and a second committee of conference had agreed that it would be wise to adopt the terms offered by the government, the question was referred to the people themselves, who were to sign their names to pledges prepared for the purpose; by which pledges they bound themselves to obey the law and help its operation; or, unwilling to do this, they were to refuse distinctly to sign any such promise.

This trial of popular sentiment was to take place on the 11th of September, in the presence of persons who had been at Parkinson ferry meeting, or of magistrates; and the result of the vote was to be by them certified to the commissioners. It would have been well to have given a longer time, that the good disposition of the leaders might have had an opportunity of spreading among the people, but as the President in his proclamation had required a dispersion by the 1st of September, it was thought impossible to wait. On the 11th a vote was taken, but very imperfect and unsatisfactory. In some portions of the country, men openly refused obedience to the law; in some, they were silent; in some they merely voted by ballot for and against submission; and upon the whole gave so little proof of a disposition to support the legal officers that the judges of the vote did not feel willing to give certificates that offices of inspection could be safely established in the several counties, and the commissioners were forced to return to Philadelphia without having accomplished their objects.

On the 24th of September they reported their proceedings and failure to the President; who, upon the 25th, called the militia of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia, into the field, under the command of Henry Lee, Governor of the State last named. The mal-contents being still sufficiently numerous to resist the execution of the revenue laws, the government marched forward the army, consisting of about fourteen thousand militia. Washington himself visited the troops, and met some deputations from the western counties, but was unable to accompany the army to Pittsburgh, whither, however, General Hamilton went to represent the executive.*

"An unusual quantity of rain having fallen during the autumn, the army suffered greatly on their march, particularly several regiments composed of mechanics, merchants and others, from the cities, who were not inured to such hardships. They became so disheartened that if the passes of the mountains had been disputed by only one thousand resolute insurgents, the army might have been greatly disheartened, if not defeated. But they met no resistance, either in the mountains or in the infected districts.

"Bradford and a few others who had the most to fear, fled to the Spanish country on the Mississippi. Others, equally guilty, but less notorious offenders, sought security in sequestered settlements. 'Not a dog wagged his tongue' against the army, which marched to Pittsburgh and took up their quarters." †

To prevent a renewal of the insurrection, and secure obedience to the law, an armed force under General Morgan, remained through the winter west of the mountains. Thus, at a cost of $669,992.34, the whisky riots were ended.

But there is reason to think that the money was well spent; and that the insurrection was a wholesome eruption. It served several good purposes; it alarmed the wiser portion of the democratic party, who saw how much of Jacobin fury lay hidden in the American people; it proved to the wiser part of the friends of the administration, that the societies they so much hated, even if they originated the evil feelings prevalent in the West, would not countenance the riotous acts that followed. The unruly portion of the western people was awed by the energy of the executive,

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*It was the fixed determination of Washington that whatever expense it might cost, whatever inconvenience it might occasion, the people must be taught obedience, and the authority of the laws re-established.

†Wilkeson's Recollections.

and to those who loved order, the readiness of the militia to march to the support of government was evidence of a much better disposition than most had hoped to find. In addition to these advantages, may be named the activity of business, caused by the expenditure of so large a sum of money in the West, and the increase of frontier population from the ranks of the army.

A few additional facts, selected from Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania:

"The province of Pennsylvania, as early as 1756, had looked to the excise on ardent spirits for the means of sustaining its bills of credit. The original law, passed to continue only ten years, was from time to time continued, as necessities pressed upon the treasury. During the Revolution, the law was generally evaded in the West, by considering all spirits as *for domestic use*, such being excepted from excise; but when the debts of the Revolution began to press upon the States, they became more vigilant in the enforcement of the law. Opposition arose at once in the western counties. Liberty-poles were erected, and the people assembled in arms, chased off the officers appointed to enforce the law. The object of the people was to compel a repeal of the law, but they had not the least idea of subverting the government.

"The pioneers of this region, descended as they were from North Britain and Ireland, had come very honestly by their love of whisky; and many of them had brought their hatred of an exciseman from the old country. The western insurgents followed, as they supposed, the recent example of the American Revolution. The first attempt of the British parliament—the very cause of the Revolution—had been an excise law. There was nothing at that day disreputable in either making or drinking whisky.

"No temperance societies then existed; to drink whisky was as common and honorable as to eat bread; and the fame of 'old Monongahela' was proverbial, both at the East and the West. Distilling was then esteemed as moral and respectable as any other business. It was early commenced, and extensively carried on in Western Pennsylvania. There was neither home nor foreign market for rye, their principal crop; the grain would not bear packing across the mountains. Whisky, therefore, was the most important item of remittance to pay for their salt, sugar and iron. The people had cultivated their land for years at the peril of their lives, with little or no protection from the Federal government; and when, by extraordinary efforts, they were enabled to raise a little more grain than their immediate wants required, they were

met with a law restraining them in the liberty of doing what they pleased with the surplus. The people of Western Pennsylvania regarded a tax on whisky in the same light as the citizens of Ohio would now regard a United States tax on lard, pork, or flour."

It is but justice to General John Neville and his descendants, that the following extract from the pen of the late Judge Wilkeson should be recorded. It is to be found, with much other valuable matter, in his "Early Recollections of the West."

"In order to allay opposition, (to the excise law,) as far as possible, General John Neville, a man of the most deserved popularity, was appointed inspector for Western Pennsylvania. He accepted the appointment from a sense of duty to his country. He was one of the few men of wealth who had put his all at hazard for independence. At his own expense, he raised and equipped a company of soldiers, marched them to Boston, and placed them, with his son, under the command of General Washington. He was the father of Col. Pressly Neville, the brother-in-law of Major Kirkpatrick, and the father-in-law of Major Craig, both of them officers highly respected in the western country. Besides Gen. Neville's claims as a soldier and patriot, he had contributed greatly to relieve the sufferings of the settlers in his vicinity. He divided his last loaf with the needy; and in a season of more than ordinary scarcity, he opened his fields to those who were suffering with hunger. If any man could have executed this odious law, General Neville was that man."

Among those who deserve to be remembered in connection with the whisky riots, is Alexander Addison, presiding judge of the court of common pleas of the fifth circuit of Pennsylvania. His charge to the grand jury of Allegheny county, at the December sessions in 1794, "on the late insurrection," is a calm, temperate, and yet manly appeal to the reason of the people, in support of the majesty of the law. The jury, however, did not, and probably dared not, respond to its views. He says:

"The late insurrection in this country, from the numbers concerned in it, the manner in which it was conducted, the object it proposed to accomplish, the fatal effects which it produced, and the melancholy prospects which it exhibited, may be considered as the most alarming event that has occurred in America for many years. When authority has been encountered with tumult, and laws have been suspended by armed men, when the rage of some citizens has attacked the lives of other citizens, and destroyed their

houses and property by fire, every man of a sober mind must be impressed with concern, and seriously consider to what these things tend.

"We profess to admire liberty, and to respect the principles of a democratic republic, as the best source of government; and we consider our own government as founded on those principles. Will we be honest in our profession, and act on the principles which we admire? The principles of a democracy are, that the whole people, either personally, or by their representatives, should have the power of making laws. But what law is it in which the whole people would concur? So various are the faculties and the interests of men, that unanimity of many, in any measure, is seldom to be expected; of a whole people, almost never. If no law were to be made, therefore, till the whole people should assent to it, no law would almost ever be made. But as laws must be made, there is a necessity that the will of some of the people should be constrained; and reason requires that the greater number should bind the less. In our government, therefore, the will of the majority is equivalent to the will of the whole, and as such must be obeyed; unless we will avow that we mean to change or destroy the principles of our government, by violence and terror, and abandoning reason, the principle of action in man, degrade ourselves to the rank of brutes.

"To permit or assume a power in any particular part of a State, to defeat or evade a law, is to establish a principle that every part of a State may make laws for itself; or, in other words, that there shall be no law, no State, and no duty; but a complication of separate societies, acting each according to its pleasure. Those societies will again be subdivided; for a majority, or the whole, of any society will have no authority to control any one refractory member. Each man in the State will be free from all law but his own will. Government and society are then destroyed; anarchy is established; and the wicked and the strong, like savages and wild beasts, prey on the whole, and on one another.

"I hold, therefore, that a forcible opposition to law, instead of favoring liberty, is the surest way to destroy it. Is, then, forcible resistance to law never justifiable? Never; if the law be consistent with the constitution. If a law be not contradictory to the principles of the constitution, however erroneous those principles be, it is entitled to obedience. If a law be bad, let those who dislike it apply, by petition to the legislature, for its repeal. If the legisla-

ture refuse, let the petitioners change their representatives. If a law be repugnant to the constitution, the constitution, being the paramount authority, silences the law and makes it void.

"And considering the fraternal band which ties us together, and the source of our laws, from the appointment of the whole people; ought we rashly to abandon a confidence that, as soon as a law is plainly proved, by experience, to be oppressive to us, our brethren will relieve us? Would not we do so to others? And have others less virtue than we?

"The late troubles exhibit an awful lesson, which it would be inexcusable to pass over without attention and improvement. During their existence the passions were too much excited, and the mind too little at leisure, to examine thoroughly their nature or effects; and terror debarred the exercise of freedom of opinion and expression. But now, when the storm is over, it becomes our duty to look back on the past scenes, to contemplate the ruins it made, and speaking of the leading transactions freely and without disguise, to bestow some serious reflections on their nature and tendency. These reflections, while they afford us an opportunity of remarking how fatal to happiness is a resistance to lawful authority, will show us also how opposite to liberty anarchy is.

"Some of the plainest dictates of personal liberty, if not its most essential principles, are, that every man be free to think, to speak, and to act, as his inclination and judgment may lead him, provided he offend not against any law; that no man shall be tried or punished according to the arbitrary will of any individual, but according to the established forms and rules of the law; and that the enjoyment of every man's property shall be secured to him, until he forfeit it by the sentence of the law, and that sentence be executed by the proper officer. With these maxims compare the effects of anarchy, as we have experienced it. Because the interest or inclination of some men led them to accept and execute certain offices, established by public authority, lawless bodies of men, assembled for the purpose of riot and violence, seized, insulted, and abused their persons, entered their houses by force, and destroyed both their houses and property by fire. If any thing can place such transactions in a more detestable light than at first sight they must appear, it may be this: that, if these things may be done for any cause, however good, there needs no more for their execution, for every cause, than that the party to execute them be of opinion that the cause is good. Let but a mob assemble, however small it be, if sufficient to accomplish its purpose; let them

agree in opinion that such a man is dangerous, and, therefore, that his property ought to be destroyed; and it is instantly done. Let but one man hate another, and resolve to destroy him, he has only to assemble a few of similar sentiments, or over whom he has influence, they instantly pretend to be the people; and the work of malice is accomplished, under the semblance of zeal for the public good.

"They will do deeds which they never before intended, and from which, had they been suggested, they would have shrunk back with horror; and they will do them, from no motive, and to no end of interest to themselves or others, but merely from the rashness of the moment, a sally of wantonness, or an impulse of malice. Let us learn, therefore, to confine our conduct within the strict line of duty, and remember that the first transgression renders easy every subsequent one, however enormous.

"As, it seems, an opinion pretty generally prevailed, that riots in *this case* were proper, it appeared hard that those who engaged in them should suffer for their services in the public cause; and it seems to have been believed, that the best way to protect them was by multiplying the number of offenders, to make the punishment of any appear dangerous. Perhaps, here, one might find matter for questioning whether it be not desirable that wickedness should be accompanied with understanding; and whether folly be not the most mischievous of all qualities.

"The danger of this country from Indian incursions had rendered it often necessary to assemble the militia, without waiting for the orders of government, which would come too late for the danger. From experience it was found that attack was the best defense. Hence, voluntary expeditions into the Indian country were frequently undertaken, and government, from a sense of their utility, afterward sanctioned them, by defraying their expenses. In this manner, *it had become habitual with the militia of these counties to assemble at the call of their officers, without inquiring into the authority or object of the call.* This habit, well known to the contrivers of the rendezvous at Braddock's field, rendered the execution of their plan an easy matter. They issued their orders to the officers of the militia, who assembled their men, accustomed to obey orders of this kind, given on the sudden, and without authority. The militia came together, without knowing from whom the orders originated, or for what purpose they met. And, when met, it was easy to communicate, from breast to breast, more or less of the popular frenzy, till all felt it, or found it prudent to dissemble and

feign that they felt it. This gave appearance, at least, of strength and unanimity to the insurrection, silenced the well disposed, and emboldened ruffians to proceed with audacity to subsequent outrages, which there was no energy to restrain, nor force to punish.

"But, gentlemen, the past cannot be recalled: let us only study to improve by it; and strive to make some compensation, by our future conduct. For this purpose, let us suppress the first seeds of sedition and riot, before they grow up as before, to a strength not to be resisted. Let every witness of such things carry the offender before a magistate, that justice may be executed. And let every magistrate take heed, "that he bear not the sword in vain." To permit criminals to escape from punishment, is to encourage crimes. Impunity begets offenses, as corruption begets maggots. A few examples of punishment of the late disorder, given among ourselves, in each county, will, perhaps, secure our peace, for many years, and prevent the existence of many crimes, and the necessity of many and severe punishments.

"To your particular and serious consideration, gentlemen, do I address these sentiments. You are the door, by which only, justice may be come at. By you, a way may be opened to justice. By you, justice may be shut up. In your hands, the laws of your country have placed this authority; and for the exercise of it strictly, according to law and truth, you are bound by your oaths, and answerable to your God. You have no discretion to do as you please: your opinions must be governed by the laws; your belief must be guided by testimony; and so you have sworn. It is not for you to determine whether it be *expedient* that punishment should be inflicted on any particular offender, but only whether it be *true* that any particular person is an offender.

"I do, therefore, solemnly adjure you, to deal faithfully, and make true presentments, in all cases of any breach of the peace, or other offense, especially respecting the late troubles. This will be the true test of our integrity, and will determine how far government ought to trust us with the management of ourselves. Whenever a bill is sent up to you, if it be proved true, I call upon you, as you regard your oaths, and the interest of your country to *find* it so. Where any offense is within the knowledge of any of you, I call upon you, by the same regard to your oaths and your country, that you present the facts to us, or give information of them to the prosecutor for the State, that he may draw up a bill, to be *found* on your knowledge.

"Do your duty, gentlemen, and satisfy your own consciences.

Present all offenders, whatever, to the justice of your country. This you are bound, by your oaths, to do. Whether those offenders shall be considered as proper objects of mercy, or of punishment, it is not for you to decide. That question lies with others; and you cannot take it up, without violating your oaths, and prostrating the principles of our laws and government."

In May or June, 1788, Joel Barlow left this country for Europe, "authorized to dispose of a very large body of land" in the West. In 1790, this gentleman distributed proposals in Paris, for the sale of lands at five shillings per acre, which promised, says Volney, "a climate healthy and delightful; scarcely such a thing as frost in winter; a river, called, by way of eminence, 'The Beautiful,' abounding in fish of an enormous size; magnificent forests of a tree from which sugar flows, and a shrub which yields candles; venison in abundance, without foxes, wolves, lions or tigers; no taxes to pay; no military enrollments; no quarters to find for soldiers. Purchasers became numerous, individuals and whole families disposed of their property; and in the course of 1791, some embarked at Havre, others at Bordeaux, Nantes, or Rochelle," each with his title deed in his pocket.

Five hundred settlers, among whom were not a few carvers and gilders to his majesty, coachmakers, friseurs, and peruke makers, and other artisans and *artistes*, equally well fitted for a backwoods' life, arrived in the United States in 1791–92; and, acting without concert, traveling without knowledge of the language, customs or roads, they at last managed to reach the spot designated for their residence, after expending nearly or quite, the whole proceeds of their sales in France.*

They reached the spot designated, but it was only to learn, that the persons whose title deeds they held, did not own one foot of land, and that they had parted with all their worldly goods merely to reach a wilderness, which they knew not how to cultivate, in the midst of a people, of whose speech and ways they knew nothing, and at the very moment when the Indians were carrying destruction to every white man's hearth.

Without food, without land, with little money, no experience, and with want and danger closing around them, they were in a position that none but Frenchmen could be in without despair.

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* Volney's view of the climate and soil of the United States, &c. The sugar-tree was the maple, and the wax-bearing myrtle, the shrub that yielded candles.

Who brought them to this pass? Volney says, the Scioto Company, which had bought of the Ohio Company; Mr. Hall says in his letters from the West, a company who had obtained a grant from the United States; and, in his statistics of the West, the Scioto company, which was formed from or by the Ohio company, as a subordinate. Barlow, he says, was sent to Europe by the Ohio Company; and by them the lands in question were conveyed to the Scioto company. Kilbourn says, "the Scioto Land Company, which intended to buy of Congress all the tract between the western boundary of the Ohio Company's purchase and the Scioto, directed the French settlers to Gallipolis, supposing it to be west of the Ohio Company's purchase, though it proved not to be." The Company, he says, failed to make their payments, and the whole proposed purchase remained with government.*

The truth undoubtedly is, that those for whom Barlow acted, were the persons referred to by Dr. Cutler, who joined with the Ohio Company in their purchase to the extent of three and one-half millions of acres, among whom, he says, were many of the principal characters of America; and this is demonstrated by the fact, that Col. Duer, who applied to Dr. Cutler "to take in another company," as the agent of the Scioto Company did receive the French immigrants and send them to Gallipolis.

These persons, however, never paid for their lands, and could give no title to the emigrants they had allured across the ocean. Their excuse was, that their agents had deceived them, but it was a plea good neither in morals or law. Who those agents were, and how far they were guilty, and how far the company was so, are points which seem to be still involved in doubt.

But whatever doubt there may be as to the causes of the suffering, there can be none as to the sufferers. The poor gilders and carvers and peruke makers, who had followed a jack-a-lantern into the "howling wilderness," found that their lives depended upon their labor. They must clear the ground, build their houses, and till their fields. Now the spot upon which they had been located by the Scioto Company was covered in part with those immense sycamore trees, which are so frequent along the rivers of the West, and to remove which is no small undertaking even for the American woodsman. The coachmakers were wholly at a loss; but at last, hoping to conquer by a *coup-de-main*, they tied ropes to the branches,

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* Kilbourn's Gazetteer, 1831.

and while one dozen pulled at them might and main, another dozen went at the trunk with axes, hatchets, and every variety of edged tool, and by dint of perseverance and cheerfulness, at length overcome the monster, though not without some hair-breadth escapes; for when a mighty tree, that had been hacked on all sides, fell, it required a Frenchman's heels to avoid the sweep of the wide-spread branches. But when they had felled the last tree, they were little better off than before, for they could not move or burn it. At last a good idea came to their aid; and while some chopped off the limbs, others dug by the side of the trunk, a great grave, into which, with many a heave, they rolled their fallen enemy.

Their houses they did not build in the usual straggling American style, but made two rows or blocks of log cabins, each cabin being about sixteen feet square; while at one end was a larger room, which was used as a council-chamber and ball-room.

In the way of cultivation they did little. The land was not theirs, and they had no motive to improve it; and, moreover, their coming was in the midst of the Indian war. Here and there a little vegetable garden was formed; but their main supply of food they were forced to buy from boats on the river, by which means their remaining funds were sadly broken in upon.

Five of their number were taken prisoners by the Indians; food became scarce; in the fall, a marsh behind the town sent up miasm that produced fevers; then winter came, and, despite of Mr. Barlow's promise, brought frost in plenty; and, by and by, they heard from beyond seas of the carnage that was desolating the fire-sides they had left. Never were men in a more mournful situation; but still, twice in the week, the whole colony came together, and to the sound of the violin danced off hunger and care.

The savage scout that had been lurking all day in the thicket, listened to the strange music, and hastening to his fellows, told them, that the whites would be upon them, for he had seen them at their war-dance; and the careful Connecticut man, as he guided his broadhorn in the shadow of the Virginia shore, wondered what mischief "the red varmint" were at next; or, if he knew the sound of the fiddle, shook his head, as he thought of the whisky that must have been used to produce all that merriment.

But French vivacity, though it could work wonders, could not pay for land. Some of the Gallipolis settlers went to Detroit, others to Kaskaskia; a few bought their lands of the Ohio Company, who treated them with great liberality; and in 1795, Congress, being informed of the circumstances, granted to the sufferers

twenty-four thousand acres of land opposite Little Sandy river, to which, in 1798, twelve hundred acres more were added; which tract has since been known as *French Grant.*

The influence of this settlement upon the State was unimportant; but it forms a curious little episode in Ohio history, and affords a strange example of national character.*

During this period, however, other settlements had been taking place in Ohio, which in their influence upon the destinies of the State were deeply felt;—that of the Virginia Reserve, between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers, that of the Connecticut Reserve, and that of Dayton.

In 1787, the reserved lands of the Old Dominion, north of the Ohio, were examined, and in August of that year entries were commenced. Against the validity of these entries, Congress, in 1788, entered their protest. This protest, which was practically a prohibition of settlement, was withdrawn in 1790. As soon as this was done, it became an object to have surveys made in the reserved region, but as this was an undertaking of great danger, in consequence of the Indian wars, high prices in land or money had to be paid to the surveyors.

The person who took the lead in this gainful but unsafe enterprise was Nathaniel Massie, then twenty-seven years old. He had been for six years or more in the West, and had prepared himself in Colonel Anderson's office for the details of his business. Thus prepared, in December, 1790, he entered into the following contract with certain persons therein named:

"Articles of agreement between Nathaniel Massie, of one part, and the several persons that have hereunto subscribed, of the other part, witnesseth, that the subscribers hereof doth oblige themselves to settle in the town laid off, on the north-west side of the Ohio, opposite the lower part of the Two Islands; and make said town, or the neighborhood, on the north-west side of the Ohio, their permanent seat of residence for two years from the date hereof; no subscriber shall absent himself more than two months at a time, and during such absence furnish a strong, able-bodied man sufficient to bear arms at least equal to himself; no subscriber shall absent himself the time above mentioned in case of actual danger, nor shall such absence be but once a year; no subscriber shall

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*See the communication of Mr. Meulette—Also American Pioneer, i. 94.

absent himself in case of actual danger, or if absent shall return immediately. Each of the subscribers doth oblige themselves to comply with the rules and regulations that shall be agreed on by a majority thereof for the support of the settlement.

"In consideration whereof, Nathaniel Massie doth bind and oblige himself, his heirs, &c., to make over and convey to such of the subscribers that comply with the above mentioned conditions, at the expiration of two years, a good and sufficient title unto one in-lot in said town, containing five poles in front and eleven back, one out-lot of four acres convenient to said town, in the bottom, which the said Massie is to put them in immediate possession of, also one hundred acres of land, which the said Massie has shown to a part of the subscribers; the conveyance to be made to each of the subscribers, their heirs or assigns.

"In witness whereof, each of the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals, this 1st day of December, 1790."

The town thus laid off was situated some twelve miles above Maysville, and was called Manchester; it is still known to the voyager on the Ohio. From this point, Massie and his companions made surveying expeditions through the perilous years from 1791 to 1796, but though often distressed and in danger, they were never wearied nor afraid; and at length, with Wayne's treaty all danger of importance was at an end.*

Connecticut, as has been stated, had, in 1786 resigned her claims to western lands, with the exception of a reserved tract extending one hundred and twenty miles beyond Pennsylvania. Of this tract, so far as the Indian title was extinguished, a survey was ordered in October, 1786, and an office opened for its disposal; part was sold, and in 1792, half a million of acres were given to those citizens of Connecticut, who had lost property by the acts of the British troops, during the Revolutionary War, at New London, New Haven and elsewhere; these lands are known as the "Firelands" and the "Sufferers' lands," and lie in the western part of the reserve. In May, 1795, the Legislature of Connecticut authorized a committee to take steps for the disposal of the remainder of their western domain; this committee made advertisement accordingly, and before autumn had disposed of it to fifty-six persons, forming the Connecticut Land Company, for one million two hundred thousand dollars, and upon the 5th or 9th of Septem-

* McDonald's Sketch of General Massie.

ber, quit-claimed to the purchasers the whole title of the State, territorial and juridical.

These purchasers, on the same day, conveyed the three millions of acres transferred to them by the State, to John Morgan, John Caldwell, and Jonathan Brace, in trust; and upon the quit-claim deeds of those trustees, the titles to all real estate in the Western Reserve, of necessity, rest. Surveys were commenced in 1796, and by the close of 1797, all the lands east of the Cuyahoga were divided into townships five miles square. The agent of the Connecticut Land Company was General Moses Cleveland, and in honor of him the leading city on the Reserve, in 1796, received its name. That township and five others were retained for private sale, and the remainder were disposed of by a lottery, the first drawing in which took place in February, 1798.

Wayne's treaty also led at once to the foundation of Dayton, and the peopling of that fertile region. The original proposition by Symmes had been for the purchase of two millions of acres between the Miamies; this was changed very shortly to a contract for one million, extending from the Great Miami eastwardly twenty miles; but the contractor being unable to pay for all he wished, in 1792, a patent was issued for 248,540 acres.

But although his tract was by contract limited toward the east, and greatly curtailed in its extent toward the north, by his failure to pay the whole amount due, Judge Symmes had not hesitated to sell lands lying between the eastern boundary of his purchase and the Little Miami, and even after his patent issued continued to dispose of an imaginary right in those north of the quantity patented. The first irregularity, the sale of lands along the Little Miami, was cured by the act of Congress in 1792, which authorized the extension of his purchase from one river to the other; but the sales of territory north of the tract transferred to him by Congress, were so entirely unauthorized in the view of the government, that in 1796 it refused to recognize them as valid, and those who had become purchasers beyond the patent line, were at the mercy of the federal rulers, until an act was procured in their favor in 1799, by which pre-emption rights were secured to them.

Among those who were thus left in suspense during three years, were the settlers throughout the region of which Dayton forms the centre.

Seventeen days after Wayne's treaty, St. Clair, Wilkinson, Jonathan Dayton, and Israel Ludlow contracted with Symmes for the

seventh and eighth ranges, between Mad river and the Little Miami. Three settlements were to be made, one at the mouth of Mad river, one on the Little Miami, in the seventh range, and another on the Mad river.

On the 21st of September, 1795, Daniel C. Cooper started to survey and mark out a road in the purchase, and John Dunlap to run its boundaries, which was done before the 4th of October. Upon the 4th of November, Mr. Ludlow laid off the town of Dayton, which was disposed of by lottery.

From 1790 to 1795, the Governor and Judges of the North-West Territory published sixty-four statutes. Thirty-four of these were adopted at Cincinnati, during June, July and August of the last named year, and were intended to form a pretty complete body of statutory provisions; they are known as the Maxwell Code, from the name of the publisher, but were passed by Governor St. Clair and Judges Symmes and Turner.

Among them was that which provided that the common law of England, and all statutes in aid thereof, made previous to the fourth year of James I, should be in full force within the territory.

Of the system, as a whole, Mr. Chase says that, with many imperfections, "it may be doubted whether any colony, at so early a period after its first establishment, ever had one so good."

Just after the conclusion of Wayne's treaty, a speculation in Michigan, of the most gigantic kind, was undertaken by certain astute New Englanders, named Robert Randall, Charles Whitney, Israel Jones, Ebenezer Allen, &c., who, in connection with various persons in and about Detroit, proposed to buy of the Indians eighteen or twenty million acres, lying on Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan, the pre-emption right of which they hoped to obtain from the United States, by giving members of Congress an interest in the investment.

Some of the members who were approached, however, revealed the plan, and Randall, the principal conspirator, having been reprimanded, the whole speculation disappeared.

Another enterprise, equally gigantic, but far less objectionable, dates from the 20th of February, 1795, to wit, the North American Land Company, which was formed in Philadelphia, under the management of Robert Morris, John Nicholson and James Greenleaf. This company owned vast tracts in various States, which, under an agreement bearing date as above, were offered to the public.

PERIOD VI.

1796—1811.

Before the close of the year 1795, the Union had safely passed through the first great crisis in its history. At its formation it was embarrassed with debt; it was embroiled in difficulties with England, Spain and France; its first years were occupied in prosecuting a harassing war with the Indian tribes, and in quelling the spirit of insubordination to its authority among its own citizens. But these difficulties were now overcome by the wisdom and prudence of the first chief Executive, and by the devotion and fidelity of the men to whom the administration of the new government was committed; and all the questions at issue with foreign powers, and all the embarrassments that threatened the safety of the country at home, were met and settled by them in a way that neither compromised the national honor, nor sacrificed the national interest.

The new government inherited from the confederation a difficulty with Great Britain, which in the end threatened to involve the two nations in another war, and to dismember the North-West from the Union, by the means of a protectorate over the Indian tribes; but the vigor and prudence of the government secured a treaty by which all its rights were maintained, and the integrity of its territory guaranteed. It inherited a difficulty with Spain, which that power sought, through the venality of their politicians, to separate the territories of the South-West from the Union, and to extend its power to the Alleghenies; but the schemes of the conspirators against the integrity of their country were disconcerted, and Spain was compelled to surrender the control of the Mississippi, through which only they and she hoped for the realization of the objects of their tortuous policy. It encountered and defeated the attempt of the agents of the French Republic to seduce the people of the country into opposition to their government, to ally themselves with the radical republicans of France, and to plunge the nation into the vortex of the European war. It was called to meet the combined hostility of all the tribes of the North-West, and it succeeded, after great expenditures and great sacrifices, in destroying their power,

and in extending the authority of the nation over them and their country. It was met with great opposition in all its measures by the disaffected portion of its own citizens—an opposition so bitter as to break out in open insurrection against the execution of its laws—but it overcame that opposition, and quelled that revolt, without the shedding of blood, or without such exercise of its authority as would alienate and embitter any portion of the people.

While the administration of Washington was thus successful in averting the dangers that beset the new government, at home and abroad, the beneficial effects of its policy were especially felt in the West. The successful close of the Indian war, and the treaty of Greenville especially, were hailed with joy everywhere along the frontier. All the population of the West had participated in the dangers and privations of the war, and they were all now ready to enjoy the quiet and security of the peace. The great and fertile region north-west of the Ohio was now open to the enterprise of the pioneer population of the West; the danger of Indian hostility was at an end; and an emigration began immediately to find its way to the valleys of the Miamies, the Scioto, and the Muskingum, so considerable that the population of the North-West, before the close of the year 1796, was estimated at five thousand.

Western Pennsylvania, too, experienced the beneficial results of the cessation of hostilities with the Indians, and the suppression of the insubordinate spirit of a portion of its people. Settlers began to come from the east to extend its settlements, and to fill up its towns. The region east and south of the Ohio and Allegheny began at once to receive a large accession of population, and, it is said, at the close of the year 1795, Pittsburgh contained a population of fourteen hundred souls.

The region north and west of the Allegheny and the Ohio was, at the close of the Indian war, mainly a wilderness, with here and there only an isolated settlement or a solitary cabin. Several small forts and block houses were built in that region through the period of the Revolutionary and Indian wars.

A fort was built on the site of the old village of Kittanning, known also by the name of Appleby's fort, by the government, in 1776.

In 1791, Captain Orr built a block house near the site of Tarentum, on the west side of the Allegheny river.

In 1787, a fort named Franklin was built near the mouth of French creek, about a mile above the site of the old French fort,

Venango, by a detachment of United States troops from Fort Pitt, under the command of Captain Hart.

In 1794, a block house was built near the site of the old French fort, Le Bœuf, by Major Denny, then in command of an expedition to Presqu' Isle, as the means of cutting off the communication of the Six Nations with the Western Indians.

With the same object, in 1795, under the direction of General Irvine, two block houses were built at Presqu' Isle, and a small garrison was maintained there for a time for the protection of the surveyors engaged in ascertaining and locating the donation lands in that region of the State.

Around these points, and at others along the Allegheny, hardy and adventurous settlers had gathered as early as 1790, and, after the passage of the land law of 1792, many settlers passed over into that region, but the continuance of Indian hostilities drove the greater number of them from their claims. And it was from this circumstance, combined with the unwise and injudicious legislation of the State at that period, that those difficulties arose in regard to the titles to the lands in North-Western Pennsylvania, that so long impeded, and still to a limited extent affects its prosperity.

It may be proper here, then, to make reference to the land laws of North-Western Pennsylvania, and the influence they exerted on the settlement of that region.*

The title to all the lands within the limits of Pennsylvania was vested in William Penn, and his heirs, by the terms of the royal charter of Charles II, on the 4th of March, 1681. The title conveyed in that charter, however, to Penn, did not justify him in disregarding the prior rights of the aboriginal inhabitants, and, in a spirit of justice that contrasts nobly with the policy pursued by his contemporaries, "he established a rule in his province that no lands should be occupied by his people, until they were first purchased from the Indians." In accordance with this wise and just policy, between the years 1682 and 1736, twenty different purchases, of greater or less extent, were made, by the proprietor or his successors, of the Indian lands east of the mountains, on terms which were regarded as mutually satisfactory.

In 1737, a release to the proprietaries was signed by certain Delaware chiefs, on the basis of a deed said to have been made in 1686, for certain lands, a part of the boundaries of which was de-

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* In relation to this subject see Smith's Laws of Pennsylvania, vol. ii. p. 105, Note.

scribed as "extending westward to Neshamony creek, from which said line doth extend itself back into the woods, as far as a man can go in a day and a half." The walk was performed, and extended, it is said, about thirty miles beyond the Lehigh hills, and over the Kittatinny mountains. The Indians were greatly dissatisfied with the extent of the purchase as thus measured, complained that the white men ran instead of walking, that they intended the line should have been measured up the creek, by its several courses, and thus the "Walking Purchase," as it was called, became one of the chief grievances that alienated the feelings of the Delawares, and induced them to join the French in the war of 1754.

In 1749, the chiefs of the Six Nations, the Delawares and the Shawanese signed another deed, confirming the sale previously made, of the lands east of the Susquehanna, as far up that river to the mouth of Cantaguy creek, and bounded on the north by a line drawn from thence to the Delaware at the mouth of Lechawachsein creek, and thence down that river to Kittatinny hills.

At the treaty of Albany, in 1754, the chiefs of the Six Nations made to the proprietaries a deed, conveying their title to all the lands bounded by a line drawn "from the Kittatinny hills, up the Susquehanna river, to a point one mile above the mouth of Kayarondinhagh creek, thence north-west and by west as far as the said province of Pennsylvania extends, to its western boundary; thence along the said western line to the south line or boundary of the said province; thence by the said line or boundary to the south side of the said Kittatinny hills, and thence along the south side of said hills to the place of beginning." This purchase included nearly the whole of the Indian lands in Pennsylvania: it was made without regard to the rights of the other tribes, and in consequence it became the immediate occasion for the Indian war of that period. In order, therefore, to allay their hostility, on the representations of the home government, the proprietaries released to them in 1758, all the lands included within the purchase, west of a line drawn along the east side of the Allegheny mountains.

The last purchase of the proprietaries was made at Fort Stanwix, in 1768. It comprehended all the lands included within "a line drawn from Owegy, on the east branch of the Susquehanna, thence to Towanda, thence up the same and across to the head of Pine creek, and down the same to Kittanning, and from Kittanning down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers to the south line of the province, and thence by the said line to the Allegheny mountains, and

up the same across the Susquehanna to the Delaware, and thence by the Lechawachsein creek and a line to the place of beginning."

In the conviction that the Revolutionary contest would result in the independence of the colonies, and in the belief that the possession of so large a domain by the Penn family would endanger the peace and liberty of the Commonwealth, the legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act on the 28th of June, 1779, vesting the estates of the proprietaries in the commonwealth, for the use and benefit of all its citizens. To the proprietaries were reserved their private estates, and all manors surveyed before the declaration of independence, and, in lieu of their proprietary claim, a compensation of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling was granted to them. The rights of all third parties, derived from them before the 4th of July, 1776, were confirmed. The vacant lands belonging to the proprietaries within the limits of all the previous purchases, were constituted a fund for defraying the expenses of the war, paying the compensation granted to the proprietaries, rewarding the officers and soldiers of the State, and in providing for the public expenses.

In October, 1784, a treaty was made with the Six Nations, at Fort Stanwix, at which all their title was extinguished to the lands included within the following boundaries: "Beginning at the south side of the Ohio river, where the western boundary of the State of Pennsylvania crosses the said river, near Shingho's old town at the mouth of Beaver creek, and thence by a due north line to the end of the forty-second, and the beginning of the forty-third degrees of north latitude; thence by a due east line, separating the forty-second and forty-third degrees of north latitude, to the east side of the east branch of the river Susquehanna, and thence by the bounds of the purchase of 1768 to the place of beginning.

And in January, 1785, at a treaty held at Fort M'Intosh, with the chiefs of the Delawares and the Wyandots, a purchase was made from them of all the title of those tribes to the lands included in the same boundaries.

Thus, in a period of one hundred and two years, the title of the Indians to all the lands within the limits of the State of Pennsylvania was extinguished, and the commonwealth became possessed of the ownership of all the vacant lands within the State. A few years later the bounds of the State, and, by consequence, the extent of its vacant lands, were still further increased by the purchase of what was then and is still known as the Triangle.

It has been seen that the cessions of New York, in 1781, and of

Massachusetts, in 1785, comprehended a release of all their respective claims to the lands lying west of a north and south line drawn through the most western bent or inclination of Lake Ontario, provided that line should be found to run through a point twenty miles west of the most westerly bent or inclination of the Niagara river. The cession of Connecticut, too, in 1786, comprehended a release of all the claims of that State to the lands in the West, except a reservation known as the Western Reserve, extending westward one hundred and twenty miles from the western boundary of Pennsylvania. There, therefore, remained a tract of land of triangular form, containing an area of two hundred and two thousand one hundred and eighty-seven acres, lying west of the boundary of New York, north of the charter boundary of Pennsylvania, and east of the Connecticut Reserve, that was thus out of the jurisdiction of any of the surrounding States, and still remaining in the possession of the Indians.

General Irvine discovered, while surveying the donation lands of North-Western Pennsylvania, that the northern boundary of that State would strike Lake Erie so as to leave but a few miles of lake coast without a harbor within the State; and, in consequence, through his representations, a movement was set on foot to secure from the Indians, and from the United States, the cession of the Triangle, in order to secure to Pennsylvania the possession of the harbor of Presqu' Isle. Accordingly, the board of treasury was induced to make, on the 6th of June, a contract of the sale to the State of Pennsylvania, of the tract described as "bounded on the east by New York, on the south by Pennsylvania, on the north and west by Lake Erie." And on the 4th of September, 1788, it was resolved by Congress, "That the United States do relinquish and transfer to Pennsylvania, all their right, title, and claim to the government and jurisdiction of said land forever, and it is declared and made known, that the laws and public acts of Pennsylvania shall extend over every part of the said tract, as if the said tract had originally been within the charter bounds of said State." And by an act of the 2d of October, 1788, the sum of twelve hundred pounds was appropriated to purchase the Indian title to the tract, in fulfillment of the contract to sell it to Pennsylvania.

At the treaty of Fort Harmar, on the 9th of January, 1789, Cornplanter, and other chiefs of the Six Nations, signed a deed, in consideration of the sum of twelve hundred pounds, acknowledging "the right of soil and jurisdiction to and over that tract of country bounded on the south by the north line of Pennsylvania, on the

east by the west boundary of New York, and on the north by the margin of Lake Erie, including Presqu' Isle and all the bays and harbors along the margin of said Lake Erie, from the west boundary of Pennsylvania to where the west boundary of New York may intersect the south margin of the said Lake Erie, to be vested in the said State of Pennsylvania, agreeably to the act of Congress of the 6th of July, 1788." By an act of the 13th of April, 1791, the governor of Pennsylvania was authorized to complete the contract with the United States, which was done on the 3d of March, 1792, and the Triangle was finally conveyed to the State of Pennsylvania, for the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand, six hundred and forty dollars, and twenty-five cents.

Preliminary steps, however, were taken by the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for disposing of the lands north and west of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, before the title to that region was secured from the aboriginal owners.

During the Revolution, and especially between the years 1777 and 1781, the value of the bills of credit issued by the State of Pennsylvania, as well as those issued by the Continental Congress, continued gradually to depreciate until they fell to a mere nominal value. Great losses were, in consequence, sustained by the holders of these certificates, especially by the officers and soldiers of the State troops, who received them in payment of their services, and incessant disputes arose in relation to the deductions to be made from the face of the bills. To remedy this inconvenience, the legislature, by the act of the 3d of April, 1781, fixed a scale of depreciation, varying from one and a half to seventy-five per cent., for each month between the years 1777 and 1781, according to which the accounts of the army should be settled. The State, otherwise unable to pay the officers and soldiers of the State establishment, gave to them certificates in conformity with the prescribed scale, and these, which were called depreciation certificates, were made receivable in payment for lands sold by the State.

In order to provide for the redemption of these depreciation certificates, it was enacted by a law of the 12th of March, 1783, "that for the more speedy and effectual complying with the intention of the law aforesaid, there be, and hereby is, located and laid off a certain tract of land, as follows: Beginning where the western boundary of this State crosses the Ohio river, thence up the said river to Fort Pitt, thence up the Allegheny river to the mouth of Mogulbughtiton (Mahoning) creek, thence by a west line to the western boundary of this State, thence south by the said boundary

to the place of beginning, reserving to the use of the State three thousand acres, in an oblong of not less than one mile in depth from the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, and extending up and down the said rivers, from opposite Fort Pitt, as far as may be necessary to include the same; and the further quantity of three thousand acres on the Ohio, and on both sides of Beaver creek, including Fort McIntosh, all which remaining tract of land as aforesaid is hereby appropriated as a further fund for the purpose of redeeming the certificates aforesaid; that is to say, the surveyor-general of this State shall, according to such directions as may be given him by the Supreme Executive Council, cause the aforesaid tract of land to be laid out in lots of not less than two hundred, and not more than three hundred and fifty acres each, numbering the same lots numerically on the draught or plot of the country aforesaid, and shall, as soon as the same, or one hundred lots thereof, are surveyed, together with the secretary of the land office, and the receiver-general, proceed to sell the same lots in numerical order, at such times and places, and under such regulations as shall be appointed by the Supreme Executive Council; the full consideration bid at such sales shall be paid into the receiver-general's office, either in gold or silver, or in the certificates aforesaid, upon full payment of which consideration, and the expense of surveying, together with all fees of the different offices, patents shall be issued in the usual form to the several buyers or vendees, and the different sums in specie, that may be paid into the receiver-general's office, shall be paid over by him to the treasury of this State, for the purpose of redeeming such certificates as may remain unsatisfied at the end of such sales."

By an act of the 7th of March, 1780, the faith of the State was pledged to the officers and privates belonging to the State in the Federal army, to bestow upon them "certain donations and quantities of land, according to their several ranks; to be surveyed and divided off to them, severally, at the end of the war."

By the act of the 12th of March, 1783, it was ordained "That, for the purpose of effectually complying with the letter and intention of the said resolve, there be, and there is hereby declared to be located and laid off a certain tract of country, beginning at the mouth of Mogulbughtiton creek; thence up the Allegheny river to the mouth of Cagnawaga (Conewango) creek; thence due north to the northern boundary of this State; thence west, by the said boundary, to the north-west corner of the State; thence south, by the western boundary of the State, to the north-west corner of

lands appropriated by this act for discharging the certificates herein mentioned; and thence by the same lands east to the place of beginning; which said tract of country shall be reserved and set apart for the only and sole use of fulfilling and carrying into execution the said resolve."

And it was further ordained, "That all officers and private men entitled to land as aforesaid, shall, and they are hereby directed to make their respective applications for the same within two years after peace shall be declared, and in the case of their failure to make such application, in person, or in that of their legal representatives within one year of their decease, then it may be lawful for any person or persons whatever, to apply to the land-office, locate and take up such parts or parcels of said lands, upon such terms as the Legislature shall hereafter direct, as may remain unlocated by the said officers, non-commissioned officers, and private men, their heirs, executors, and administrators."

By the act of the 24th of March, 1785, it was provided that the donation lands should "be laid off in lots of four descriptions, one to contain five hundred acres each; another, three hundred acres each; another, two hundred and fifty acres each; and another, two hundred acres each, with the usual allowances; that a quantity equal to what may be necessary for the major-generals, brigadier-generals, colonels, captains, and two-thirds of the lieutenant-colonels, shall be laid off into lots of five hundred acres; a quantity equal to what may be necessary for the regimental surgeons and mates, also for the chaplains, majors, and ensigns, into lots of three hundred acres each; a quantity equal to what may be necessary for one-third of the lieutenant-colonels, and for the sergeants, sergeant-majors, and quartermaster-sergeants, into lots of two hundred and fifty acres; and a quantity equal to what may be necessary for the lieutenants, corporals, drummers, fifers, drum-majors, fife-majors, and privates, into lots of two hundred acres each."

And for the impartial distribution of these donations, a lottery was provided at which "each applicant, if a major-general, should draw four tickets from the wheel containing the numbers on the five hundred acre lots; if a brigadier-general, three tickets from said wheel; if a colonel, two tickets from said wheel; if a lieutenant-colonel, one from said wheel, and one from the wheel containing the numbers on the two hundred and fifty acre lots; if a surgeon, chaplain, or major, two tickets from the wheel containing the numbers on the three hundred acre lots; if a captain, one ticket from the wheel containing the numbers on the five hundred acre lots;

if a lieutenant, two tickets from the wheel containing the numbers on the two hundred acre lots; if an ensign, or regimental surgeon's mate, one ticket from the wheel containing the numbers on the three hundred acre lots; if a sergeant, sergeant-major, or quarter-master sergeant, one ticket from the wheel containing the numbers on the two hundred and fifty acre lots; and if a drum-major, fife-major, drummer, fifer, corporal, or private sentinel, one ticket from the wheel containing the numbers on the two hundred acre lots."

Under the law of 1785, an agent was to be appointed whose duty it was to explore the donation and depreciation districts, to examine the quantity of the lands, and especially to report such as in his opinion were unfit for cultivation. General Irvine received the appointment, explored the country, and reported that a part of the second division of the donation lands was generally unfit for cultivation; and in consequence, the lots included in it were withdrawn from the lottery, and from this circumstance, it received the name of the "Struck District."

The lands within the "Triangle," and the "Struck District," as well as all the residue of the lands within the donation and depreciation districts, including the greater portion of them not taken up by the claims of the officers and soldiers of the army, were offered for sale under the act of the 3d of April, 1792. That act provided that all the lands north and west of the Allegheny river, and Conewango creek, not heretofore reserved for public or charitable uses, should be offered for sale to persons who would cultivate, improve and settle them at the rate of seven pounds and ten shillings per hundred acres, with an allowance of six per cent. for highways. For such as had made actual settlements, it was provided that warrants should be issued for tracts of not more than four hundred acres to each settler. But by the ninth section, it was provided, "That no warrant or survey to be issued or made in pursuance of this act, for lands lying north and west of the rivers Ohio and Allegheny and Conewango creek, shall vest any title in or to the lands therein mentioned, unless the grantee has, prior to the date of such warrant, made, or caused to be made, or shall, within the space of two years, next after the date of the same, make, or cause to be made, an actual settlement thereon, by clearing, fencing, and cultivating at least two acres for every hundred acres contained in one survey, erecting thereon a messuage for the habitation of man, and residing, or causing a family to reside thereon, for the space of five years next following his first settling of the

same, if he or she shall so long live, and that in default of such actual settlement and residence, it shall, and may be lawful to and for this commonwealth to issue new warrants to other actual settlers for the said lands, or any part thereof, reciting the original warrants, and that actual settlements and residence have not been made in pursuance thereof, and so often as defaults shall be made for the time and in the manner aforesaid, which new grants shall be made under and subject to all and every the regulations contained in this act: provided always, nevertheless, that if any such actual settler or any grantee, in any such original or succeeding warrant, shall, by force of arms of the enemies of the United States, be prevented from such actual settlement or be driven therefrom, and shall persist in his endeavors to make such actual settlement as aforesaid, then, in either case, he and his heirs shall be entitled to hold the said lands in the same manner as if the actual settlement had been made and continued."

Under the provisions of this act, very many adventurous settlers passed over the Allegheny, located themselves at different points within the limits of the territory now opened for settlement, commenced improvements, and applied for warrants. But the hostilities of the Indians prevented, almost universally, their complying with the legal terms of the settlement, necessary to complete their titles. They were compelled to abandon their improvements, and retire beyond the river; and thus exceedingly perplexing questions arose in regard to the true ownership of the lands they had claimed.

The difficulties that thus arose in regard to the titles of the settlers to their claims, were greatly enhanced by the operations of certain land companies that were organized with a view of speculating in the lands of that region. The most prominent of these were the North American Land Company, the Pennsylvania Population Company, and the Holland Land Company.

The North American Land Company has already been referred to. Soon after the passage of the act of 1792, John Nicholson, who was previously interested in the North American Company, applied at the land office for three hundred and ninety warrants, to be located in the Triangle, and for two hundred and fifty warrants, to be located on the waters of Beaver creek—representing, in all, about two hundred and sixty thousand acres. Before, however, completing his purchase, the Pennsylvania Population Company was formed, of which he was made President, and Messrs. Cazenove, Irvine, Mead, Leet, Hoge and Stewart, Managers. The capital stock of the company consisted of two thousand five hundred

shares, which was laid out in the purchase of five hundred thousand acres of land. To this company Nicholson transferred his claims, and they perfected the purchase by paying the legal price for them. In addition, they purchased five hundred more warrants for lands in the donation district. The terms of their purchases were of course those provided in the law—the payment of seven pounds ten shillings per hundred acres, and the making, or causing to be made, of a legal settlement on each tract covered by a warrant. In order to induce emigrants to settle on their lands, the company proposed to grant, in fee simple, to every settler, one hundred and fifty acres of land, if he should comply with the requisitions of the law imposed upon them; and in that way it was designed that the occupant should secure his land, together with his improvements, and the company should secure two hundred and fifty acres through him. But the fact that each actual settler could secure for himself, by the payment of the stipulated purchase money, a tract of four hundred acres, under the law, prevented in a great measure the success of the company's scheme of monopoly. Settlers generally, indeed, located themselves on lands covered by their own warrants, though, in some cases, these infringed upon the lands of the company. In consequence, suits of ejectment were instituted against those who had encroached upon the lands to which the company had an incomplete title, and this state of things became a fruitful source of litigation for many years.

A far more fruitful source of litigation, however, arose from the conflicting constructions placed upon the ninth section of the act of 1792, in the long litigation that grew out of the "Holland Land Case." The Holland Land Company consisted of William Willink and eleven associates, capitalists of Holland, who had lent a large sum of money to the United States during the Revolution. Preferring to keep their money invested in the United States, they purchased large tracts of land in New York and Pennsylvania. After the passage of the law of 1792, they commenced to buy warrants, and to locate settlers west of the Allegheny river, on similar terms to those of the Population Company, conceding, however, only one hundred acres to each settler on their lands.

In the course of their operations they paid the purchase money for one thousand one hundred and sixty-two warrants, and surveyed one thousand and forty-eight more tracts for location. But in consequence of the Indian war, the settlers that had located on their lands were prevented from making the improvements

required by law within the prescribed two years after the date of their warrants. In consequence, a question arose whether the company had failed to complete their titles to their lands. On the one hand it was claimed, that the conditions of settlement were rendered impossible by the enemies of the United States, and, therefore, it was not necessary to do any thing more in order to perfect the titles to all lands on which warrants were actually laid. On the other it was insisted, that the right to those lands was forfeited by the neglect of the company to persist in their endeavors to maintain their settlements.

The board of property before 1800, inclined to the former of these constructions of the law, and devised a prevention certificate which the warrant-holder might present at the land office, setting forth that he had been prevented by the enemies of the United States from making the settlement of his lands prescribed in the law, upon which he was entitled to his patent; and the Holland company received many patents for their lands under these prevention certificates. The new board of property in 1800, placed a different construction upon the law, and refused the issue of any more patents on prevention certificates. The Holland Company, thus refused patents on these certificates, applied to the Supreme Court of the State for a mandamus, to compel the board of property to complete their titles. The cause was heard at the March term of 1800. The chief justice held, that the war discharged the company from the condition of settlement, and, therefore, their patents were due them. Two other judges held, that under the law the settler was bound to continuously persevere in his efforts to make a settlement, and, as the Holland Company through their settlers had not done so, their titles were forfeited; and thus the application of the company was refused.

The decision of the Supreme Court made under these circumstances, instead of calming, greatly increased the excitement in the country, and indeed throughout the State powerful interests were arrayed on each side of the question. On the one part the land companies, the settlers who had been employed to occupy their lands, and a large body of emigrants who had passed into the disputed region and made locations for themselves during the war, were claiming that the state of the country had, within the meaning of the law, prevented the completion of their several settlements, and were seeking every legal means to enforce and defend their claims to their land. On the other, a large body of emigrants were passing into the country, especially since the decision of the

Supreme Court, occupying the disputed lands, and applying for new warrants for them, on the ground that all former titles were annulled by the default of their holders.

To prevent the confusion thus about to arise, the Legislature, by an act of the 2d of April, 1802, provided for the hearing of an agreed case, before the Supreme Court, involving, as it was supposed, all the points in controversy. The court met at Sunbury, in 1802, and decided that though the prevention by the enemies of the United States suspended, it did not dispense with the conditions of settlement, and therefore each settler, to perfect his title, was bound to renew his endeavors to maintain a settlement on his land as soon as the danger was removed. If so, his warrant was good; if not, it was forfeited. The Holland Company declined to abide by the decision of the court, and commenced proceedings in the United States Courts. The case was first argued in the United States Circuit Court; the judges disagreed in their constructions of the law, and the case was removed to the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1805, Chief Justice Marshall decided that, under the law of 1792, the settler was excused by reason of the war from making an actual settlement before January 1st, 1796, and if he then persisted in making his settlement, he was entitled to his patent, according to law. Under this decision, the Holland Company, as well as the other land companies, and individuals who had laid warrants in the disputed region during the war, were confirmed in their titles, and thus eventually obtained quiet possession of their lands. Many tracts of land, however, claimed by individuals, remained long in litigation, in consequence of the difficulty of making proof of what constituted an actual settlement, and as to who were the original settlers under the law, and in accordance with the ruling of the courts; and thus the title to real estate was long insecure, and the peace and harmony of the country was long disturbed by the ill-judged and inaccurate legislation of the State.

The effect of all this uncertainty and insecurity of the titles of land in North-Western Pennsylvania was, of course, disastrous. Emigrants, especially those from the better and more reliable classes of society, who would otherwise have been attracted to that region, were disposed to avoid it, and to pass on further, to the Western Reserve, or to other portions of the North-Western Territory. Many who had located themselves in North-Western Pennsylvania, wearied with continual litigation, abandoned their claims and removed to the West, where the titles to real estate were secure.

Large bodies of land, too long remained, and in some instances still remain, in the hands of speculators unoccupied, and unimproved, or only occupied by tenants having no interest in the improvement of the lands or the advancement of the country. From these combined causes, all of them the results of the mischievous character of the early legislation of Pennsylvania, the north-western portion of that State was long far behind the region west of it, in population, progress, and improvement.

Yet there was at an early day much enterprise manifested by the settlers of that country, notwithstanding the embarrassing circumstances with which they were surrounded. By an act of the Legislature of the 18th of April, 1795, commissioners were appointed to survey five thousand acres of the reservation at Presqu' Isle, and lay off thereon the town of Erie; to survey one thousand acres of the reservation at the mouth of French creek, and lay off thereon the town of Franklin; to survey one thousand acres of the reservation at the mouth of the Conewango creek, and lay off thereon the town of Warren; and to survey five hundred acres of the reservation at Le Bœuf, and to complete thereon the laying off of the town of Waterford, previously commenced by Andrew Ellicott. In addition to these, many other villages soon sprung up, and the population of North-Western Pennsylvania so far increased that the Legislature divided it, by the act of the 12th of March, 1800, into the counties of Beaver, Butler, Mercer, Crawford, Erie, Warren, Venango, and Armstrong.

The ordinance prescribing the mode of surveying and disposing of the lands in the North-Western Territory has already been given. Changes were afterward made in some of its provisions, but its main provisions yet remained, and under its operation the many difficulties that have arisen elsewhere, in regard to the security of titles, and the identification of lands, have been obviated in the West. All the lands in the North-West Territory were held by the United States, on the basis of purchases made at various times from the Indians, and were all surveyed and sold under the provisions of that ordinance; and in this way the title given was always secure, and the identification complete. There were, however, a variety of tracts, of greater or less extent, in various parts of the North-West, which were granted to or reserved by other parties, and therefore never came under the operation of the land laws of the United States. The more important reservations existing at the close of the Indian war were these:

It was the custom of the commandants of the different French posts in early times, to make concessions to individuals, of specified tracts of land, on certain prescribed conditions, some of which have already been referred to. In this way very considerable quantities of land were conceded around all the French posts, before the transfer of the valley of the Mississippi to Great Britain. After the sovereignty over that country was transferred to the United States, commissioners were appointed at various times to examine these titles. All titles that could be proved to have originated in accordance with the laws of France, and the usages of the French colonies, were confirmed, and, in consequence, large bodies of land in Illinois, about Vincennes, Detroit, and elsewhere, were, and are still held by titles derived from the French government.

A tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, on the north side of the Ohio river, opposite to the falls, was granted in 1783, by the State of Virginia, and reserved in the cession of the claim of that state to the North-West, for the use of General Clarke, and the officers and soldiers who served under him in the conquest of Illinois.

It has been seen that the State of Connecticut, in the cession of her claim to the North-West, in 1786, reserved the jurisdiction and ownership over a tract of one hundred and twenty miles in length, and of variable width, lying west of Pennsylvania, and including, by subsequent survey, an area of three million eight hundred thousand acres. Of these lands, as has been stated, five hundred thousand acres were donated, in 1792, to the sufferers by the burning of New London, Fairfield, Norwich, and other towns in Connecticut, during the Revolutionary war, and the remainder of the unsold lands of the Reserve, being about three millions of acres, was transferred, in 1795, to the Connecticut Land Company, divided into townships of five miles square, and sold.

The United States military lands consisted of two million five hundred and sixty thousand acres, set apart by an act of the 1st of June, 1796, for the officers and soldiers of the Revolution. They were located on the east of the Scioto river, and south of the line established by the Greenville treaty, divided into townships of five miles square, and sub-divided into lots of one hundred acres each, for the location of warrants, as provided by the act.

The Virginia military lands consisted of a body of lands lying between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers, reserved by the State of Virginia in 1784, for the use of the Virginia Continental line.

It was never surveyed in any regular form, and, in consequence, much litigation has arisen in regard to the conflict of claims and of boundaries within that district.

The Ohio Company's lands consisted at first of one million five hundred thousand acres, on the Ohio river, afterward reduced to nine hundred and sixty-four thousand two hundred and eighty-five acres, which that company paid for and patented.

The donation tract was a body of one hundred thousand acres, granted to the Ohio Company, on the north of their lands, on the condition that they should locate one actual settler on each hundred acres of the tract within five years from the date of the grant, upon failure of which all of the lands not occupied within the prescribed time should revert to the general government.

Symmes' purchase, as has been seen, consisted of a tract of three hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and eighty-two acres, between the two Miamies.

The Refugee tract consisted of a body of one hundred thousand acres, granted to certain refugees from the British provinces, who had attached themselves to the American cause during the Revolution. It lies eastward from the Scioto, extending forty-eight miles in length, and four and a half in width.

The French grant was a tract of twenty-four thousand acres, on the Ohio, donated to the Gallipolis settlers, in lieu of the losses they sustained through the failure of the Scioto Company to make good the titles to the lands they sold to them.

Dohrman's grant was a township of land granted Arnold Henry Dohrman, a merchant of Lisbon, for the aid he rendered to the American cause in the Revolutionary war.

The Moravian lands consisted of three several tracts, on the Muskingum, of four thousand acres each, granted by act of Congress to the Moravian Brethren of Bethlehem, in trust for the Christian Indians residing on them.

In addition to these, there were several small tracts of land in various portions of the North-West, donated to individuals for eminent services to the country.

The great event of 1796 was the final transfer of the northern posts from Britain to the United States, under Jay's treaty. This was to have taken place on or before the first of June, but owing to the late period at which the House of Representatives, after their memorable debate upon the treaty, passed the necessary appropriations, it was July before the American government felt itself

justified in addressing the authorities in Canada in regard to Detroit and the other frontier forts. When at last called upon to give them up, the British at once did so, and Wayne transferred his head-quarters to the neighborhood of the lakes, where a county named from him was established, including the north-west of Ohio, the north-east of Indiana, and the whole of Michigan.*

Meanwhile, the treaty with Spain was likely to become ineffectual, in consequence of the alliance of Spain and France upon the 19th of August, and the difficulties which, at the same time, arose between the latter power and the United States. Spain took advantage of the new position of affairs to refuse the delivery of the posts on the Mississippi, as had been stipulated, and proceeded, as has been already related, to tempt the honesty of leading western politicians.

During this year settlements went on rapidly in the West. Early in the year, Nathaniel Massie, to whom reference has already been made, took steps to found a town upon the Scioto, on a portion of the lands which he had entered. This town he named, when surveyed, Chillicothe.

One hundred in and out-lots in the town were chosen by lot, by the first one hundred settlers, as a donation, according to the original proposition of the proprietor. A number of in and out-lots were also sold to other persons desiring to settle in the town. The first choice of in-lots were disposed of for the moderate sum of ten dollars each. The town increased rapidly, and before the winter of 1796, it had in it several stores, taverns, and shops for mechanics.

The arts of civilized life soon began to unfold their power and influence in a more systematic manner than had ever been witnessed by many of its inhabitants, especially those who were born and raised in the frontier settlements, where neither law nor gospel were understood or attended to.

There were three places in Ohio called Chillicothe by the Indians, one of which was in the neighborhood of this town site. It is a Shawanese word, and denotes *place* or *site*. Old Chillicothe was on the Little Miami, and the other was on or near the Maumee, or Miami of the Lake. The Shawanese nation, which originated from the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, was divided into four tribes—the Piqua, Mequachake, Kiskapocoke, and Chillicothe tribes.

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* Washington's Speech, American State Papers, i. 30. Chase's Sketch, p. 27.

The formation of the Connecticut Land Company has already been noticed. Early in the spring of 1796, the directors of that company selected and sent out forty-three surveyors, under the direction of General Moses Cleveland, to survey that portion of their lands lying east of the Cuyahoga river. The party rendezvoused at Schenectady, in June, collected there the materials and stores necessary for their enterprise, and thence proceeded in boats by way of the Mohawk, the Oswego, Lake Ontario, and the Niagara, to Buffalo. There they held a council with the chiefs of the Seneca and Mohawk tribes, and obtained from them a cession of their claims to the lands included in the company's purchase, for the sum of twelve hundred dollars. Thence they proceeded along the lake shore, a part of them by land, and a part in their boats, and arrived at the site of Conneaut on the 4th of July. There they erected a cabin for the accommodation of the party, and for the storage of their goods, to which they gave the name of "Stowe Castle," and immediately commenced their survey. One of the parties commenced a meridian line from the lake at the boundary of Pennsylvania, and ran south to the high lands north of the Mahoning river. Another, under the direction of Cleveland, surveyed the lake coast to the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, which they entered and explored for eleven miles from its mouth.

After the completion of this preliminary survey, another exploration of the lake shore was made from Conneaut to Sandusky. On the return of the party to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, they commenced the survey of a town site to which they gave the name of Cleveland. It was laid out into two hundred and twenty lots of eight rods in front, and forty rods in the rear, around a public square of ten acres. About the 1st of October, a cabin was raised, and the party soon after returned to Conneaut, leaving Job Styles and his family, and Captain Paine, to occupy the new city.

At that time, it is said, the white inhabitants west of the Genessee river, consisted only of the garrison at Niagara, two families at Lewistown, a British Indian interpreter, two Indian traders, and one white family at Buffalo, a few settlers at Presqu' Isle, the party of New England surveyors, with two families at Conneaut, one family at Cleveland, a French trader at Sandusky, and the settlement at Detroit.

In the spring of the next year, the families at Conneaut were removed to Cleveland, which was made the head-quarters of the surveyors of the company. The whole territory of the purchase was laid off in townships of five miles square, and settlers, generally

from Connecticut, commenced to occupy the lands on the Cuyahoga and elsewhere on the company's lands, and before the end of the century, thirty-two separate settlements had been made on the Western Reserve.*

A detachment of American troops, consisting of sixty-five men, under the command of Captain Moses Porter, took possession of the evacuated fort at Detroit, about the 12th of July. In September, Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the North-Western Territory, proceeded to Detroit, and organized the county of Wayne, and established the civil authority in that quarter.

This year, also, the settlements in the Muskingum, Scioto, and Miami valleys were much extended. The immigrants from the New England and Middle States, came into the West by way of Brownsville and Wheeling. At Brownsville, many fitted up flat boats, and descended the Ohio to Limestone, and other points in Kentucky, or else landed on the north side of the Ohio. Others proceeded by land from Wheeling, to that section of the territory they had selected for their future homes. The colonies destined for the valleys of the Muskingum and Scioto chiefly passed by this route.

Small villages and farming settlements were made on the banks of the Ohio, and its tributaries below the Muskingum. Symmes' purchase, on the Miami, underwent rapid changes.

Cincinnati had increased its population and improved its style of building. In 1792, it contained about thirty log cabins, beside the barracks and other buildings connected with Fort Washington, and about two hundred and fifty inhabitants.

The first house of worship, for the first Presbyterian Church, was erected. In the beginning of the year 1796, Cincinnati had more than one hundred log cabins, beside twelve or fifteen frame houses, and a population of about six hundred persons.

Within the Virginia Military Land District, which lay between the Little Miami and Scioto rivers, several new settlements were made, and surveys were executed by Nathaniel Massie, the enterprising pioneer of the Scioto valley, over the most fertile lands westward to the Little Miami, as far north as Todd's fork, and on all the branches of Paint creek, and eastward to the Scioto. He performed much service as a pioneer in extending the settlements and the boundaries of civilization in this part of Ohio. As early as

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* American Pioneer, ii. 22–33.

1790, he laid out the town of Manchester, on the Ohio, twelve miles above Limestone. By the following March, he had his stockade complete, and about thirty families within it.

Emigrants from Virginia, in great numbers, advanced into the Scioto valley, and settlements extended on the fine lands lying on Paint and Deer creeks, and other branches of the Scioto.

At the same time the pioneers of civilization were gradually extending settlements along the Muskingum, as far as the mouth of Licking. It was in this year that Ebenezer Zane obtained the grant of a section of land as the consideration of opening a bridle-path from the Ohio river at Wheeling, across the country by Chillicothe, to Limestone, in Kentucky, which was located where Zanesville now is. The United States mail traversed this route for the first time the following year.*

Before the close of the year 1796, the white population of the North-Western Territory, now included in the State of Ohio, had increased to about five thousand souls of all ages. These were chiefly distributed in the lower valleys of the Muskingum, Scioto, and Miami rivers, and on their small tributaries, within fifty miles of the Ohio river.

With this progress of settlements, the end of the Indian war by the treaty at Greenville, and the delivery of the northern posts by the British, under Jay's treaty, all apprehension of danger on the part of the whites ceased, and friendly intercourse with the natives succeeded. Such disaffected Indians as persisted in their feelings of hostility to the Americans, retired into the interior of the North-Western wilderness, or to their allies in Canada. Forts, stations, and stockades, became useless, and were abandoned to decay. The hardy pioneer pushed further into the forest, and men of enterprise and capital in the older settlements became interested in securing claims and titles to extensive bodies of fertile lands, and sending out colonies for their occupation. Settlements were made, and towns and villages planted in Western Virginia and Kentucky.

During the period of the Indian wars in the north-west, frequent acts of hostility were committed by the Cherokees and other southern Indians on the settlements in Tennessee, especially those along the Cumberland river. These depredations, in which many persons were killed and scalped, were committed by small marauding

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* Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, ii. 316.

parties. The termination of the Indian war in the North-West was followed by treaties with the South-Western Indians, and the cessation of hostilities in that quarter.

In 1790, North Carolina, which claimed jurisdiction over the territorial district of Tennessee, ceded to the federal government all this territory. The ceded country, by act of Congress, approved May 20th, was erected into a territory of the United States, under the name of the "South Western Territory." The ordinance of 1787, for the North-Western Territory, with the exception of the sixth article, prohibiting slavery, was adopted as the fundamental law in its organization.

Notwithstanding the hostile attitude of the Indians, large numbers of emigrants, each year, left Virginia, North and South Carolina, and even Georgia, for this district of country, and settlements continued to extend into the wilderness. In 1793, the people became impatient of their dependent form of government, and adopted an address to the governor, that as the territory contained more than five thousand free white male persons, the requisite number, as provided by the ordinance of 1787, they might have a territorial legislature.

In December of that year, the Governor issued his proclamation for the election of a General Assembly, as provided by law.

The legislature assembled at Knoxville, in February, 1794, and passed the necessary laws to open roads, protect the inhabitants from Indian depredations, and other matters.

According to a census ordered by the Territorial Legislature, in 1795, the aggregate population of the territory was seventy-seven thousand two hundred and sixty-two persons, of whom sixty-six thousand four hundred and ninety were whites, and the remainder slaves and free persons of color. This amount of population more than entitled them to a State government, according to the provisions of the ordinance of Congress.

The governor of the territory issued his proclamation for an election of five persons in each county, to meet in convention for the purpose of forming a constitution. This convention assembled at Knoxville, on the 11th of January, 1796, and formed the constitution, and on the 9th of February, Gov. Blount, forwarded to Mr. Pickering, Secretary of State, a copy. This was sent by Mr. McMinn, who was instructed to tarry long enough in Philadelphia, to ascertain whether the new State would be admitted into the Union. On the 6th of June, the act was passed by Congress to receive the State of Tennessee.

Four years after the organization of the State government, the population had increased to one hundred and five thousand six hundred and two souls, including thirteen thousand five hundred and eighty-four slaves and persons of color.*

During 1796, Samuel Jackson and Jonathan Sharpless erected "Redstone paper-mill," four miles east of Brownsville, it being the first manufactory of the kind west of the Alleghenies.

In the month of December, 1796, General Anthony Wayne, being on his way from Detroit to Philadelphia, was attacked with sickness, and died in a cabin, at or near Erie, (Presqu' Isle) in the north part of Pennsylvania. He was born in Chester county, Pa., January 1st, 1745; hence, in a few days, had he lived, he would have been fifty-one years of age. He was a distinguished officer in the Revolutionary war, a man of unparalleled bravery, and led the forlorn hope in the attack upon Stoney Point. His remains were removed from Presqu' Isle in 1809, by his son, Col. Isaac Wayne, to Radnor church-yard, near the place of his birth, and an elegant monument erected on his tomb by the Pennsylvania Cincinnati Society.

After the formation of the treaty with Spain, and before the sur-
1797.] render of the Spanish posts east of the Mississippi, in accordance with its provisions, yet another effort was made by Carondelet to effect the separation of the West from the Union.

After the death of General Wayne, Wilkinson was appointed to the command of the Western army. In June, 1797, Power was sent back to Kentucky, for the double purpose of inducing Wilkinson to delay the march of the American troops to the posts on the Mississippi, professedly until certain questions at issue between the two governments were adjusted, and especially for the purpose of testing his disposition, and the dispositions of the leading politicians of Kentucky, in regard to the question of separation. His instructions from Carondelet, dated May 26th, 1797, will furnish, however, the most satisfactory statement of the purpose of his mission:

"On your journey you will give to understand, adroitly, to those persons to whom you have an opportunity of speaking, that the delivery of the posts which the Spaniards occupy on the Mississippi, to the troops of the United States, is directly opposed to the

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* Haywood's History of Tenness ee, pp. 140–160.

interests of those of the West, who, as they must one day separate from the Atlantic States, would find themselves without any communication with lower Louisiana, from whence they ought to expect to receive powerful succors in artillery, arms, ammunition and money, either publicly or secretly, as soon as ever the Western States should determine on a separation, which must injure their prosperity and their independence; that, for this reason, Congress is resolved on risking everything to take those posts from Spain, and that it would be forging fetters for themselves, to furnish it with militia and means, which it can only find in the Western States. These same reasons, diffused abroad by means of the public papers, might make the strongest impressions on the people, and induce them to throw off the yoke of the Atlantic States.

"If a hundred thousand dollars, distributed in Kentucky, would cause it to rise in insurrection, I am very certain that the minister, in the present circumstances, would sacrifice them with pleasure; and you may, without exposing yourself too much, promise them to those who enjoy the confidence of the people, with another equal sum to arm them, in case of necessity, and twenty pieces of field artillery.

"You will arrive, without danger, as bearer of a dispatch for the General, where the army may be, whose force, discipline, and disposition you will examine with care; and you will endeavor to discover, with your natural penetration, the General's disposition. I doubt that a person of his disposition would prefer, through vanity, the advantages of commanding the army of the Atlantic States to that of being the founder, the liberator, in fine, the Washington of the Western States. His part is as brilliant as it is easy; all eyes are drawn toward him; he possesses the confidence of his fellow citizens, and of the Kentucky volunteers. At the slightest movement, the people will name him the General of the new republic; his reputation will raise an army for him, and Spain, as well as France, will furnish him the means of paying it.

"On taking Fort Massac, we will send him, instantly, arms and artillery; and Spain, limiting herself to the possession of the forts of Natchez and Walnut Hills, as far as Fort Confederation, will cede to the Western States all the eastern bank to the Ohio, which will form a very extensive and powerful republic, connected, by its situation and by its interest, with Spain, and in concert with it, will force the savages to become a party to it, and to confound themselves, in time, with its citizens.

"The public are discontented with the new taxes; Spain and

France are enraged at the connection of the United States with England; the army is weak, and devoted to Wilkinson; the threats of Congress authorize me to succor, on the spot, and openly, the Western States; money will not, then, be wanting to me, for I shall send, without delay, a ship to Vera Cruz in search of it, as well as of ammunition. Nothing more will consequently be required, but an instant of firmness and resolution, to make the people of the West perfectly happy. If they suffer this instant to escape them, and we are forced to deliver up the posts, Kentucky and Tennessee, surrounded by the said posts, and without communication with lower Louisiana, will ever remain under the oppression of the Atlantic States."

Power proceeded at once to Kentucky, and presented the following communication from Carondelet, to Innis, Sebastian, Nicholas, and Murray:

"His Excellency, the Baron of Carondelet, Commander-in-chief, and Governor of his Catholic Majesty's provinces of West Florida and Louisiana, having communications of importance, embracing the interests of said provinces, and at the same time deeply affecting those of Kentucky, and the western country in general, to make to its inhabitants, through the medium of the influential characters in this country, and judging it, in the present uncertain and critical attitude of politics, highly imprudent and dangerous to lay them on paper, has expressly commissioned and authorized me to submit the following proposals to the consideration of Messrs. S., N., I., and M., and also of such other gentlemen as may be pointed out by them, and to receive from them their sentiments and determination on the subject.

"The above-named gentlemen are immediately to exert all their influence, in impressing on the minds of the inhabitants of the Western country, a conviction of the necessity of their withdrawing and separating themselves from the Federal Union, and forming an independent government, wholly unconnected with that of the Atlantic States.

"To prepare and dispose the people for such an event, it will be necessary that the most popular and eloquent writers in this State should, in well-timed publications, expose, in the most striking point of view, the inconveniences and disadvantages that a longer connection with, and dependence on, the Atlantic States must inevitably draw upon them, and the great and innumerable difficulties in which they will probably be entangled if they do not speedily secede from the Union; the benefits they will certainly

reap from a secession, ought to be pointed out in the most forcible and powerful manner; and the danger of permitting the federal troops to take possession of the posts on the Mississippi, and thus forming a cordon of fortified places around them, must be particularly expatiated upon.

"In consideration of gentlemen's devoting their time and talents to this object, his Excellency, the Baron of Carondelet, will appropriate the sum of one hundred thousand dollars to their use, which shall be paid in drafts on the royal treasury at New Orleans; or, if more convenient, shall be conveyed at the expense of his Catholic Majesty, into this country, and held at their disposal.

"Moreover, should such persons as shall be instrumental in promoting the views of his Catholic Majesty, hold any public employment, and in consequence of taking an active part in endeavoring to effect a secession, shall lose their employment—a compensation equal at least to the emoluments of their office, shall be made to them, by his Catholic Majesty, let their efforts be crowned with success or terminate in diappointment.

"Immediately after the declaration of independence, Fort Massac should be taken possession of by the troops of the new government, which shall be furnished by his Catholic Majesty without loss of time, together with twenty field-pieces, with their carriages, and every necessary appendage, including powder, ball, &c., together with a number of small arms and ammunition, sufficient to equip the troops that it shall be judged expedient to raise.

"The whole to be transported at his expense to the already named Fort Massac. His Catholic Majesty will further supply the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, for the raising and maintaining said troops, which sum shall also be conveyed to and delivered at Fort Massac."

"The northern boundary of his Catholic Majesty's provinces of East and West Florida, shall be designated by a line commencing on the Mississippi, at the mouth of the river Yazoo, extending due east to the River Confederation, or Tombigbee: Provided, That all his Catholic Majesty's forts, posts, and settlements on the Confederation, or Tombigbee, are included in the south side of such a line; but should any of his Majesty's forts, posts, or settlements, fall to the north side of said line, then the northern boundary of his Majesty's provinces of East and West Florida, shall be designated by a line beginning at the same point on the Mississippi, and drawn in such a direction as to meet the River Confederation, or Tombigbee, six miles to the north of the most northern Spanish post, or settlement on said river.

"All the lands north of that line shall be considered as constituting a part of the territory of the new government, saving that small tract of land at the Chickasaw Bluffs, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, ceded to his Majesty by the Chickasaw nation, in a formal treaty concluded on the spot, in the year 1795, between his Excellency, Senor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Governor of Natchez, and Augleakabee, and some other Chickasaw chiefs; which tract of land his Majesty reserves for himself. The eastern boundary of the Floridas shall be hereafter regulated.

"His Catholic Majesty will, in case the Indian nations south of the Ohio should declare war, or commit hostilities against the new government, not only join and assist it in repelling its enemies, but if said government shall at any future time esteem it useful to reduce said Indian nations, extend its dominion over them, and compel them to submit themselves to its constitution and laws, his Majesty will heartily concur and co-operate with the new government in the most effectual manner in obtaining this desirable end.

"His Catholic Majesty will not, either directly or indirectly, interfere in the framing of the constitution or laws which the new government shall think fit to adopt; nor will he, at any time, by any means whatever, attempt to lessen the independence of the said government, or endeavor to acquire an undue influence in it, but will, in the manner that shall hereafter be stipulated by treaty, defend and support it in preserving its independence.

"The preceding proposals are the outlines of a provisional treaty, which his Excellency, the Baron of Carondelet, is desirous of entering into with the inhabitants of the western country, the moment they shall be in a situation to treat for themselves. Should they not meet entirely with your approbation, and should you wish to make any alterations in, or additions to them, I shall on my return, if you think proper to communicate them to me, lay them before his Excellency, who is animated with a sincere and ardent desire to foster this promising and rising infant country, and at the same time, promote and fortify the interests of his beneficent and royal master, in securing, by a generous and disinterested conduct, the gratitude of a just, sensible, and enlightened people.

"The important and unexpected events that have taken place in Europe since the ratification of the treaty concluded on the 27th of October, 1795, between his Catholic Majesty and the United States of America, having convulsed the general system of politics in that

quarter of the globe, and wherever its influence is extended, causing a collision of interests between nations formerly living in the most perfect union and harmony, and directing the political views of some States toward objects the most remote from their former pursuits; but none being so completely unhinged and disjointed as the cabinet of Spain, it may be confidently asserted, without incurring the reproach of presumption, that his Catholic Majesty will not carry the above-mentioned treaty into execution; nevertheless, the thorough knowledge I have of the disposition of the Spanish Government justifies me in saying that, so far from it being his Majesty's wish to exclude the inhabitants of this western country from the free navigation of the Mississippi, or withhold from them any of the benefits stipulated for them by the treaty, it is positively his intention, so soon as they shall put it in his power to treat with them, by declaring themselves independent of the federal government, and establishing one of their own, to grant them privileges far more extensive, give them a decided preference over the Atlantic States, in his commercial connections with them, and place them in a situation infinitely more advantageous, in every point of view, than that in which they would find themselves were the treaty to be carried into effect."

But the time for the dismemberment of the Union had gone by. The people were satisfied with the government. The government had given full proof of its vigor, and the conspirators who had been so long plotting the ruin of their country for Spanish gold, whatever may have been their secret wishes, were too sagacious not to know that it was now impossible to execute their treasonable project. Accordingly, with a show of disinterested patriotism that contrasts strongly with their long and tortuous intrigue, they made the following reply:

"SIR:—We have seen the communication made by you to Mr. Sebastian. In answer thereto, we declare unequivocally, that we will not be concerned, either directly or indirectly, in any attempt that may be made to separate the western country from the United States. That whatever part we may at any time be induced to take in the politics of our country, that her welfare will be our only inducement, and that we will never receive any pecuniary, or any other reward, for any personal exertions made by us, to promote that welfare.

"The free navigation of the Mississippi must always be the favorite object of the inhabitants of the western country; they cannot

be contented without it; and will not be deprived of it longer than necessity shall compel them to submit to its being withheld from them.

"We flatter ourselves that every thing will be set right by the governments of the two nations; but if this should not be the case, it appears to us that it must be the policy of Spain to encourage, by every possible means, the free intercourse with the inhabitants of the western country, as this will be the most efficient means to conciliate their good will, and to obtain without hazard, and at reduced prices, those supplies which are indispensably necessary to the Spanish government and its subjects."

Whether Sebastian signed this reply, is not known; but upon proof that he had, for years afterward, received two thousand dollars annually, as a pension from Spain, for services rendered, it was unanimously adjudged by the House of Representatives, in Kentucky, on the 6th of December, 1806, that he had been guilty, while holding the place of Judge of the Court of Appeals, of carrying on a criminal intercourse with the agents of the Spanish government, and disgracing his country for pay. Before this decision, however, Sebastian had resigned his place, and thenceforward was lost to the councils of the State.

Power, however, proceeded to Detroit, to visit General Wilkinson, for whom he had brought, from New Orleans, a large sum of money. Aside from this appeal to his avarice, he sought to arouse his ambition.

"The western people,"* said he, "are dissatisfied with the excise on whisky, Spain and France are irritated at the late treaty which has bound together so closely the United States and England, the army is devoted to its talented and brilliant commander, and it requires but firmness and resolution on your part to render the Western people free and happy. Can a man of your superior genius prefer a subordinate and contracted position, as the commander of the small and insignificant army of the United States, to the glory of being the founder of an empire, the liberator of so many millions of his countrymen—the Washington of the West? Is not this splendid achievement to be easily accomplished? Have you not the confidence of your fellow-citizens, and principally of the Kentucky volunteers? Would not the people at the slightest movement on your part, hail you as the chief of the new republic?

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* Martin's History of Louisiana, ii., 145.

Would not your reputation alone raise you an army, which France and Spain would enable you to pay? The eyes of the world are fixed upon you; be bold and prompt; do not hestitate to grasp the golden opportunity of acquiring wealth, honors, and immortal fame. But should Spain be forced to execute the treaty of 1795, and surrender all the posts claimed by the United States, then the bright visions of independence for the Western people, and of the most exalted position and imperishable renown for yourself, must forever vanish."

But Wilkinson, though restrained by no love of his country, or no motives of honor or of conscience, was far too sagacious not to see that it was now a hopeless project to attempt to sever the Union; and accordingly, with a show of patriotism, often easily assumed by those who are destitute of its spirit, he declined to entertain the treasonable scheme.

"Having informed him," said Power, in a letter to Gayoso, "of the proposals of the Baron de Carondelet, he proceeded to tell me that it was a chimerical project, which it was impossible to execute: that the inhabitants of the Western States, having obtained by treaty all they desired, would not wish to form any other political or commercial alliances; and that they had no motive for separating themselves from the interests of the other States of the Union, even if France and Spain should make them the most advantageous offers; that the fermentation which existed four years back is now appeased; that the depredations and vexations which American commerce suffered from the French privateers, had inspired them with an implacable hatred for their nation; that some of the Kentuckians had proposed to him to raise three thousand men to invade Louisiana, in case a war should be declared between the United States and Spain; that the latter had no other course to pursue, under the present circumstances, but to comply fully with the treaty."

And in order more effectually to shield himself from the suspicion of treason, he caused Power to be removed to the Spanish territories under the guard of Captain Shaumburgh, and immediately wrote to Captain Benton, at Vincennes:

"I fear the Spaniards will oblige us to go to blows with them—in which case you know they must go to the wall. I shall pursue every means in my power to preserve to our country the blessings of peace, but shall make every preparation for war, and will be guarded against surprise. Mr. Power delivered me a letter from the Baron Carondelet, in which he states a variety of frivolous

reasons for not delivering the posts, and begs that no more troops may be sent down the Mississippi, before certain adjustments take place between our respective courts. I have put aside all his exceptions, and have called on him in the most solemn manner to fulfill the treaty, as he regards the interest or honor of his master, and have hopes that my letter may produce some change in the conduct of the Dons. Although Mr. Power has brought me this letter, it is possible it might be a mask to other purposes; I have, therefore, for his accommodation and safety, put him in care of Captain Shaumburgh, who will see him safe to New Madrid, by the most direct route. I pray you to continue your vigilance, and give me all the information in your power. I am just from Michilimackinack, having visited that post to see it put in a state of defense."

The "occupying claimant" law of Kentucky—which was intended
1798.] to relieve those who were ejected from lands from the hardship of paying rent for the time they had held them, while their improvements were not paid for or regarded—was also passed in this year. It was afterward decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, to be unconstitutional, but the justice of that decision was not acquiesced in by the best men of Kentucky, and the Appellate Court of that State never recognized it, upon the ground that it was not a decision of the majority of the Supreme Court.

Detroit, during 1797, contained, according to Weld, three hundred houses.

The Congress of the United States, on the 7th of April, 1798, passed an act organizing the territory of the Mississippi; and Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the North-Western Territory, was appointed the Governor. Mr. Sargent, for some cause, was an unpopular man as Secretary and acting Governor in the absence of St. Clair. He was a pompous, over-bearing man; and in 1801, he was accused of misdoings in Mississippi. During the spring of this year, Gen. Wilkinson had been ordered to the country still held by the Spaniards, who, however, abandoned the region in dispute without serious opposition. By the 10th of October, the line dividing the possessions of Spain and the Federal Government, was in a great measure run, and the head-quarters of the American commander were fixed at Loftus Heights, six miles north of the 31st degree of north latitude.

The appointment of Sargent to the charge of the South-West Territory, led to the choice of William Henry Harrison, who had been aid-de-camp to General Wayne, in 1794, and whose character

stood very high in the estimation of the public, to the Secretaryship of the North-West, which place he held until appointed to represent that territory in Congress.

The North-Western Territory, as may be seen by a reference to the ordinance of 1787, was to have a representative assembly as soon as its inhabitants numbered five thousand. Upon the 29th of October, Governor St. Clair gave notice by proclamation that the required population existed, and directed an election of representatives to be held on the third Monday in December.

The representatives, when assembled, were required to nominate ten persons, whose names were sent to the President of the United States, who selected five, and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed them, for the legislative council. In this mode the country passed into the second grade of a territorial government.

During the summer of 1798, Congress passed an act concerning alien enemies. The first section of that act provided—

"That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, at any time during the continuance of this act,* to order all such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or shall have reasonable grounds to suspect are concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the government thereof, to depart out of the territory of the United States, within such time as shall be expressed in such order; which order shall be served on such alien by delivering him a copy thereof, or leaving the same at his usual abode, and returned to the office of the Secretary of State, by the Marshal, or other person to whom the same shall be directed. And in case any alien so ordered to depart, shall be found at large within the United States after the time limited in such order for his departure, and not having obtained a license from the President to reside therein, or having obtained such license, shall not have conformed thereto, every such alien shall, on conviction thereof, be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three years, and shall never after be admitted to become a citizen of the United States: Provided always, and be it further enacted, that if any alien so ordered to depart, shall prove, to the satisfaction of the President, by evidence to be taken before such person or persons as the President shall direct, who are for that purpose hereby authorized to administer oaths, that no injury or

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* This act was limited to the time of two years from and after its passage.

danger to the United States will arise from suffering such alien to reside therein, the President may grant a license to such alien to remain within the United States for such time as he shall judge proper, and at such place as he shall designate. And the President may also require of such alien to enter into a bond to the United States, in such penal sum as he may direct, with one or more sufficient sureties, to the satisfaction of the person authorized by the President to take the same, conditioned for the good behavior of such alien during his residence in the United States, and not violating his license, which license the President may revoke whenever he shall think proper."

And at the same session an act was passed in addition to the act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States. The second section of it provided—

"That if any person shall write, print, utter or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered or published, or shall, knowingly and willingly, assist in writing, printing, uttering or publishing, any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with intent to defame the said government, or either house of the said Congress, or the President, or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition within the United States; or to excite any unlawful combinations therein, for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the President of the United States, done in pursuance of any such law, or of the powers in him vested by the constitution of the United States; or to resist, oppose or defeat any such law or act; or to aid, encourage or abet any hostile design of any foreign nation against the United States, their people, or government, then such person, being thereof convicted before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished, by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years."

These acts, known in the political history of the country as the Alien and Sedition Laws, passed as they were under the Federal administration of John Adams, excited great opposition. They were, by the democratic party, especially, everywhere regarded with horror, and hated; and in Virginia and Kentucky, especially, called forth in opposition the most able men, and produced the most violent measures.

The governor of Kentucky called the attention of the Legislature to them, and on the 8th of November, resolutions, prepared by Mr. Jefferson, were introduced into the House, declaring that the United States are "united by a compact under the style and title of a constitution for the United States; that to this compact, each State acceded, as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming to itself the other party; that the government created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or *final* judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for himself, as well of infractions, as the mode and manner of address."

And this doctrine was further developed by the mover of the resolutions, John Breckenridge: said he, "I consider the co-States to be alone parties to the federal compact, and solely authorized to judge in the last resort of the power exercised under the compact—Congress not being a party, but merely the creature of the compact, and subject as to its assumption of power, to the final judgment of those by whom, and for whose use, itself and its powers were all created." In another passage he says, "If upon the representation of the States, from whom they derive their powers, they should nevertheless attempt to enforce them, I hesitate not to declare it as my opinion, that it is then the right and duty of the several States, to *nullify those acts, and protect their citizens* from their operation."*

To this doctrine, since disclaimed by Kentucky, in a clear and formal declaration, in 1838, William Murray, of Franklin, alone, offered a steady opposition, and took the ground since occupied by Mr. Webster with so great power; but he argued in vain—the Senate unanimously passed the resolutions. The House acted with almost equal unanimity, and the governor gave them his approbation.

A change in the Penal Code of Kentucky took place during 1798, by which the punishment of death was confined to the crime of murder, and for all others the penitentiary system was substituted.

The representatives of the North-West Territory, elected under the 1799.] proclamation of Governor St. Clair, met at Cincinnati on

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* Butler, pp. 285–87.

the 22d of January, 1799, and under the provisions of the ordinance of 1787, nominated ten persons, whose names were sent to the President of the United States. On the 2d of March, the President selected from the list of candidates, the names of Jacob Burnet, James Findlay, Henry Vanderburgh, Robert Oliver, and David Vance, and on the next day the Senate confirmed their nomination as the Legislative Council of the North-West Territory.

The territorial legislature again met at Cincinnati on the 16th of September, but for want of a quorum was not organized until the 24th of that month. The House of Representatives consisted of nineteen members, of whom seven were from Hamilton county, four from Ross, three from Wayne, two from Adams, one from Jefferson, one from Washington, and one from Knox.

After the organization of the legislature, Gov. St. Clair addressed the two houses in the representatives' chamber, and recommended such measures to their consideration as, in his judgment, were suited to the condition of the country, and would advance the safety and prosperity of the people.

"The legislative body," says Mr. Burnet, "continued in session till the 19th of December, when having finished their business, the governor prorogued them, at their request, till the first Monday in November. This being the first session, it was necessarily a very laborious one. The transition from a colonial to a semi-independent government, called for a general revision, as well as a considerable enlargement of the statute-book. Some of the adopted laws were repealed, many others altered and amended, and a long list of new ones added to the code. New offices were to be created and filled—the duties attached to them prescribed, and a plan of ways and means devised to meet the increased expenditures, occasioned by the change which had just taken place.

"As the number of members in each branch was small, and a large portion of them either unprepared or indisposed to partake largely of the labors of the session, the pressure fell on the shoulders of a few. Although the branch to which I belonged, was composed of sensible, strong-minded men, yet they were unaccustomed to the duties of their new station, and not conversant with the science of law. The consequence was, that they relied chiefly and almost entirely on me, to draft and prepare the bills and other documents, which originated in the council, as will appear by referring to the journal of the session.

"One of the important duties which devolved on the legislature, was the election of a delegate to represent the territory in Con-

gress. As soon as the governor's proclamation made its appearance, the election of a person to fill that station excited general attention. Before the meeting of the legislature, public opinion had settled down on William Henry Harrison, and Arthur St. Clair, Jr., who were eventually the only candidates. On the 3d of October, the two houses met in the representatives' chamber, according to a joint resolution, and proceeded to the election. The ballots being taken and counted, it appeared that William Henry Harrison had eleven votes, and Arthur St. C'air, Jr., ten votes; the former was therefore declared to be duly elected. The legislature, by joint resolution, prescribed the form of a certificate of his election; having received that certificate, he resigned the office of Secretary of the territory—proceeded forthwith to Philadelphia, and took his seat, Congress being then in session.

"Though he represented the territory but one year, he obtained some important advantages for his constituents. He introduced a resolution to subdivide the surveys of the public lands, and to offer them for sale in small tracts—he succeeded in getting that measure through both houses, in opposition to the interests of speculators who were, and who wished to be, the retailers of land to the poorer classes of the community. His proposition became a law, and was hailed as the most beneficent act that Congress had ever done for the territory. It put it in the power of every industrious man, however poor, to become a freeholder, and to lay a foundation for the future support and comfort of his family. At the same session, he obtained a liberal extension of time for the pre-emptioners in the northern part of the Miami purchase, which enabled them to secure their farms, and eventually to become independent, and even wealthy."*

The following additional information in regard to the proceedings of that legislature is quoted from a circular of Mr. Harrison to the people of the territory, dated May 14th, 1800.

"Amongst the variety of objects which engaged my attention, as peculiarly interesting to our territory, none appeared to me of so much importance as the adoption of a system for the sale of the public lands, which would give more favorable terms to that class of purchasers who are likely to become actual settlers, than was offered by the existing laws upon that subject; and, conformably to this idea, I procured the passage of a resolution, at an early

* Historical Transactions of Ohio, i. 71.

period, for the appointment of a committee to take the matter into consideration.

"Shortly after, I reported a bill containing terms for the purchaser as favorable as could have been expected. This bill was adopted by the House of Representatives without any material alteration; but in the Senate, amendments were introduced, obliging the purchaser to pay interest on that part of the money for which a credit was given, from the date of the purchase, and directing that one half of the land (instead of the whole, as was provided by the bill from the House of Representatives,) should be sold in half sections of three hundred and twenty acres, and the other half in whole sections of six hundred and forty acres. All my exertions, aided by some of the ablest members of the lower house, at a conference for that purpose, were not sufficient to induce the Senate to recede from their amendments; but, upon the whole, there is cause of congratulation to my fellow-citizens that terms as favorable as the bill still contains, have been procured.

"This law promises to be the foundation of a great increase of population and wealth to our country; for although the minimum price of the land is still fixed at two dollars per acre, the time for making payments has been so extended as to put it in the power of every industrious man to comply with them, it being only necessary to pay one-fourth part of the money in hand, and the balance at the end of two, three, and four years; besides this, the odious circumstance of forfeiture, which was made the penalty of failing in the payments under the old law, is entirely abolished, and the purchaser is allowed one year after the last payment is due to collect the money; if the land is not then paid for it is sold, and, after the public have been reimbursed, the balance of the money is returned to the purchaser. Four land-offices are directed to be opened—one at Cincinnati, one at Chillicothe, one at Marietta, and one at Steubenville—for the sale of the lands in the neighborhood of those places."

In addition to this, may properly be added the following review of its proceedings, by Mr. Chase:

"The whole number of acts passed and approved by the governor was thirty-seven. Of these the most important related to the militia, to the administration of justice, and to taxation. Provision was made for the efficient organization and discipline of the military force of the territory; justices of the peace were authorized to hear and determine all actions upon the case, except trover, and all actions of debt, except upon bonds for the performance of

covenants, without limitation as to the amount in controversy; and a regular system of taxation was established. The tax for territorial purposes was levied upon lands; that for county purposes upon persons, personal property, and houses and lots.

"During this session, a bill, authorizing a lottery for a public purpose, passed by the council, was rejected by the representatives. Thus early was the policy adopted of interdicting this demoralizing and ruinous mode of gambling and taxation; a policy which, with but a temporary deviation, has ever since honorably characterized the Legislature of Ohio.

"Before adjournment, the legislature issued an address to the people, in which they congratulated their constituents upon the change in the form of government; rendered an account of their public conduct as legislators; adverted to the future greatness and importance of this part of the American empire; and the provision made by the national government for secular and religious instruction in the West; and upon these considerations, urged upon the people the practice of industry, frugality, temperance, and every moral virtue. 'Religion, morality and knowledge,' said they, 'are necessary to all good governments. Let us, therefore, inculcate the principles of humanity, benevolence, honesty and punctuality in dealing, sincerity, and charity, and all the social affections.'

"About the same time an address was voted to the President of the United States, expressing the entire confidence of the legislature in the wisdom and purity of his administration, and their warm attachment to the American constitution and government. The vote upon this address proved that the differences of political sentiment, which then agitated all the States, had extended to the Territory. The address was carried by eleven ayes against five noes.

"On the 19th of December, this protracted session of the first legislature was terminated by the governor. In his speech on this occasion he enumerated eleven acts, to which, in the course of the session, he had thought fit to apply his absolute veto. These acts he had not returned to the legislature, because the two houses were under no obligation to consider the reasons on which his veto was founded; and, at any rate, as his negative was unqualified, the only effect of such a return would be to bring on a vexatious, and probably fruitless, altercation between the legislative body and the executive. Of the eleven acts thus negatived, six related to the erection of new counties. These were disapproved for various reasons, but mainly because the governor claimed that the power

exercised in enacting them, was vested by the ordinance, not in the legislature, but in himself. This free exercise of the veto power excited much dissatisfaction among the people, and the controversy which ensued between the governor and the legislature, as to the extent of their respective powers, tended to confirm and strengthen the popular disaffection."*

The great extent of the territory north-west of the Ohio, made the 1800.] ordinary operations of government extremely uncertain, and the efficient action of Courts almost impossible. The Committee of Congress, upon the 3d of March, 1800, reported upon the subject, that—

"In the three western counties there has been but one court having cognizance of crimes, in five years: and the immunity which offenders experience, attracts, as to an asylum, the most vile and abandoned criminals, and at the same time deters useful and virtuous persons from making settlements in such society. The extreme necessity of judiciary attention and assistance, is experienced in civil as well as criminal cases. The supplying to vacant places such necessary officers as may be wanted, such as clerks, recorders, and others of like kind, is, from the impossibility of correct notice and information, utterly neglected. This territory is exposed, as a frontier, to foreign nations, whose agents can find sufficient interest in exciting or fomenting insurrection and discontent, as thereby they can more easily divert a valuable trade in furs from the United States, and also have a part thereof on which they border, which feels so little the cherishing hand of their proper government, or so little dread of its energy, as to render their attachment perfectly uncertain and ambiguous.

The committee would further suggest, that the law of the 3d of March, 1791, granting land to certain persons in the western part of said territory, and directing the laying out of the same, remains unexecuted; that great discontent, in consequence of such neglect, is excited in those who were interested in the provisions of said law, and which require the immediate attention of this legislature. To minister a remedy to these evils, it occurs to this committee that it is expedient that a division of said territory, into two distinct and separate governments should be made; and that such division be made, by a line beginning at the mouth of the Great

* Chase's Sketch, p. 20.

Miami river, running directly north, until it intersects the boundary between the United States and Canada."*

In accordance with the spirit of this resolution, an act was passed, and approved upon the 7th of May, from which the following provisions are extracted:

"That from and after the 4th day of July next, all that part of the territory of the United States north-west of the Ohio river, which lies to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio, opposite to the mouth of Kentucky river, and running thence to Fort Recovery, and thence north, until it shall intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purpose of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called the Indiana Territory.

"And be it further enacted, That there shall be established within the said territory a government, in all respects similar to that provided by the ordinance of Congress, passed on the thirteenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, for the government of the territory of the United States, north-west of the river Ohio; and the inhabitants thereof shall be entitled to, and enjoy, all and singular, the rights, privileges, and advantages, granted and secured to the people by the said ordinance.

"And be it further enacted, That so much of the ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States north-west of the Ohio river, as relates to the organization of a General Assembly therein, and prescribes the powers thereof, shall be in force and operate in the Indiana Territory, whenever satisfactory evidence shall be given to the governor thereof that such is the wish of a majority of the freeholders, notwithstanding there may not be therein five thousand free male inhabitants of the age of twenty-one years and upward: Provided, that until there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants of twenty-one years and upward, in said territory, the whole number of Representatives to the General Assembly shall not be less than seven, nor more than nine, to be apportioned by the governor to the several counties in said territory, agreeably to the number of free males of the age of twenty-one years and upward, which they may respectively contain.

"And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained, shall be construed so as in any manner to affect the government now in force in the territory of the United States, north-west of

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*American State Papers, xx. 206.

the Ohio river, further than to prohibit the exercise thereof within the Indiana Territory, from and after the aforesaid fourth of July next: Provided, That whenever that part of the territory of the United States which lies to the eastward of a line beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami river, and running thence, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall be erected into an independent State, and admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, thenceforth said line shall become and remain permanently the boundary line between such State and the Indiana Territory, any thing in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

"And be it further enacted, That until it shall be otherwise ordered by the Legislatures of the said territories, respectively, Chillicothe, on the Scioto river, shall be the seat of the government of the territory of the United States north-west of the Ohio river; and that St. Vincennes, on the Wabash river, shall be the seat of the government for the Indiana Territory."*

The person appointed to govern the new-made territory was William H. Harrison, whose commission was dated in 1801.

It has been mentioned that the State of Connecticut, in the cession of her claims to the West, had reserved the title both to the jurisdiction and soil of the Western Reserve. When she disposed of the soil, however, troubles at once arose, for the settlers found themselves without a government upon which to lean.

Upon their representation, the mother State, in October, 1797, authorized her Senators to release her jurisdiction over the Reserve to the Union. Upon the 21st of March, 1800, a committee of Congress reported in favor of accepting this cession, and upon the 30th of May the release was made by the Governor of the State, in accordance with a law passed during that month; the United States issuing letters patent to Connecticut for the soil, and Connecticut transferring all her claims of jurisdiction to the Federal Government.† At that time, settlements had been commenced in thirty-five of the townships, and one thousand persons had become settlers; mills had been built, and seven hundred miles of road cut in various directions.

The "Connecticut Reserve" continued to receive numerous emigrants from the New England States, who formed settlements chiefly

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* Land Laws, 451.

† American State Papers, xvi. 94–98. Chase's Statutes, i. 64–66.

near Lake Erie. The population in this part of the territory had increased so fast, that in December, 1800, the county of Trumbull was organized. About this period, a large number of settlers on the military lands of North-Western Pennsylvania, who had become involved in the troubles arising out of the land laws of that district, abandoned their improvements, to avoid litigation, and retired to the southern part of the Western Reserve. They were an acquisition to this part of Ohio, and by industry and frugality, in a few years, more than retrieved the loss of their improvements.

Congress having made Chillicothe the capital of the North-Western Territory, on the third of November, 1800, the General Assembly met at that place. At this meeting, Governor St. Clair, in strong terms, expressed his sense of the want of popularity under which he labored.

"My term of office," said he, "and yours, gentlemen of the House of Representatives, will soon expire. It is, indeed, very uncertain whether I shall ever meet another Assembly in the character I now hold, for I well know that the vilest calumnies and the greatest falsehoods are insidiously circulated among the people, with a view to prevent it. While I regret the baseness and malevolence of the authors, and well know that the laws have put the means of correction fully in my power, they have nothing to dread from me but the contempt they justly merit. The remorse of their own consciences will, one day, be punishment sufficient. Their arts may, however, succeed. Be that as it may, of this I am certain, that be my successor whom he may, he can never have the interests of the people of this territory more truly at heart than I have had, nor labor more assiduously for their good than I have done; and I am not conscious that any one act of my administration has been influenced by any other motive than a sincere desire to promote their welfare and happiness."

Notwithstanding the general dislike felt toward him, however, St. Clair was re-appointed, in 1801, to the place he had so long occupied.

Toward the close of this year, the first missionary to the Connecticut Reserve came thither, under the patronage of the Connecticut Missionary Society. He found no township containing more than eleven families.

1801.] The governor and several of the legislators of the North-Western Territory having been insulted during the autumn of 1801, at Chillicothe, while the Assembly was in session—and no measures

being taken by the authorities of the capital to protect the executive—a law was passed, removing the seat of government to Cincinnati again. But it was not destined that the territorial Assembly should meet again anywhere. The unpopularity of St. Clair, already referred to, was causing many to long for a State government, and self-rule. This unpopularity arose in part from the feelings connected with his defeat; in part from his being identified with the Federal party, then fast falling into disrepute; and in part from his assuming powers which most thought he had no right to exercise, especially the power of sub-dividing the counties of the territory.

But the opposition, though very powerful out of the Assembly, was in the minority, even in the House of Representatives, and during December, 1801, was forced to protest against a measure brought forward in the Council, for changing the Ordinance of 1787 in such a manner as to make the Scioto and a line drawn from the intersection of that river, and the Indian boundary to the western extremity of the Connecticut Reserve, the limit of the most eastern State to be formed from the Territory.

This change, if made, would long have postponed the formation of a State government beyond the Ohio, and against it Tiffin, Worthington, Langham, Darlinton, Massie, Dunlavy, and Morrow, recorded solemnly their objections. Not content with this, it was determined that some one should at once visit Washington, on behalf of the objectors; and upon the 20th of December, Thomas Worthington obtained leave of absence for the remainder of the session. His acts and those of his co-laborers belong to the next year.

From 1799 to 1803 the territorial legislature met annually, but made not many laws, owing to the extraordinary powers conferred on the governor, by the Ordinance of 1787, and the very arbitrary manner by which he vetoed many of the bills that passed. During the period of the territorial legislature, most of the business usually done by territorial legislatures since, was done by the governor of the territory. He erected new counties, fixed county seats, and issued divers proclamations enacting laws by his own authority, and put his veto upon all legislative enactments which he fancied encroached on his prerogatives, and therefore his administration became extremely unpopular.

1802.] On the 15th of January, 1802, the legislature of that State passed an act "for the establishment of a college at Canonsburg,

in the county of Washington, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

About the year 1785, the Rev. John McMillan, who had been the pastor of the Presbyterian congregations of Chartiers and Pigeon creeks, since 1776, opened at his residence a school for the purpose of preparing young men for the ministry, at which several of the most distinguished clergymen of that denomination, at that period, received their first training for their profession. The interest on the subject of education awakened in that region by the success of McMillan's school, as well as that of one or two others, maintained for a brief period, led the Synod of Virginia, which then extended its jurisdiction over Western Pennsylvania, to take measures for the establishment of one or more institutions of learning within its bounds. Accordingly that body, at its meeting in 1791, resolved to establish two academies; one in the county of Rockbridge, Virginia, under the care of Rev. William Graham, and under the superintendence of the Presbyteries of Lexington and Hanover, a school which has since grown into the Washington College of Lexington; and the other in the county of Washington, Pennsylvania, under the care of Rev. John McMillan, and under the superientendence of the Presbytery of Redstone. At the meeting of that Presbytery in October, 1792, it was resolved "to appoint Canonsburg to be the seat of the institution of learning which they are appointed by the Synod to superintend."

The Canonsburg Academy was, in consequence, established at that village. A large and commodious stone building was erected for its use, a corps of teachers was appointed, and many of the most distinguished men in all departments of public life in the West received their education there. The Academy remained under the care of the Redstone Presbytery until 1798, at which time a change was made in the institution. The Board of Trustees became a close corporation, and all ecclesiastical supervision over the institution ceased. By the act of 1802, the Canonsburg Academy was incorporated under the name of Jefferson College, and the property of the academy was vested in the trustees of the college. At the same time, a donation of three thousand dollars was made to it by the State. The college was fully organized, the Rev. Thomas Watson was elected President, and a corps of professors was appointed, and Jefferson College thus became the first, as it has proved to be one of the most efficient institutions west of the mountains. More than four thousand students have been educated at it, and it has sent out more than fourteen hundred graduates,

many of whom occupy, or have occupied the highest positions in every department of public and professional life.

In January, 1802, an act was passed by the Legislature of the North-Western Territory, to establish a university at the town of Athens. Two townships of land, within the Ohio Company's purchase, consisting of forty-six thousand and eighty acres, had previously been donated by Congress, for the support of an institution of learning. It 1804 it was re-chartered by the State government, and fully organized under the name of the Ohio University, with a board of twenty-four trustees, chosen by the Legislature, and with an endowment fund arising from its lands of about four thousand five hundred dollars.

The great dissatisfaction which existed in the North-Western Territory with the administration of Governor St. Clair, excited the wish among many of the prominent men of the Territory for the establishment of a State government, north of the Ohio river, and, as has been seen, Worthington set out for Philadelphia late in the preceding year, to secure that object, as well as to protest against any change in the boundaries of the North-Western States, as contemplated in the ordinance.

While Worthington was on his way to the seat of government, Massie presented, on the 4th of January, a resolution for choosing a committee to address Congress, in respect to the proposed State government. This, upon the following day, the House refused to pass, however, by a vote of twelve to five. An attempt was next made to procure a census of the territory, and an act for that purpose passed the House, but the council postponed the consideration of it until the next session, which was to commence at Cincinnati on the fourth Monday of the following November.*

Worthington, meantime at Philadelphia, pursued the ends of his mission, and used his influence to effect that organization "which, terminating the influence of tyranny," was to "meliorate the circumstances of thousands, by freeing them from the domination of a despotic chief." His efforts proved successful, and upon the 4th of March a report was made to the House in favor of authorizing a State Convention. This report went upon the basis that the territory, by the United States census made in 1800, contained more than forty-five thousand inhabitants, and as the government, since that time, had sold half a million of acres, that the territory

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* See Journal of the Council, 53 and 78, and Journal of the House, 111, 115, 155.

east of the Miami, supposing the past rate of increase to continue, would, by the time a State government *could* be formed, contain the sixty thousand persons contemplated by the ordinance; and upon this basis proposed that a convention should be held, to determine, 1st, whether it were expedient to form a State government, and 2d, to prepare a constitution, if such an organization were deemed best. In the formation of this State, however, a change of boundaries was proposed, by which, in accordance with the fifth article of the ordinance of 1787, all of the territory north of a line drawn due east from the head of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie was to be excluded from the new government about to be called into existence. The report closed as follows:

"The committee observe, in the ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the Western Territory, of the 20th of May, 1785, the following section, which, so far as respects the subject of schools, remains unaltered:

"'There shall be reserved for the United States out of every township, the four lots, being numbered 8, 11, 26, 29, and out of every fractional part of a township so many lots, of the same numbers, as shall be found thereon for future sale. There shall be reserved the lot No. 16 of every township, for the maintenance of public schools within the said township; also, one-third part of all gold, silver, lead and copper mines, to be sold or otherwise disposed of, as Congress shall hereafter direct.'

"The committee also observe, in the third and fourth articles of the ordinance of the 13th July, 1787, the following stipulations, to wit:

"'Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged, &c.

"'The legislatures of those districts or new States, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the *bona fide* purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents.'

"The committee, taking into consideration these stipulations, viewing the lands of the United States within the said Territory as an important source of revenue; deeming it also of the highest importance to the stability and permanence of the union of the eastern and western parts of the United States, that the intercourse

should, as far as possible, be facilitated, and their interests be liberally and mutually consulted and promoted, are of opinion that the provisions of the aforesaid articles may be varied for the reciprocal advantage of the United States and the State of———, when formed, and the people thereof. They have therefore deemed it proper, in lieu of the said provisions, to offer the following propositions to the convention of the eastern State of the said territory, when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection, without any condition or restraint whatever, which, if accepted by the convention, shall be obligatory upon the United States:

"'That the section No. 16, in every township sold or directed to be sold by the United States, shall be granted to the inhabitants of such township for the use of schools.

"'That the six miles reservation, including the salt springs commonly called the Scioto salt springs, shall be granted to the State of———, when formed, for the use of the people thereof; the same to be used under such terms, conditions and regulations, as the Legislature of the said State shall direct: Provided, the said Legislature shall never sell nor lease the same for a longer term than —— years.

"'That one-tenth part of the net proceeds of the lands lying in the said State, hereafter sold by Congress, after deducting all expenses incident to the same, shall be applied to the laying out and making turnpike or other roads, leading from the navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic to the Ohio, and continued afterward through the State of ———; such roads to be laid out under the authority of Congress, with the consent of the several States through which the roads shall pass: Provided, that the convention of the State of ——— shall, on its part, assent that every and each tract of land sold by Congress shall be and remain exempt from any tax laid by order and under authority of the State, whether for State, county, township, or any other purpose whatever, for the term of ten years, from and after the completion of the payment of the purchase money on such tract to the United States.'"

In accordance with the recommendation of their committee, Congress, upon the 30th of April, passed a law, carrying, with slight modifications the view above given into effect. The provisions of this law were thought by many in the territory unauthorized, but no opposition was offered to the appointment of persons to attend the convention, and the legislature even gave way to the embryo government, and failed to assemble according to adjournment. The convention met upon the 1st of November;

its members were generally Jeffersonian in their national politics, and had been opposed to the change of boundaries proposed the previous year. Before proceeding to business, Governor St. Clair proposed to address them, in his official character, as the chief executive magistrate of the territory. This proposition was resisted by several of the members; but, after discussion, a motion was made, and adopted, by a majority of five, that, "Arthur St. Clair, Sen., Esquire, be permitted to address the convention, on those points which he deems of importance."

He advised the postponement of a State organization until the people of the original eastern division were plainly entitled to demand it, and were not subject to be bound by conditions.* This advice, given as it was, caused Jefferson instantly to remove St. Clair, and when the vote was taken upon doing that which he advised them not to do, but one of thirty-three, Ephraim Cutler, of Washington, voted with the governor.†

On one point, the proposed boundaries of the new State were altered.

"To every person who has attended to this subject, and who has consulted the maps of the western country, extant at the time the ordinance of 1787 was passed, Lake Michigan was believed to be, and was represented by all the maps of that day, as being very far north of the position which it has since been ascertained to occupy. I have seen the map in the Department of State, which was before the committee of Congress, who framed and reported the ordinance for the government of the territory. On that map, the southern boundary of Michigan was represented as being above the forty-second degree of north latitude. And there was a pencil line, said to have been made by the committee, passing through the southern bend of the lake to the Canada line, which struck the strait not far below the town of Detroit. That line was manifestly intended by the committee, and by Congress, to be the northern boundary of our State; and on the principles by which courts of chancery construe contracts, accompanied by plats, it would seem that the map, and the line referred to, should be conclusive evidence of our boundary, without reference to the real position of the lake.

"When the convention sat, in 1802, the prevailing understanding was, that the old maps were nearly correct, and that the line, as defined in the ordinance, would terminate at some point on the

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* Burnet's Letters, 108, 111. † Ibid. 110.

strait above the Maumee bay. While the convention was in session, a man who had hunted many years on Lake Michigan, and was well acquainted with its position, happened to be in Chillicothe; and, in conversation with one of its members, told him that the lake extended much further south than was generally supposed, and that a map of the country, which he had seen, placed its southern bend many miles north of its true position. This information excited some uneasiness, and induced the convention to modify the clause, describing the north boundary, so as to guard its being depressed below the most northern cape of the Maumee bay."*

With this change, and some extension of the school and road donations, the convention agreed to the proposal of Congress, and upon the 29th of November, their agreement was ratified and signed, as was also the constitution of the State of Ohio. Of this constitution nothing further need be said, than that it bore in every provision the marks of democratic feeling; of full faith in the people. By the people themselves, however, it was never examined; but no opposition was offered to it, and a General Assembly was required to meet at Chillicothe on the first Tuesday of March, 1803.

After the ratification by Congress of the Constitution of Ohio, and her admission into the Union, the Peninsula of Michigan was wholly within the territory of Indiana.

On the 17th of September, 1802, Governor Harrison, of Indiana Territory, at Vincennes, entered into an agreement with various chiefs of the Pottawattamie, Eel river, Piankeshaw, Wea, Kaskaskia and Kickapoo tribes, by which were settled the bounds of a tract of land near that place, said to have been given by the Indians to its founder; and certain chiefs were named who were to conclude the matter at Fort Wayne. This was the first step taken by Harrison in those negotiations which continued through so many years, and added so much to the dominions of the confederation. He found the natives jealous and out of temper, owing partly to American injustice, but also in a great degree, it was thought, to the arts of the British traders and agents.

In January of this year, Governor Harrison also communicated to the President the following letter, detailing some of the most curious land speculations of which there is any account:

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* Historical Transactions of Ohio, p. 115.

"The court established at this place, under the authority of the State of Virginia, in the year 1780, (as I have before done myself the honor to inform you,) assumed to themselves the right of granting lands to every applicant. Having exercised this power for some time without opposition, they began to conclude that their right over the land was supreme, and that they could with as much propriety grant to themselves as to others.

"Accordingly, an arrangement was made, by which the whole country to which the Indian title was supposed to be extinguished, was divided between the members of the court; and orders to that effect entered on their journal, each member absenting himself from the court on the day that the order was to be made in his favor, so that it might appear to be the act of his fellows only. The tract thus disposed of, extends on the Wabash twenty-four leagues from La Pointe Coupee to the mouth of White river, and forty leagues into the country west, and thirty east from the Wabash, excluding only the land immediately surrounding this town, which had before been granted to the amount of twenty or thirty thousand acres.

"The authors of this ridiculous transaction soon found that no advantage could be derived from it, as they could find no purchasers, and I believe that the idea of holding any part of the land was, by the greater part of them, abandoned a few years ago; however, the claim was discovered, and a part of it purchased by some of those speculators who infest our country, and through these people, a number of others in different parts of the United States have become concerned, some of whom are actually preparing to make settlements on the land the ensuing spring. Indeed, I should not be surprised to see five hundred families settling under these titles in the course of a year.

"The price at which the land is sold enables any body to become a purchaser; one thousand acres being frequently given for an indifferent horse or a rifle gun. And as a formal deed is made reciting the grant of the court, (made as it is pretended, under the authority of the State of Virginia,) many ignorant persons have been induced to part with their little all to obtain this ideal property, and they will no doubt endeavor to strengthen their claim, as soon as they have discovered the deception, by an actual settlement. The extent of these speculations was unknown to me until lately.

"I am now informed that a number of persons are in the habit of repairing to this place, where they purchase two or three

hundred thousand acres of this claim, for which they get a deed properly authenticated and recorded, and then disperse themselves over the United States to cheat the ignorant and credulous. In some measure, to check this practice, I have forbidden the recorder and prothonotary of this county from recording or authenticating any of these papers; being determined that the official seals of the territory should not be prostituted to a purpose so base as that of assisting an infamous fraud."

During the month of June, 1803, certain Indian chiefs, agreeable 1803.] to their promise made at Vincennes the preceding year, met at Fort Wayne, and transferred to Governor Harrison the lands claimed by the United States about Post Vincennes, and their act was confirmed at Vincennes, on the 7th of August, by various chiefs and warriors. On the 13th of August, the Illinois tribes, including the Kaskaskias, Michiganies, Cahokias and Tamarois, made a conveyance to the United States of their right to a large portion of the Illinois country south and east of the Illinois river.

On the 1st of March, 1803, the first general assembly under the constitution of Ohio was held at Chillicothe, for the purpose of organizing the State Government, and especially for the purpose of appointing the judicial and executive officers provided for in the constitution—a Secretary and Auditor, and a Treasurer of State, and their respective duties assigned to them. Senators were elected, and provisions made for the election by the people, of a representative to Congress. Judges for the new courts were appointed, the court of common pleas was organized, and the business of the court of quarter sessions transferred to it; justices of the peace were provided, and the business of the territorial magistrates was assigned to them. And many other provisions for the complete organization of the new government and for the administration of justice, were enacted.

Upon the 15th of April, the House of Representatives of the new State of Ohio, signed a bill respecting a college township in the district of Cincinnati. The history of this township is thus given by Judge Burnet:

"The ordinance adopted by Congress for the disposal of the public domain, did not authorize a grant of college land, to the purchasers, of less than two millions of acres. The original proposition of Mr. Symmes being for that quantity, entitled him to the benefit of such a grant. It was his intention, no doubt, to close his contract, in conformity with his proposal. He therefore stated,

in his printed publication, before referred to, that a college township had been given; and he described his situation to be, as nearly opposite the mouth of Licking river, as an entire township could be found, eligible in point of soil and situation. He also selected in good faith, one of the best townships in the purchase, answering the description, and marked it on his map, as the college township.

"The township thus selected, was the third of the first entire range on which the town of Springdale now stands. The tract was reserved from sale, and retained for the intended purpose, until Mr. Symmes ascertained, that his *agents* had relinquished one-half of his proposed purchase, by closing a contract for one million of acres, by which his right to college lands was abandoned, and of course not provided for in the contract. He then, very properly, erased the endorsement from the map, and offered the township for sale, and as it was one of the best and most desirable portions of his purchase, it was rapidly located.

"The matter remained in this situation, till the application in 1792, to change the boundaries of the purchase, and to grant a patent for as much land as his means would enable him to pay for. When the bill for that purpose was under consideration, General Dayton, the agent, and one of the associates of Mr. Symmes, being then an influential member of the House of Representatives, proposed a section, authorizing the President to convey to Mr. Symmes and his associates, one entire township in trust, for the purpose of establishing an academy, and other schools of learning, conformably to an order of Congress, of the 2d of October, 1787.

"The fact was, that the right, under the order referred to, had been lost, by the relinquishment of half the proposed purchase, in consequence of which the contract contained no stipulation for such a grant. Notwithstanding, from some cause, either want of correct information, or a willingness then to make the gratuity,—most probably the latter—the section was adopted and became a part of the law. At that time, there was not an entire township in the purchase, undisposed of. Large quantities of all of them had been sold by Mr. Symmes, after his right to college lands had been lost, by the conduct of his agents, Dayton and Marsh. It was not, therefore, in his power to make the appropriation required by the act of Congress, though in arranging his payment at the treasury, he was credited with the price of the township.

"The matter remained in that situation, till about the time the legislature was elected, under the second grade of the territorial

government, in 1799. Mr. Symmes, then feeling the embarrassment of his situation, and aware that the subject would be taken up by the legislature, made a written proposition to the governor, offering the second township of the second fractional range, for the purposes of a college. On examination, the governor found, that he had sold an undivided moiety of that township, for a valuable consideration, in 1788; that the purchaser had obtained a decree in the circuit court of Pennsylvania, for a specific execution of the contract; and that he had also sold several smaller portions of the same township to others, who then held contracts for same. As a matter of course, the township was refused. He then appealed from the decision of the governor, to the territorial legislature. They also refused to receive it, for the same reasons which had been assigned by the governor.

"A similar refusal was afterward made, for the same reason, by the state legislature, to whom it was again offered. I had the charity to believe, that when Mr. Symmes first proposed the township to the governor, it was his intention to buy up the claims against it, which he probably might have done at that time, on fair and moderate terms; but he omitted to do so, till that arrangement became impracticable, and until his embarrassments, produced by the refusal of Congress to confirm his contract for the land he had sold out of his patent, rendered it impossible for him to make any remuneration to government, or the intended beneficiaries of the grant.

"The delegates representing the territory in Congress, were instructed, from time to time, to exert their influence to induce the government in some form, to secure the grant to the people of the Miami purchase. But nothing effectual was accomplished, till the establishment of the State government in 1803; when a law was passed by Congress vesting in the legislature of Ohio, a quantity of land equal to one entire township, to be located under their direction, for the purpose of establishing an academy, in lieu of the township already granted, for the same purpose, by virtue of the act, entitled 'an act authorizing the grant and conveyance of certain lands to John C. Symmes and his associates.' Under the authority of an act of the Ohio legislature, passed in April, 1803, by which commissioners were appointed who made a location of these lands, amounting to thirty-six sections, as they are now held by the Miami University. In consequence of the early sales, by Judge Symmes, these lands were necessarily located west of the Great Miami river; and, consequently, without the limit of Symmes' purchase."

Under the administration of Gayoso, after the treaty of Madrid, and the surrender of the posts to the American government, nothing occurred to disturb the friendly feeling then existing between the province of Louisiana and the United States.* Immediately after his death, however, the Intendant Morales, in 1799, published an interdict, refusing any longer to allow the port of New Orleans to be used as a place of deposit for the trade of the Ohio, without, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Madrid, providing any other suitable point for that purpose.

The immediate effect of this ill-timed and faithless order was to cut off at once the whole commerce of the American settlements in the valley, and in consequence to derange and embarrass the business of that region. The right of the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the right of the deposit at New Orleans were specifically guaranteed to the people of the West by the treaty of Madrid, after a long and vexatious negotiation, and this infringement of those rights, now without notice or without reason, excited much indignation among the American people.

The federal government shared the feeling of the people, and prepared at once to compel the Spanish authorities to open a depot for the American trade. With that view, President Adams ordered three regiments of the army to concentrate on the lower Ohio, to be ready for any emergency that might arise. Soon after, Congress, for the ostensible purpose, however, of avenging the spoliations of the French upon American commerce, authorized the enlistment of twelve regiments to serve during the continuance of the difficulties with France. Washington was vested with the chief command of the army. Wilkinson was called to the seat of government to arrange with the cabinet the plan of a campaign against Louisiana, and throughout the West preparations were being made with secrecy, but with great vigor, for an early descent upon New Orleans; but the recurrence of the Presidential election, and the choice of Mr. Jefferson as the Chief Magistrate, induced Mr. Adams to suspend the enterprise, and to leave the responsibility of the question to his successor in office.

In the meantime, a change was effected in the political condition of the province. On the 1st of October, 1800, a secret treaty was held at St. Ildefonso, between the king of Spain, and the first consul of the French republic, at which it was stipulated that the Duke of Parma, a prince of the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon,

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* Gayarre's Spanish Domination in Louisiana.

whose territories were annexed to the republic, should be put in possession of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, which was to be erected into the kingdom of Etruria, under the protection and guarantee of the French government.

As an equivalent to that guarantee, the third article of the treaty provided that—

"His Catholic Majesty promises and engages to retrocede to the French republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the above conditions and stipulations relative to his Royal Highness, the Duke of Parma, the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it ought to be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States."

Morales was superseded by Lopez in the government of Louisiana, his interdict was disavowed by the king, the right of deposit was promptly restored, and thus the difficulties arising from his bad faith, which were about to involve Spain in a war with the United States, were adjusted.

Rumors of the transfer of the province to France reached Louisiana, and excited much sensation among its people. Especially, they excited much distrust among the Spanish inhabitants, and particularly in the mind of Morales, who was again Intendant, against the large and increasing number of Americans who were emigrating at that critical time to Louisiana. To arrest the influx of what he regarded as a dangerous population, Morales published a decree of the king, of the 18th of July, 1802, forbidding the grant of any land in Louisiana to any citizen of the United States.

To further the same policy, Morales issued an order, on the 16th of October, suspending again the right of deposit at New Orleans. This new infraction of the treaty greatly embarrassed, and, in consequence, aroused the indignation of the people of the West. Petitions, appeals, and even threats, were addressed to the general government, and the embarrassments of the people of the West were urged in such a manner as to induce the government to take immediate measures for their relief.

On the 7th of January, 1803, the House of Representatives passed resolutions, declaring "the firm determination of Congress to sustain the Executive of the United States in such measures as he might adopt for asserting the rights, and vindicating the injuries of the American citizens; and declaring their unalterable determination to maintain the boundaries, and rights of navigation and

commerce through the river Mississippi, as established by existing treaties." And on the 11th of January, the President, Mr. Jefferson, sent a message to the Senate, nominating Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe ministers to the French government, and Charles Pinckney and James Monroe to that of Spain, with full powers to form treaties "for enlarging and more effectually securing our rights and interests in the river Mississippi, and in the territories eastward thereof."

The secret treaty of St. Ildefonso, as has been seen, had been formed on the 1st of October, 1890; on the 29th of the next March, Rufus King, then Minister in London, wrote home in relation to a reported cession of Louisiana, and its influence on the United States: on the 9th of June, 1801, Mr. Pinckney, at Madrid, was instructed in relation to the alleged transfer, and upon the 28th of September, Mr. Livingston, at Paris, was written to upon the same topic. On the 20th of November, Mr. King sent from London a copy of the treaty signed at Madrid, March 21, 1801, by which the Prince of Parma (son-in-law of the King of Spain) was established in Tuscany; this had been the consideration for the grant of Louisiana to France in the previous autumn, and that grant was now confirmed.

From that time till July, 1802, a constant correspondence went on between the American Secretary of State and the Ministers at Paris, London, and Madrid, relative to the important question, What can be done to secure the interests of the Union in relation to the Mississippi? Mr. Livingston, in France, was of opinion that a cession of New Orleans might possibly be obtained from that power; and to obtain it he advised the payment of "a large price," if required. Mr. Livingston at the same time wrote and laid before the French leaders an elaborate memoir, intended to show that true policy required France not to retain Louisiana, but when, on the last of August, he again made propositions, Talleyrand told him that the First Consul was not ready to receive them. Still the sagacious ambassador felt "persuaded that the whole would end in a relinquishment of the country, and transfer of the capital to the United States;" and pursued his labors in hope, asking from his government only explicit instructions as to how much he might offer France for the Floridas, which it was supposed she would soon get from Spain, and also for New Orleans.

His views were acquiesced in by the President, and Mr. Monroe went out in March, 1803, bearing instructions, the object of which was "to procure a cession of New Orleans and the Floridas to the

United States." All idea of purchasing Louisiana west of the Mississippi, was thus far disclaimed by Mr. Livingston, in October, 1802, and by Mr. Jefferson in January, 1803. Upon the 10th of the latter month, however, Mr. Livingston proposed to the Minister of Napoleon to cede to the United States not only New Orleans and Florida, but also all of Louisiana above the river Arkansas. But such were not the views entertained in the Cabinet of the United States, and upon the 2d of March the instructions sent to Messrs. Livingston and Monroe, gave a plan which expressly left to France "all her territory on the west side of the Mississippi."*

In conformity with these orders, when Talleyrand, on the 11th of the next month, asked Livingston if he wished all of Louisiana, he answered that his government desired only New Orleans and Florida, though, in his opinion, good policy would lead France to cede all west of the Mississippi above the Arkansas, so as to place a barrier between her own colony and Canada. Talleyrand still suggested the cession of the whole French domain in North America, and asked how much would be given for it; Mr. Livingston intimated that twenty millions of francs might be a fair price; this the Minister of Bonaparte said was too low, but asked the American to think of the matter. He did think of it, and concluded that the purchase of Louisiana entire was too large an object for the United States, and that, if acquired, it ought to be exchanged with Spain for the Floridas, reserving only New Orleans.

On the 12th of April, Mr. Monroe reached Paris, and upon the 13th the Minister of the Treasury, Marbois, who was a personal friend of Livingston, had a long conversation with him, from which it appeared that Napoleon, then about to renew his wars with England, wished to sell Louisiana entire, and that the only question was as to price. Bonaparte had named what equaled one hundred and twenty-five millions of francs, but to this the Republicans turned a deaf ear, offering only forty or fifty millions. In a short time, however, a compromise took place, and the American negotiators, going entirely beyond the letter of their instructions, agreed to pay eighty millions of francs for the vast territory upon and beyond the river first navigated by Marquette; the treaty was arranged upon the 30th of the month in which the purchase had first been suggested.

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* For the documents on this subject, see American State Papers, vol. ii., pp. 525 to 544.

This act of the ministers, though unauthorized and unexpected, was at once agreed to by the President. Congress was summoned to meet upon the 17th of October, and on that day the treaty was laid before the Senate: by the 21st the transfer was ratified, and upon the 20th of the following December, the Province of Louisiana was officially delivered over to Governor Claiborne, of Mississippi, and General Wilkinson, who were empowered to assume the government.

To this transfer of Louisiana, Spain at first objected, as she alleged, "on solid grounds," but early in 1804, renounced her opposition.

From this statement it will be seen that Mr. Jefferson had no agency in the purchase of Louisiana, beyond the approval of the unlooked for act of his ministers. If any one deserves to be remembered, in connection with the great bargain, it was Mr. Livingston, whose efforts to secure it were consistent and unremitting.

It was, however, more owing to the peculiar circumstances which surrounded Napoleon, as the First Consul, that the purchase of Louisiana was effected at all, and especially at that time, and at such a price. The motives with which he was influenced in its sale, are exposed in detail by M. de Barbe Marbois, who was minister of the Public Treasury at that period, and who, in the character of confidential secretary of Napoleon, conducted the negotiation, and drew up the treaty.

The crisis was an alarming one to France. The Court of St. James had learned the purport of the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso, by which Louisiana had been re-ceded to France. The latter government had its fleet fitted out, ostensibly for America. The king of England became alarmed, and in quick succession sent messages to Parliament, and prompt action was taken to fit out the navy. Napoleon dreaded the maritime power of England. To Marbois he said:

"The principles of a maritime supremacy are subversive of one of the noblest rights of nature, science and genius have secured to man; I mean the right of traversing every sea with as much liberty as the bird flies through the air; of making use of the waves, winds, climates, and productions of the globe; of bringing near to one another, by a bold navigation, nations that have been separated, since the creation; of carrying civilization into regions that are a prey to ignorance and barbarism."*

*Marbois' Louisiana, p. 258.

The discussions in the French Cabinet continued, at intervals, for several days. Mr. Livingston was the American minister to the French Republic, and for two years had been negotiating for indemnity for maritime spoliations. Mr. Monroe was on his way thither, with instructions to secure the navigation of the Mississippi, and even to purchase New Orleans, and some small part of the vast territory of Louisiana. Napoleon wanted money, and he foresaw the probability that this province would fall into the hands of England, and that a sale of the whole country to the United States, would add to its national greatness, and make this government a formidable rival of Great Britain. After the close of the conference with his counselors, Napoleon said to Marbois:

"Irresolution and deliberation are no longer in season; I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I will cede; it is the whole country, without any reservation.

"If I should regulate my terms, according to the value of these vast regions to the United States, the indemnity would have no limits. I will be moderate, in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale. But keep this to yourself. I want fifty millions (of francs,) and for less than that sum I will not treat; I would rather make a desperate attempt to keep these fine countries. To-morrow you shall have full powers.

"Perhaps it will also be objected to me, that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries; but my foresight does not embrace such remote fears. Besides, we may hereafter expect rivalries among the members of the Union. The confederations, that are called perpetual, only lasts until one of the contracting parties finds it to its interest to break them, and it is to prevent the danger to which the colossal power of England exposes us, that I would provide a remedy."

The Minister Barbois, who details this conversation, made no reply. The First Consul continued:

"Mr. Monroe is on the point of arriving. To this minister, going two thousand leagues from his constituents, the president must have given, after defining the object of his mission, secret instructions, more extensive than the ostensible authorization of Congress, for the stipulations of the payments to be made.

"Neither this minister nor his colleague is prepared for a decision which goes infinitely beyond anything that they are to ask of us. Begin by making them the overture, without any subterfuge. You will acquaint me, day by day, hour by hour, of your progress. The Cabinet of London is informed of the measures

adopted at Washington, but can have no suspicion of those I am now taking. Observe the greatest secrecy, and recommend it to the American ministers; they have not a less interest than yourself in conforming to this council."*

The conferences began the same day between Mr. Livingston and M. Barbe Marbois, to whom the First Consul confided the negotiation. The American minister had not the necessary powers, and he had become distrustful of the French cabinet. Such an offer as the sale of the whole of Louisiana, came so unexpected, and being ignorant, of course, as he was, of the motives and views of Napoleon, he suspected artifice. Mr. Monroe arrived on the 12th of April, with more extensive powers, but heard with surprise and distrust the offer of the French ambassador. The historian says:

"As soon as the negotiation was entered on, the American ministers declared they were ready to treat on the footing of the cession of the entire colony, and they did not hesitate to take on themselves the responsibility of augmenting the sum that they had been authorized to offer. The draft of the principal treaty was communicated to them. They prepared another one, but consented to adopt provisionally, as the basis of their conferences, that of the French negotiator, and they easily agreed to the declaration contained in the first article."

The negotiations being finished, the treaty for the sale and purchase of Louisiana was completed on the 30th of April, and signed on the 3d of May. The intelligence of this negotiation was not less astounding to the people of the United States than the proposition to sell the whole country, by Marbois, was to Messrs. Livingston and Monroe. The Federal party rallied to defeat it; Mr. Jefferson and the plenipotentiaries were assailed in their public journals, and, as is common under high party excitement, extravagant tales were told on both sides. Yet, as the prominent actors have passed away, and the transaction is now viewed in the perspective of history, the purchase and possession has long been regarded as one of the most valuable and splendid achievements ever acquired by this nation.

The following observation of Napoleon to Marbois, after the conclusion of the treaty, furnishes an insight to his reflections:

"This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the

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* Marbois' History of Louisiana, pp. 260, 280.

United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will, sooner or later, humble her pride." *

The English ministry, when they were informed of the mission of Mr. Monroe to France, and its object, made a proposition to Rufus King, the American envoy at London, to undertake the conquest of Louisiana, with the concurrence of the United States, and retrocede it to our government as soon as peace should be made with France. But it appears the British ministry had no knowledge of the nature and extent of the negotiations at Paris, until they were concluded. The result was communicated without delay, and Mr. King received a satisfactory answer from Lord Hawkesbury respecting the cession.

The treaty was forwarded to Washington with as much dispatch as possible, where it arrived on the 14th of July.

And now, another difficulty arose with Spain. The Spanish minister, having received orders from his government, made a solemn protest against the ratification of the treaty, alleging that France had contracted with Spain not to retrocede the province to any other power.

The Federalists, who opposed the treaty, imputed to France a disgraceful deception; that there was a secret concert, and that Spain was acting under the influence of that government. Amidst a series of complicated embarrassments, Mr. Jefferson convened Congress, which met on the 17th of October, and laid the several treaties before the Senate. Both the nature of the contract, and the magnitude of the sum, opened a wide field of debate.

The opposers of the treaty contended that Congress had no power to annex, by treaty, new territories to the confederacy, as that right could only belong to the whole people of the United States. But after a free debate, the Senate ratified the treaties on the 20th day of October, by a majority of twenty-four votes against seven, to which the President gave his sanction the next day. All the documents were communicated to the House of Representatives, and, after a short debate, the necessary law to create the stock and carry out the treaty, was passed without any formidable opposition.

The next step was to make the regular transfer from Spain to France, and from France to the United States, for the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso had not been carried into effect in Louisiana.

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* Marbois, 312.

M. Laussat had been appointed the plenipotentiary of the French republic, and on the 30th of November he met the Spanish commissioners in the council chamber at New Orleans, received in due form the keys of the city, and issued a proclamation to the Louisianians, informing them of the retrocession of the country to France, and by that government to the United States. At a signal given by the firing of cannon, the Spanish flag was lowered, and the French hoisted.

The French sovereignty lasted only twenty days, during which M. Laussat, as Governor-General, provided for the administration of justice only in summary and urgent matters.

General Wilkinson, having command of the United States troops, established his camp, on the 19th of December, a short distance above New Orleans; at the same time the Spanish troops embarked and sailed for Havana. The next day, discharges of artillery from the forts and vessels, announced the farewell of the French officers. On the 20th, M. Laussat, with a numerous retinue, went to the City Hall, while, by previous arrangement, the American troops entered the capital. General Wilkinson and Governor Claiborne, American commissioners, were received in due form in the Hall.

The treaty of cession, the respective powers of commissioners, and the certificate of exchange of ratifications were read. M. Laussat then pronounced these words:—

"In conformity with the treaty, I put the United States in possession of Louisiana and its dependencies. The citizens and inhabitants who wish to remain here and obey the laws, are from this moment exonerated from the oath of fidelity to the French republic."

Mr. Claiborne, the governor of the territory of Mississippi, exercising the power of governor-general and intendant of the province of Louisiana, delivered a congratulatory discourse to the Louisianians.

"This cession," said he, "secures to you and your descendants the inheritance of liberty, perpetual laws, and magistrates, whom you will elect yourselves."

The ceremonies closed with the exchange of flags, which was done by lowering the one and raising the other. When they met midway, they were kept stationary for a moment, while the artillery and trumpets celebrated the Union. The American flag then rose to its full height, and while it waived in the air, the Americans expressed their joy in a tremendous shout.

The American government went into operation quietly, and the

French and Spanish population soon became accustomed to the new order of things, and after a lapse of fifty-three years, no distinction appears, except in family names.

Thus, in a persevering effort to gain the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the port of New Orleans, by an unexpected and fortuitous train of circumstances, the United States gained the immense territories of Louisiana, and extended her boundaries to the Pacific Ocean.

The transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States, was effected 1804.] at St. Louis, on the 9th and 10th of March, 1804.

Amos Stoddard, a captain of artillery in the service of the United States, and to whom the public is indebted for an admirable historical sketch of Louisiana, was constituted the agent of the French republic for receiving from the Spanish authorities, the possession of Upper Louisiana.

He arrived at St. Louis early in March, and on the 9th day, received in due form, possession of the province, in the name of the French republic, and the next day made the transfer to the United States government, which he likewise represented.

When the transfer was completely effected—when in the presence of the assembled population the flag of the United States had replaced that of Spain—the tears and lamentations of the ancient inhabitants proved how much they were attached to the old government, and how much they dreaded the change which the treaty of cession had brought about.

Congress, on the 20th of March, divided Louisiana into two territories. The southern province was denominated the territory of Orleans; the northern was called Upper Louisiana. Captain Stoddard was appointed temporarily the governor, with all the powers and prerogatives of the Spanish lieutenant-governor in Upper Louisiana.

In his sketches of Louisiana, Stoddard says:

"St. Louis has two long streets, running parallel to the river, with a variety of others intersecting them at right angles. It contains about one hundred and eighty houses, and the best of them are built of stone. Some of them include large gardens, and even squares, attached to them, are inclosed with high stone walls; and these, together with the rock scattered along the shore and about the streets, render the air uncomfortably warm in summer. A small, sloping hill extends along in the rear of the town, on the summit of which is a garrison, and behind it an extensive prairie,

which affords plenty of hay, as also pasture for the cattle and horses of the inhabitants."

On entering upon his office, Major Stoddard published the following address to the inhabitants of Upper Louisiana:

"The period has now arrived, when, in consequence of amicable negotiations, Louisiana is in possession of the United States. The plan of a permanent territorial government for you is already under the consideration of Congress, and will doubtless be completed as soon as the importance of the measure will admit. But in the meantime, to secure your rights, and prevent a delay of justice, his Excellency William C. C. Claiborne, Governor of the Mississippi Territory, is invested with those authorities and powers (derived from an act of Congress) usually exercised by the governor and intendant-general under his Catholic Majesty; and permit me to add, that, by virtue of the authority and power vested in him by the President of the United States, he has been pleased to commission me as first civil commander of Upper Louisiana.

"Directed to cultivate friendship and harmony among you, and to make known the sentiments of the United States relative to the security and preservation of all your rights, both civil and religious, I know of no mode better calculated to begin the salutary work than a circular address.

"It will not be necessary to advert to the various preliminary arrangements which have conspired to place you in your present political situation; with these it is presumed you are already acquainted. Suffice it to observe, that Spain, in 1800 and 1801, retroceded the colony and province of Louisiana to France; and that France, in 1803, conveyed the same territory to the United States, who are now in the peaceable and legal possession of it. These transfers were made with honorable views, and under such forms and sanctions as are usually practiced among civilized nations.

"Thus you will perceive that you are divested of the character of subjects, and clothed with that of citizens. You now form an integral part of a great community, the powers of whose government are circumscribed and defined by charter, and the liberty of the citizen extended and secured. Between this government and its citizens many reciprocal duties exist, and the prompt and regular performance of them is necessary to the safety and welfare of the whole.

"No one can plead exemption from these duties; they are equally obligatory on the rich and the poor; on men in power, as well as

on those not intrusted with it. They are not prescribed as whim and caprice may dictate; on the contrary, they result from the actual or implied compact between society and its members, and are founded not only on the sober lessons of experience, but in the immutable nature of things. If, therefore, the government be bound to protect its citizens in the enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion, the citizens are no less bound to obey the laws, and to aid the magistrate in the execution of them; to repel invasion, and in periods of public danger, to yield a portion of their time and exertions in defense of public liberty.

"In governments differently constituted, where popular elections are unknown, and where the exercise of power is confided to those of high birth, and great wealth, the public defense is committed to men who make the science of war an exclusive trade and profession; but in all free republics, where the citizens are capacitated to elect, and to be elected, into offices of emolument and dignity, permanent armies of any considerable extent are justly deemed hostile to liberty; and therefore the militia is considered as the palladium of their safety. Hence the origin of this maxim, that every soldier is a citizen, and every citizen a soldier.

"With these general principles before you, it is confidently expected that you will not be less faithful to the United States than you have been to his Catholic Majesty.

"Your local situation, the varieties in your language and education have contributed to render your manners, laws, and customs, and even your prejudices, somewhat different from those of your neighbors, but not less favorable to virtue, and to good order in society. These deserve something more than mere indulgence; they shall be respected.

"If, in the course of former time, the people on different sides of the Mississippi fostered national prejudices and antipathies against each other, suffer not these cankers of human happiness any longer to disturb your repose, or to awaken your resentment; draw the veil of oblivion over the past, and unite in pleasing anticipations of the future; embrace each other as brethren of the same mighty family, and think not, that any member of it can derive happiness from the misery or degradation of another.

"Little will the authority and example of the best magistrates avail, when the public mind becomes tainted with perverse sentiments, or languishes under an indifference to its true interests. Suffer not the pride of virtue, nor the holy fire of religion, to become extinct. If these be different in their nature, they are

necessary supports to each other. Cherish the sentiments of order and tranquillity, and frown on the disturbers of the public peace. Avoid as much as possible all legal contests; banish village vexation, and unite in the cultivation of the social and moral affections.

"Admitted as you are into the embraces of a wise and magnanimous nation, patriotism will gradually warm your breasts, and stamp its features on your future actions. To be useful, it must be enlightened; not the effect of passion, local prejudice, or blind impulse. Happy the people who possess invaluable rights, and know how to exercise them to the best advantage; wretched are those who do not think and act freely.

"It is a sure test of wisdom, to honor and support the government under which you live, and to acquiesce in the decisions of the public will, when they are constitutionally expressed. Confide, therefore, in the justice and integrity of our federal president; he is the faithful guardian of the laws; he entertains the most beneficent views relative to the glory and happiness of this territory; and the merit derived from the acquisition of Louisiana, without any other, will perpetuate his fame to posterity. Place equal confidence in all the other constituted authorities of the Union. They will protect your rights, and indeed your feelings, and all the tender felicities and sympathies, so dear to rational and intelligent creatures.

"A very short experience of their equitable and pacific policy will enable you to view them in their proper light. I flatter myself that you will give their measures a fair trial, and not precipitate yourselves into conclusions, which you may afterward see cause to retract. The first official acts of my present station, authorized by high authority, will confirm these remarks.

"The United States, in the acquisition of Louisiana, were actuated by just and liberal views. Hence the admission of an article in the treaty of cession, the substance of which is, that the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated into the Union, and admitted as soon as possible to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States; and, in the meantime, be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion.

"From these cursory hints, you will be enabled to comprehend your present political situation, and to anticipate the future destinies of your country. You may soon expect the establishment of a territorial government, administered by men of wisdom and integrity, whose salaries will be paid out of the treasury of the

United States. From your present population, and the rapidity of its increase, this territorial establishment must soon be succeeded by your admission as a State into the Federal Union. At that period, you will be at liberty to try an experiment in legislation, and to frame such a government as may best comport with your local interests, manners and customs; popular suffrage will be its basis. The enaction of laws, and the appointment of judges to expound them, and to carry them into effect, are among the first privileges of organized society.

"Equal to these, indeed, and connected with them, is the inestimable right of trial by jury. The forms of judicial processes, and the rules for the admission of testimony in courts of justice, when firmly established, are of great and obvious advantage to the people. It is also of importance, that a distinction be made between trials of a capital nature, and those of an inferior degree, as likewise between all criminal and civil contestations. In fine, Upper Louisiana, from its climate, population, soil, and productions, and from other natural advantages attached to it, will, in all human probability, soon become a star of no inconsiderable magnitude in the American constellation.

"Be assured that the United States feel all the ardor for your interests, which a warm attachment can inspire. I have reason to believe that it will be among some of their first objects, to ascertain and confirm your land titles. They well know the deranged state of these titles, and of the existence of a multitude of equitable claims under legal surveys, where no grants or concessions have been procured. What ultimate measures will be taken on this subject, does not become me to conjecture; but this much I will venture to affirm, that the most ample justice will be done; and that, in the final adjustment of claims, no settler or landholder will have any just cause to complain. Claimants of this description have hitherto invariably experienced the liberality of government; and surely it will not be less liberal to the citizens of Upper Louisiana, who form a strong cordon across an exposed frontier of a vast empire, and are entitled by solemn stipulations to all the rights and immunities of freemen.

"My duty, not more indeed than my inclination, urges me to cultivate friendship and harmony among you, and between you and the United States. I suspect my talents to be unequal to the duties which devolve on me in the organization and temporary administration of the government; the want of a proper knowledge of your laws and language, is among the difficulties I have to encoun-

ter. But my ambition and exertions bear some proportion to the honor conferred on me; and the heavy responsibility attached to my office, admonishes me to be prudent and circumspect.

"Inflexible justice and impartiality shall guide me in all my determinations. If, however, in the discharge of a variety of complicated duties, almost wholly prescribed by the civil law, and the code of the Indies, I be led into error, consider it as involuntary, and not as the effect of inattention, or of any exclusive favors or affections. Destined to be the temporary guardian of the rights and liberties of at least ten thousand people, I may not be able to gratify the just expectations of all; but your prosperity and happiness will claim all my time and talents; and no earthly enjoyment could be more complete, than that derived from your public and individual security, and from the increase of your opulence and power."

The following observations of Hon. H. M. Brackenridge, made a few years later, during his residence in Upper Louisiana, will illustrate the great change that the transfer of that country to the United States effected in the character of its government, and in the habits of its people:

"The present government appears to be operating a general change: its silent but subtile spirit is felt in every nerve and vein of the body politic. The United States, acting upon broad principles, cannot be influenced by contemptible partialities between their own sons and their adopted children. They do not want colonies—they will disdain to hold others in the same state, which they themselves so nobly despised. They are, in fact, both natives of the same land, and both can claim *Freedom* as their birthright.

"A singular change has taken place, which, one would think, ought not to be the result of a transition from a despotism to a republican government; luxury has increased in a wonderful degree, and there exists something like a distinction in the classes of society. On the other hand, more pains are taken with the education of youth; some have sent their sons to the seminaries of the United States, and all seem anxious to attain this desirable end. Several of the young men have entered the army of the United States, and have discovered talents. The females are also instructed with more care, and the sound of the piano is now heard in their dwellings for the first time.

"Personal property, a few articles excepted, has fallen on an average, two hundred per cent. in value, and real property risen at

least five hundred. But the prices of merchandise had no proportion to the price of produce. Five bushels of corn were formerly necessary for the purchase of a handkerchief, which can now be had for one. The cultivators raised little produce beyond what was necessary for their own subsistence; it was therefore held at high prices, but fell far short of the present proportion to the price of imported articles; the petty trade was the principal dependence for these supplies. Their agriculture was so limited, that instances have been known, of their having been supplied by the king, on the failure of their crops from the inundation of the Mississippi. The low value of lands naturally arose from the great quantities lying waste and unoccupied, in proportion to the extent of the population, or of its probable increase, and the consequent facility with which it could be obtained. Rent was scarcely known.

"It may be questioned, whether the poorest class has been benefited by the change. Fearless of absolute want, they always lived in a careless and thoughtless manner; at present a greater part of them obtain a precarious subsistence. They generally possess a cart, a horse or two, a small stock of cattle, and cultivate small plats of ground. At St. Louis they have more employment than in the other villages; they make hay in the prairie, haul wood for sale, and are employed to do trifling jobs in town; some are boatmen or patrons. At Ste. Genevieve, they depend more upon their agriculture, and have portions in the great field, but this will probably soon be taken from them by the greater industry of the American cultivators, who are continually purchasing, and who can give double the sum for rent; they are sometimes employed in hauling lead from the mines, but it will not be sufficient for their support. A number have removed to the country, and, in imitation of the Americans, have settled down on public lands, but here they cannot expect to remain long. Those who live in the more remote villages, are less affected by the change, but there is little prospect of their being better situated. But few of them have obtained permission from the commandant to settle on lands; in fact, there was no safety from the depredations of the Indians, in forming establishments beyond the villages. Land was only valued for what it could produce, and any one could obtain as much as he chose to cultivate.

"Until possession was taken of the country by us, there was no safety from the robberies of the Osage Indians. That impolitic lenity, which the Spanish and even the French government have manifested toward them, instead of a firm, though just course, gave

rise to the most insolent deportment on their part. I have been informed by the people of Ste. Genevieve, who suffered infinitely the most, that they were on one occasion left without a horse to turn a mill. The Osages were never followed to any great distance, or overtaken; this impunity necessarily encouraged them. They generally entered the neighborhood of the villages, divided into small parties, and during the night, stole in and carried away every thing they could find, frequently breaking open stables, and taking out the horses. After uniting at a small distance, their place of rendezvous, they marched leisurely home, driving the stolen horses before them, and without the least dread of being pursued. They have not dared to act in this manner under the present government; there have been a few solitary instances of robberies by them, within these three or four years, but they are sufficiently acquainted with the Americans to know, that they will be instantly pursued, even into their villages, and compelled to surrender.

"What serves, however, to lessen the atrocity of these outrages, it has been remarked, that they are never known to take away the lives of those who fall into their hands. The insolence of the other nations who came openly to their villages, the Piorias, Loups, Kickapoos, Chickasaws, Cherokees, &c., is inconceivable. They were sometimes perfectly masters of the villages, and excited general consternation. I have seen the houses on some occasions closed up, and the doors barred by the terrified inhabitants; they were not always safe even there. It is strange how these people have entirely disappeared within a few years—there are at present scarcely a sufficient number to supply the villages with game.

"If I am asked, whether the ancient inhabitants are more contented, or happy, under the new order of things, or have reason to be so, I should consider the question a difficult one, and answer it with hesitation. It is not easy to know the secret sentiments of men, and happiness is a relative term. It is true, I have heard murmurings against the present government, and something like sorrowing after that of Spain, which I rather attributed to momentary chagrin, than to real and sincere sentiment; besides, this generally proceeds from those who were wont to bask in the sunshine of favor. Yet I have not observed those signs which unequivocally mark a suffering and unhappy people. The principal source of uneasiness arises from the difficulties of settling the land claimed by the commissioners, on the part of the United States. The principal inhabitants have lost much of that influence which they for-

merly possessed, and are superseded in trade and in lucrative occupations, by strangers; their claims, therefore, constitute their chief dependence. The subject of those claims embraces such a variety of topics, that it is not possible to give any correct idea of them in this cursory view. It is a subject on which the claimants are feelingly alive. This anxiety is a tacit compliment to our government, for under the former, their claims would be scarcely worth attention. The general complaint is, the want of sufficient liberality in determining on the claims.

"The lower class have never been in the habit of thinking beyond what immediately concern themselves; they cannot, therefore, be expected to foresee political consequences. They were formerly under a kind of dependence, or rather vassalage, to the great men of villages, to whom they looked up for their support and protection. Had they been more accustomed to think it possible, that by industry it was in their power to become rich, and independent also, the change would have been instantly felt in their prosperity. But they possess a certain indifference and apathy, which cannot be changed till the present generation shall pass away. They are of late observed to become fond of intoxicating liquors. There is a middle class, whose claims or possessions were not extensive, but sure, and from the increased value of their property, have obtained, since the change of government, a handsome competence. They, upon the whole, are well satisfied; I have heard many of them express their approbation of the American government, in the warmest terms. They feel and speak like freemen, and are not slow in declaring, that formerly the field of enterprise was occupied by the monopolies of a few, and it is now open to every industrious citizen.

"There are some things in the administration of justice, which they do not yet perfectly comprehend; the trial by jury, and the multifarious forms of our jurisprudence. They had not been accustomed to distinguish between the slow and cautious advances of *even-handed justice*, and the dispatch of arbitrary power. In their simple state of society, when the subjects of litigation were not of great value, the administration of justice might be speedy and simple; but they ought to be aware, that when a society becomes extensive, and its occupations, relations, and interests more numerous, people less acquainted with each other, the laws must be more complex. The trial by jury is foreign to the customs and manners of their ancestors; it is therefore not to be expected that they should at once comprehend its utility and importance.

"The chief advantages which accrued from the change of government may be summed up in a few words. The inhabitants derived a security from the Indians; a more extensive field, and a greater reward was offered to industry and enterprise; specie became more abundant, and merchandise cheaper. Landed property was greatly enhanced in value. In opposition, it may be said, that formerly they were more content, had less anxiety; there was more cordiality and friendship, living in the utmost harmony, with scarcely any clashing interests. This, perhaps, is not unlike the notions of old people, who believe that in their early days every thing was more happily ordered."

Upper Louisiana included all that part of the ancient province which lay north of a spot on the Mississippi, called Hope Encampment, nearly opposite the Chickasaw bluffs; including the territory now within the jurisdiction of the States of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, a large part of the territory of Minnesota, and all the vast regions of the West, far as the Pacific Ocean, south of the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, not claimed by Spain.

The civilized population of this territory is given by Major Stoddard, with as much accuracy as the nature of the case admitted. The settled portions had been divided into "Districts," for purposes of local government. The population in 1803, in the settlements of Arkansas, Little Prairie, and New Madrid, was estimated on such data as could be obtained, at one thousand three hundred and fifty; of which two-thirds, or less, were Anglo-Americans, and the other third French.

The District of Cape Girardeau, included the territory between Tywappaty Bottom and Apple creek—population in 1804, one thousand four hundred and seventy whites, and a few slaves. Excepting three or four families, all were emigrants from the United States.

The District of Ste. Genevieve extended from Apple creek to the Merrimac. The settlements, (besides the village of Ste. Genevieve) included settlements on the head waters of the St. Francois and the lead mines. Population in 1804, two thousand three hundred and fifty whites, and five hundred and twenty slaves. More than half were Anglo-Americans.

The District of St. Louis, included the territory lying between the Merrimac and Missouri rivers. It contained the villages of St. Louis, Carondelet, and St. Ferdinand, with several good settlements extending westward into what is now Franklin county.

The village of Carondelet contained between forty and fifty

houses, population chiefly Canadian-French. St. Ferdinand contained sixty houses. The population of the district was about two thousand two hundred and eighty whites, and five hundred blacks. St. Louis contained about one hundred and eighty houses, which, allowing six persons to each house, would make the population one thousand and eighty. About three-fifths of the population in this district were Anglo-Americans. Each of the districts extended indefinitely west.

The largest and most populous settlement in St. Louis District, was called St. Andrews. It was situated near the Missouri, in the north-western part of the present county of St. Louis.

The District of St. Charles, included all the inhabited country between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. It had two compact villages, St. Charles, and Portage des Sioux, the inhabitants of which were French Creoles and Canadians. Femme Osage was an extensive settlement of Anglo-American families. The population of the district in 1804, was about one thousand four hundred whites, and one hundred and fifty blacks. The American and French population were about equally divided.*

The aggregate population of Upper Louisiana at the period of the cession, was about ten thousand one hundred and twenty, of which three thousand seven hundred and sixty were French, including a few Spanish families; five thousand and ninety were Anglo-Americans, who had immigrated to the country after 1790; and one thousand two hundred and seventy black people, who were slaves, with very few exceptions.

Several circumstances had given impulse to migration to this province. The transfer of the Illinois country to the British crown, in 1765, caused many wealthy and respectable families to retire across the Mississippi.

The ordinance of 1787, which prohibited involuntary servitude in the North-Western Territory, caused slaveholders, who were disposed to preserve this species of property, to abandon their ancient possessions.

"The distance of this province from the capital, New Orleans, added to a wilderness of nearly a thousand miles in extent between them, seemed to point out the necessity of strengthening it; and she conceived it good policy to populate it by the citizens of the United States, especially as they appeared disposed to act with vigor against the English. Additional prospects, therefore, were

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* See Stoddard's Sketches, pp. 211, 224.

held out to settlers, and pains were taken to disseminate them in every direction. Large quantities of land were granted them, attended with no other expenses than those of office fees and surveys, which were not exorbitant, and they were totally exempted from taxation. This sufficiently accounts for the rapid population of Upper Louisiana, which, in 1804, consisted of more than three-fifths of English Americans."*

Why did so many American citizens expatriate themselves, place themselves and their posterity under Spanish despotism, and beyond the protection of the rights of conscience? This is a question of grave and momentous import, and if it remained unanswered, might leave a suspicion on the character and motives of the American emigrants. Happily, we have the opportunity for explanation. We have been intimately acquainted with a large number of these pioneers, a few of whom still linger amongst us, and more than thirty years since we heard their own explanations.†

They acted under a presentiment that, in some way, the jurisdiction of the United States would be extended over this country. They projected no violent action—no revolutionary schemes. The impression doubtless had its origin in the efforts in the western country to obtain the navigation of the Mississippi. Of the character of the American population, we ought to say a word, to correct an erroneous notion that has prevailed in the Atlantic States concerning frontier emigration.

"A number had fled their country to avoid the consequences of crime or improvidence. But probably a majority were peaceable, industrious, moral and well disposed persons, who, from various motives, had crossed the "Great Water." Some from the love of adventure, some from that spirit of restlessness which belongs to a class; but a much larger number with the expectation of obtaining large tracts of land, which the government gave to each settler for the trifling expense of surveying and recording.

"Under the Spanish government, the Roman Catholic faith was the established religion of the province, and no other Christian sect was tolerated by the laws of Spain. Each emigrant was required to be *un bon Catholique*, as the French expressed it; yet, by the connivance of the commandants of Upper Louisiana, and by the use of a legal fiction in the examination of Americans who applied for lands, toleration in fact existed.

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* Sketches of Louisiana, 225.

† Author of Life of Daniel Boone.

"Many protestant families, communicants in Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian, and other churches, settled in the province, and remained undisturbed in their religious principles. Protestant itinerant clergymen passed over from Illinois, and preached in the log cabins of the settlers, unmolested, though they were occasionally threatened with imprisonment in the *Calabozo* at St. Louis. Yet these threats were never executed.

"No protestant religious society was organized amongst these emigrants until after the treaty of cession."*

During the month of August in this year, a series of treaties was made by Governor Harrison, at Vincennes, by which the claims of several Indian nations to large tracts of land in Indiana and Illinois were relinquished to the United States, for due consideration. The Delawares sold their claim to a large tract between the Wabash and Ohio rivers; and the Piankeshaws gave up their title to lands granted by the Kaskaskia Indians the preceding year.

It should be understood by all that, in most instances, Indian claims are vague and undefined; that several tribes set up a claim to the same tract, and that the policy of the United States has been to negotiate with each claimant, without regard to priority of right.

In November, Harrison negotiated with the chiefs of the united nations of Sacs and Foxes, for their claim to the immense tract of country lying between the Mississippi, Illinois, Fox river of Illinois, and Wisconsin rivers, comprehending about fifty millions of acres. The consideration given was the protection of the United States, and goods delivered at the value of two thousand two hundred and thirty-four dollars and fifty cents, and an annuity of one thousand dollars, (six hundred to the Sacs, and four hundred to the Foxes,) forever. An article in this treaty provided that as long as the United States remained the owner of the land, "the Indians belonging to the said tribes shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting" on the land.

The remark just made applies to this case. When the French discovered and took possession of Illinois, neither the Sacs nor Foxes had any claim or existence on this tract of country.

During this year, measures were adopted to learn the facts as to the settlements about Detroit, and an elaborate report upon them was made by C. Jouett, the Indian agent in Michigan. From that

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* Life of Boone, in Sparks' Biography, vol. xxiii. 166.

report is taken some sentences illustrative of the state of the capital:

"*The town of Detroit.*—The charter, which is for fifteen acres square, was granted in the time of Louis XIV. of France, and is now, from the best information I have been able to collect, at Quebec. Of those two hundred and twenty-five acres, only four are occupied by the town and Fort Lenault. The remainder is a common, except twenty-four acres, which were added, twenty years ago, to a farm belonging to William Macomb.

"As to the titles to the lots in town, I should conceive that the citizens might legally claim, from a length of undisturbed and peaceable possession, even in the absence of a more valid and substantial tenure. Several of those lots are held by the commanding officer, as appendages of the garrison. A stockade encloses the town, fort and citadel. The pickets, as well as the public houses, are in a state of gradual decay, and in a few years, without repairs, they must fall to the ground.

"The streets are narrow, straight, regular, and intersect each other at right angles. The houses are, for the most part, low and inelegant; and although many of them are convenient and suited to the occupations of the people, there are, perhaps, a majority of them which require very considerable reparation."

Congress, during 1804, granted a township of land in Michigan for the support of a college.

Among other events of interest that marked this year, was the emigration into this country of the persons composing the society of Harmonie.

This society had its origin in Wirtemberg, in Germany, from a schism in the Lutheran church, about the year 1785. On account of the persecution that they had met with, for their religious opinions, in their native country, a considerable body of them concluded to migrate, and in 1803, their pastor, Mr. George Rapp, came to this country in their behalf, to look out a site on which they might locate. He accordingly purchased a tract of land on the left bank of Conoquenessing creek, in Butler county, Pennsylvania, and fourteen miles south-west of Butler borough, for the new society, and in the autumn of the following year, some one hundred and fifty families came over, and took possession of this purchase, to which was given the name of Harmonie, (now often, though incorrectly, spelled Harmony.) Here, in a new country, surrounded by strangers, of whose language they were ignorant,

unaccustomed to our mode of clearing the forest, and possessed of no more wealth than just sufficient to purchase the soil, and to remove to their new possessions, they had many difficulties to contend with, and many privations to endure; yet, though some became discouraged, and left the society, the main body showed that same indomitable courage, industry, and perseverance that characterized the early settlers of our country generally, and that gained for them, in a few years, the admiration of the neighboring country. Perhaps, too, there was something in the religious character of their confederation, that lent them additional courage. They did not seem to be banded together upon mere principles of communism, but relied upon some religious sanction derived from Acts iv, verse 32.

Their principal occupation was the culture of the grape, and the raising of sheep. But the soil and climate in the region where they had located, not proving particularly favorable to these objects, they concluded to migrate, and accordingly, in the year 1813, they deputed Frederick Rapp, an adopted son of their pastor and leader, to seek for a new location, and he, after a diligent search through the six Western States, finally fixed on a tract of land on the Wabash, fifty miles from its mouth, and fifteen miles north of Mt. Vernon, in Posey county, State of Indiana, as likely to be favorable to their purposes. To this place the society migrated, in the year 1814, and immediately built up a town, consisting of some two hundred houses, including two churches, several mills, a cotton and woolen factory, a brew house, and a distillery, to which they gave the name of New Harmonie. Their purchase consisted of about seventeen thousand acres, most of it of excellent quality, on which they proceeded to clear, as speedily as possible, an immense farm; they planted orchards and vineyards, and raised the sheep to supply the woolen manufactories which they had erected. In this location, too, they contended with many difficulties, as the land which they occupied was entirely unreclaimed, and they were obliged to provide for themselves any comforts that they afterward enjoyed.

As perseverance, however, always begets prosperity, so they too thrived admirably, and in 1824, ten years from the date of their migration, their property consisted of thirty thousand acres of land, together with improvements, stock, and personal effects, amounting to the estimated value of nearly a million of dollars.

About this time, however, that is, in 1824 or 1825, finding their location in Indiana very unhealthy, they again determined to change their place of residence, to return to Pennsylvania, where

they purchased a tract of land on the Ohio river, in Beaver county, about eighteen miles below Pittsburgh. Here they again erected a town, which they called Economy. It consisted of some one hundred and thirty houses, an elegant church, a large woolen and cotton factory, a store, a tavern, a large steam mill, a brewery, a distillery, a tan yard, and various other workshops. Besides these, they afterward also built a large and commodious house for a concert hall, in which they have a museum of natural curiosities, a collection of minerals, a mathematical school, a library, and a drawing school.

About the time of their migration, Mr. Frederick Rapp, acting again under power of attorney from the members of the society, sold land of their possessions in Indiana, to the amount of one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, to Robert Owen, who there founded a colony, the history of which will be noticed hereafter.

In 1831, the Economites met with a serious reverse, by the admission among them of a German adventurer, calling himself Count De Leon, who succeeded in breeding a lamentable schism among the members, so that a large number of them left the parent society, under the guidance of the Count, taking with them, by agreement, some one hundred and five thousand dollars. These established themselves in Philipsburg, a village situated some twelve miles below Economy, on the Ohio river, opposite Rochester, giving to their new colony the name of New Philadelphia, a name which has not, however, survived their advent; for the experiment proved entirely unsuccessful. The Count was discovered to be a selfish, deceitful impostor, and the society, which at the commencement numbered some three or four hundred members, broke up after a short time, and the Count having fled, most of them returned to the parent society, richer in experience, though perhaps poorer in worldly goods, than they had left.

The Duke of Saxe Weimar, who visited the colony about the year 1826, in speaking of it, says:

"At the inn, a fine large frame house, we were received by Mr. Rapp, the principal, at the head of the community. He is a grey-headed and venerable old man; most of the members emigrated twenty-one years ago from Wirtemberg, along with him.

"The warehouse was shown to us, where the articles made here for sale or use are preserved, and I admired the excellence of all. The articles for the use of the society are kept by themselves, as the members have no private possessions, and every thing is in com-

mon; so must they, in relation to all their wants, be supplied from the common stock. The clothing and food they make use of is of the best quality. Of the latter, flour, salt meat, and all long keeping articles, are served out monthly; fresh meat, on the contrary, and whatever spoils readily, is distributed whenever it is killed, according to the size of the family, &c. As every house has a garden, each family raises its own vegetables and some poultry, and each family has its own bake-oven. For such things as are not raised in Economy, there is a store provided, from which the members, with the knowledge of the directors, may purchase what is necessary, and the people of the vicinity may also do the same.

"Mr. Rapp finally conducted us into the factory again, and said that the girls had especially requested this visit, that I might hear them sing. When their work is done, they collect in one of the factory rooms, to the number of sixty or seventy, to sing spiritual and other songs. They have a peculiar hymn book, containing hymns from the Wirtemberg psalm book, and others written by the elder Rapp. A chair was placed for the old patriarch, who sat amidst the girls, and they commenced a hymn in a very delightful manner. It was naturally symphonious, and exceedingly well arranged. The girls sang four pieces, at first sacred, but afterward, by Mr. Rapp's desire, of a gay character. With real emotion did I witness this interesting scene. The factories and workshops are warmed during the winter by means of pipes connected with the steam engine. All the workmen, and especially the females, had very healthy complexions, and moved me deeply by the warm-hearted friendliness with which they saluted the elder Rapp. I was also much gratified to see vessels containing fresh sweet-scented flowers, standing on all the machines. The neatness which universally reigns, is in every respect worthy of praise."

It has often been a subject of remark and wonder, that Mr. Rapp had succeeded in so closely uniting a body of men and women, numbering at one time over eight hundred, and exerting so great a power over them, as even to control their strongest passions; keeping the sexes apart from each other, and even separating those who had been before married; for the observance of a strict celibacy is one of the distinguishing traits of the Economites. It is said that the power of religious belief has done this wonder. Mr. Rapp taught, that the second advent of Christ, which would be the end of all things, was near at hand, and that men must keep themselves perfectly pure and free from all passions. It is in accordance with this belief, it is said, that they so rigidly adhere to

the peculiar and strange doctrine of their teacher, even so long after that teacher himself has gone to his long home.

George Rapp died in the fall of 1847, over ninety years of age, beloved and esteemed by all who knew him, but especially by his devoted flock, to whom he preached for the last time only a few days before his death. The desolating effects of his teachings in relation to the rite of matrimony, is now plainly visible in the once thriving colony, which now consists almost entirely of old men and women, their average age being over sixty, some as old as nearly ninety, and some few in the prime of life. Their number, which, in 1824, was about eight hundred, is now something less than three hundred; and from the age of the members, there being no probability of any new accessions, the decrease for the next ten or twenty years will no doubt be in a greater ratio. In 1828, they commenced the culture of the mulberry, and raising of silk worms, and in 1840 their silk manufactures were the best in the country; but from the reduction of their number, they have been forced to abandon the enterprise; their cotton and woolen manufactures, too, from the same causes, have dwindled down to insignificance, so that now they do little more than make the clothing they wear; they even have to hire hands to assist in their field labors; very many of their houses are tenantless and desolate, as none but members are allowed to occupy them, and the whole town of Economy now wears a melancholy air of quiet and repose, but also of decline and desolation, that is significantly emblematical of the increasing age and childless loneliness of its worthy inhabitants.

According to a report filed in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Western District of Pennsylvania, in a chancery proceeding in that court, in the year 1846, where an expelled member of the society sues for a distributive share of the society fund, it is estimated that the whole value of the property then belonging to the society, was nine hundred and one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three dollars and forty-two cents; and there were then three hundred and twenty-one members entitled to community; the number of actual members of the society would, however, exceed that number. The above estimate of property is, no doubt, low. At present, their property is estimated at about two millions of dollars.

Honest and upright in all their dealings, peaceable and truly virtuous, these people have gained for themselves the esteem and regard of all who have in any way come in contact with them; and the success of their undertaking, as regards their increased

wealth, when compared to other communistic attempts, such as Owens and others, which have failed, shows eminently the great power of religion as an element of success, when compared with infidelity; for these people are truly, and no doubt sincerely religious; but yet they have erred in disregarding one of the great laws of nature—that of procreation—and to this they owe the decline of their society. Are they any happier than otherwise they would have been?

On the 11th of January, 1805, Congress made Michigan a separate territory, with William Hull for its Governor; the change of government was to take place on June 30th. The new governor accordingly arrived at Detroit, the seat of government, on Monday, the 1st day of July, having been preceded by A. B. Woodward, the presiding judge of the territory, who arrived there on June 29th.

A short time previous to this, on the 11th of June, there had been a conflagration at Detroit, which destroyed all the buildings in the place, public and private, together with much of the personal property of the inhabitants, and when the new functionaries of the government arrived, they found the people, in part, encamped on and near the site of the destroyed town, and in part scattered through the country. The following is a passage from their report to Congress, made in October:

"The place which bore the appellation of the town of Detroit, was a spot of about two acres of ground, completely covered with buildings and combustible materials, the narrow intervals of fourteen or fifteen feet, used as streets or lanes, only excepted, and the whole was environed with a very strong and secure defense of tall and solid pickets.

"The circumjacent ground, the bank of the river alone excepted, was a wide commons; and though assertions are made respecting the existence, among the records of Quebec, of a charter from the King of France, confirming this commons as an appurtenance to the town, it was either the property of the United States, or at least such as individual claims did not pretend to cover. The folly of attempting to rebuild the town, in the original mode, was obvious to every mind; yet there existed no authority, either in the country, or in the officers of the new government, to dispose of the adjacent ground. Hence had already arisen a state of dissension which urgently required the interposition of some authority to quiet.

"Some of the inhabitants, destitute of shelter, and hopeless of any prompt arrangements of government, had re-occupied their former ground, and a few buildings had already been erected in the midst of the old ruins. Another portion of the inhabitants had determined to take possession of the adjacent public ground, and to throw themselves on the liberality of the government of the United States, either to make them a donation of the ground, as a compensation for their sufferings, or to accept of a very moderate price for it. If they could have made any arrangement of the various pretensions of individuals, or could have agreed on any plan of a town, they would soon have begun to build.

"But the want of a civil authority to decide interfering claims, or to compel the refractory to submit to the wishes of a majority, had yet prevented them from carrying any particular measure into execution. On the morning of Monday, the 1st day of July, the inhabitants had assembled for the purpose of resolving on some definitive mode of procedure. The judges prevailed on them to defer their intentions for a short time, giving them assurances that the governor of the territory would shortly arrive, and that every arrangement in the power of their domestic government would be made for their relief. On these representations they consented to defer their measures for one fortnight. In the evening of the same day, the governor arrived; it was his first measure to prevent any encroachments from being made on the public land.

"The situation of the distressed inhabitants then occupied the attention of the members of the government for two or three days. The result of these discussions was, to proceed to lay out a new town, embracing the whole of old town and the public lands adjacent; to state to the people that nothing in the nature of a title could be given under any authorities then possessed by the government; and that they could not be justified in holding out any charitable donations whatever, as a compensation for their sufferings, but that every personal exertion would be made to obtain a confirmation of the arrangements about to be made, and to obtain the liberal attention of the government of the United States to their distresses.

"A town was accordingly surveyed and laid out, and the want of authority to impart any regular title, without the subsequent sanction of Congress, being first impressed and clearly understood, the lots were exposed to sale under that reservation. Where the purchaser of a lot was a proprietor in the old town, he was at liberty to extinguish his former property in his new acquisition,

foot for foot, and was expected to pay only for the surplus, at the rate expressed in his bid. A considerable part of the inhabitants were only tenants in the old town, there being no means of acquiring any new titles. The sale of course could not be confined merely to former proprietors, but, as far as possible, was confined to former inhabitants. After the sale of a considerable part, by auction, the remainder was disposed of by private contract, deducting from the previous sales the basis of the terms.

"As soon as the necessities of the immediate inhabitants were accommodated, the sales were entirely stopped, until the pleasure of government could be consulted. As no title could be made, or was pretended to be made, no payments were required, or any moneys permitted to be received, until the expiration of one year, to afford time for Congress to interpose. The remaining part was stipulated to be paid in four successive annual installments. The highest sum resulting from the bids, was seven cents for a square foot, and the whole averaged at least four cents. In this way, the inhabitants were fully satisfied to commence their buildings, and the interfering pretensions of all individuals were eventually reconciled.

"The *validity* of any of the titles was not taken into view. The *possession* under the titles, such as they were, was alone regarded, and the validity of title left to wait the issue of such measures as Congress might adopt, relative to landed titles in the territory of Michigan, *generally*. It therefore now remains for the Congress of the United States either to refuse a sanction of the arrangement made, or by imparting a regular authority to make it, or in some other mode, in their wisdom deemed proper, to relieve the inhabitants from one of the most immediate distresses, occasioned by the calamitous conflagration."

From the same report, it appears that nearly the only titles to land then existing in Michigan were some old grants, made by the French government long ago, which were subject to all the feudal and seigniorial conditions which usually accompanied titles in France, among which was one, that the respective grantees were required within a limited period, to obtain a confirmation from the king which had, however, mostly been neglected. On the conquests of the French possessions by Great Britain, in the war which terminated by the treaty of Paris, in the year 1763, as well in the original articles of capitulation in 1759 and 1760, as in the subsequent treaty itself, the property of the inhabitants of the country was confirmed to them; and when, afterward, by the definitive

treaty of peace, at Paris, in 1783, the portion of Canada which included Michigan was ceded to the United States, a clause in the treaty secures the inhabitants in the enjoyment of their property of every kind—land, houses or effects; a point that was further confirmed and strengthened in the treaty of London, negotiated between Mr. Jay and Lord Granville, in 1794. There seemed then to be no doubt as to the *rights* of the inhabitants to the lands which they held under this old title, yet there was a decided defect as to the *evidences* of title according to American forms. Under the American government, no titles had as yet been granted.

While in Michigan the territorial government was taking shape, Indiana passed to the second grade of the same, as provided by the ordinance, and obtained her General Assembly; while various treaties with the northern tribes were transferring to the United States, the Indian title to large and valuable tracts of country.

On the 4th of July, the Wyandots and others, at Fort Industry, on the Maumee, ceded all their lands as far west as the western boundary of the Connecticut Reserve; upon the 21st of August, Governor Harrison, at Vincennes, received from the Miamies a region containing two millions of acres, within what is now Indiana, and upon the 30th of December, at the same place, purchased of the Piankeshaws, a tract eighty or ninety miles wide, extending from the Wabash west, to the cession by the Kaskaskias, in 1803.

At this time, although some murders by the red men had taken place in the Far West, the body of natives seemed bent on peace. But mischief was gathering. Tecumthe, his brother, the Prophet, and other leading men, had formed at Greenville, the germ of that union of tribes, by which the whites were to be restrained in their invasions. There is no evidence that the Great Indian of that day used any concealment, or meditated any treachery toward the United States, for many years after this time.

The efforts of himself and his brother were directed to two points; first, the reformation of the savages, whose habits unfitted them for continuous and heroic effort; and second, such a union as would make the purchase of land by the United States impossible, and give to the aborigines a strength that might be dreaded. Both these objects were avowed, and both were pursued with wonderful energy, perseverance and success; in the whole country bordering upon the lakes, the power of the Prophet was felt, and the work of reformation went on rapidly.

It was during this year that Burr paid his first visit to the West. On the 11th of July, 1804, he had shot General Hamilton, an event

which he felt would "ostracize" him; would force him to seek elsewhere for power, money, and fame. On the 2d of March, 1805, the Vice President took his celebrated leave of the Senate, and upon the 29th of April was at Pittsburgh. His purpose of going westward was not the gratification of curiosity merely; and from Wilkinson's letter, it is implied that he was concerned with Dayton and others, in the projected canal round the Falls at Louisville; a proposal which had been before the United States Senate in January.

From Pittsburgh he proceeded down the Ohio to Louisville, thence went to Lexington and Nashville by land, and from the latter place passed down the Cumberland, and upon the 6th of June reached Fort Massac. During his visit to Tennessee he was treated with great attention, and both then and previously had some conversation relative to a residence in that State, with a view to political advancement. His intentions, however, seem to have been entirely vague: among other plans, he had some thought of trying to displace Governor Claiborne, of the Orleans Territory, and took from Wilkinson, whom he met at Fort Massac, a letter to Daniel Clark, the governor's most violent foe.

On the 25th of June, Burr reached the capitol of the South-West, where he remained until the 10th of July, when he crossed by land to Nashville, and spent a week with General Jackson, and upon the 20th of August, was at Lexington again: from Lexington, he went by the Falls, Vincennes, and Kaskaskia, to St. Louis, where he met General Wilkinson, about the middle of September. By this time, all his plans appear to have undergone another change. At New Orleans he had been made aware of the existence of an association to invade Mexico, and wrest it from Spain; he was asked to join it, but refused.

He saw, however, at that time, if not before, that, should the dispute relative to boundaries then existing between the United States result in war, an opportunity would be given to men of spirit to conquer and rule Mexico, and this idea thenceforth became his leading one. But in connection with this plan of invasion, in case of war, there arose whispers in relation to effecting a separation of the Western from the Atlantic States; of this we have knowledge by a letter from Daniel Clark to General Wilkinson, written September 7th.

What Burr's conversations with the commander of St. Louis were, are not particularly told, but it is understood that he sug-

gested the Mexican plan, and also intimated that the Union was rotten, and the western people dissatisfied. Such was the effect of his talk, that soon after he left, Wilkinson wrote to the Secretary of the Navy, advising the government to have an eye on Burr, as he was "about something, but whether internal or external," he could not learn.

Thus, during 1805, the idea of a separation of the Western States from the Union, by Burr and Wilkinson, had become familiar to many minds, even though the principals themselves may have had no more thought of such a thing than of taking possession of the moon, and dividing her among their friends.*

Amongst the occurrences of 1805 and 1806, are the expeditions of Captain Z. M. Pike; the first to the sources of the Mississippi, and the second to the sources of the Arkansas, Kansas, Platte, and Pierre Jaune rivers, and into the provinces of New Spain. These expeditions were conducted under the order of government, through General James Wilkinson. The journals kept by Captain Pike were by him prepared for the press, and issued in an octavo volume, with an atlas of maps and charts, in Philadelphia, 1810. From this volume is given the following brief abstract:

The party, consisting of Captain Pike, "with one servant, two corporals, and seventeen privates, in a keel boat, seventy feet long, provisioned for four months," left the encampment, near St. Louis, on the 9th of August, 1805. On the 1st of September they reached Dubuque, where the French trader, M. Dubuque, then resided. The party reached Prairie du Chein on the 4th. From the appendix to part first, is made the following extract:

"The *present* village of Prairie du Chein was first settled in the year 1783, and the first settlers were Girard, Antaya, and Dubuque. The *old* village is about a mile below the present one, and had existed during the time the French were possessed of the country. It derives its name from a family of Reynards, (Fox Indians,) who formerly lived there, distinguished by the appellation of Dogs. The present village was settled under the English government, and the ground was purchased from the Reynard Indians.

"There are eight houses scattered round the country, at the distance of one, two, three, and five miles.

"On the west side of the Mississippi are three houses, situated on a small stream called the Girard's river, making, in the village

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* For all these facts see Davis' Memoirs of Burr ii. 327, 367, 368 to 370, 378, 379, 380.

and vicinity, thirty-seven houses, which it will not be too much to calculate ten persons each; making the population three hundred and seventy souls. But this estimate will not answer for the spring and autumn, as there are then at least five or six hundred white persons.

"This is owing to the concourse of traders and their engagees, from Michilimackinack and other parts, who make this their last stage, previous to their launching into the savage wilderness. They again meet here in the spring, on their return from their wintering grounds, accompanied by three or four hundred Indians, when they hold a *fair;* the one party disposes of remnants of goods, and the other reserved peltries.

"It is astonishing that there are not more murders and affrays at this place as there meet such a heterogeneous mass to trade—the use of spirituous liquors being in no manner restricted. But since the American government has become known, such accidents are much less frequent than formerly.

"There are a few gentlemen residing at the Prairie du Cheins, and many others claiming that appellation; but the rivalship of the Indian trade, occasions them to be guilty of acts at their wintering grounds, which they would blush to be guilty of in the civilized world. They possess the spirit of generosity and hospitality in an eminent degree; but this is the leading feature in the character of frontier inhabitants. Their mode of living had obliged them to have transient connection with the Indian women; and what was at first *policy*, is now so confirmed by habit and inclination, that it has become, (with a few exceptions,) the ruling practice of all the traders; and, in fact, almost half of the inhabitants under twenty years, have the blood of the aborigines in their veins."

For a description of the old village and vicinity, Carver is quoted by Major Long, who visited Fort Crawford, 1823:

"At Prairie du Chein, the breadth of the river is estimated at one-half of a mile, including a long and narrow island. Its current, though rapid compared with that of many other streams, is gentle when contrasted with that of the same river lower down; it is only when it has been swollen by the Missouri and the Ohio, that it acquires the extreme rapidity which characterizes it. The village of Prairie du Chein is situated three or four miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin, on a beautiful prairie, which extends along the eastern bank of the river for about ten miles in length, and which is limited to the east by a range of steep hills rising to a

height of about four hundred and thirty-five feet, and running parallel with the course of the river, at a distance of about a mile and a half; on the western bank, the bluffs which rise to the same elevation, are washed at their base by the river.

"Pike's mountain, which is on the west bank, immediately opposite to the mouth of the Wisconsin, is about five hundred and fifty feet high. 'It has received its name from having been recommended by the late General Pike, in his journal, as a position well calculated for the construction of a military post, to command the Mississippi and Wisconsin. The hill has no particular limits in regard to its extent, being merely a part of the river bluffs, which stretch along the margin of the river on the west, for several miles, and retain pretty nearly the same elevation above the water. The side fronting on the river is so abrupt as to render the summit completely inaccessible, even to a footman, except in a very few places, where he may ascend by taking hold of the bushes and rocks that cover the slope. In general, the acclivity is made up of precipices, arranged one above another, some of which are one hundred and one hundred and fifty feet high. From the top we had a fine view of the two rivers, which mingled their waters at the foot of this majestic hill.'

"The prairie has retained its old French appellation, derived from an Indian who formerly resided there, and was called the Dog. The village consists, exclusive of stores, of about twenty dwelling houses, chiefly old, and many of them in a state of decay; its population may amount to one hundred and fifty souls. It is not in as thriving a situation as it formerly was. Carver tells us, that when he visited it, in 1766, it was 'a large town, containing about three hundred families; the houses,' he adds, 'are well built after the Indian manner, and pleasantly situated on a very rich soil, from which they raise every necessary of life in great abundance. This town is the great mart where all the adjacent tribes, and even those who inhabit the most remote branches of the Mississippi, annually assemble about the latter end of May, bringing with them their furs to dispose of to the traders.' 'I should have remarked," says the same author, 'that whatever Indians happen to meet at La Prairie *le* Chien, the great mart to which all who inhabit the adjacent country resort, though the nations to which they belong are at war with each other, yet they are obliged to restrain their enmity, and to forbear all hostile acts during their stay there. This regulation has long been established among them for their mutual convenience, as without it no trade could be carried on.'

"The fort, which is one of the rudest and least comfortable that we have seen, is situated about one hundred and fifty yards from the river. Its site is low and unpleasant, as a slough extends to the south of it. The river bank is here so low and flat, that by a swell which took place in the Mississippi the summer before we visited it, the water rose upon the prairie, and entered the parade, which it covered to the depth of three or four feet; it penetrated into all the officers' and soldiers' quarters, so as to render it necessary for the garrison to remove from the fort, and encamp upon the neighboring heights, where they spent about a month. The waters having subsided, at the end of that time, they returned to their quarters; the old men of the village say that such an inundation may be expected every seven years. The village also suffered much from the inundation, though the ground being somewhat higher, the injury done to it was not so great. The fort was originally erected for the protection of the white population at the village; as a military post, its situation is by no means a judicious one, for it commands neither the Mississippi nor Wisconsin; but as the necessity which lead to its construction is daily becoming less urgent, this position will doubtless soon be abandoned; one of the block-houses of the fort is situated upon a large mound, which appears to be artificial. This mound is so large, that it supported the whole of the work at this place, previous to the capture of the fort by the British and Indians during the late war. It has been excavated, but we have not heard that any bones or other remains were found in it. This spot, like many of those early settled, has been graced with traditions, which, if they contribute but little to the history of our North-West Indians, adorn, at least, with a charm of romance and fable, some of its most beautiful scenery."*

Captain Pike with his party reached St. Peter's on the 22d of September. Here a council was held with the Sioux Indians, and a tract of land purchased, of about one hundred thousand acres, for a military post. This eventually provided for the military post of St. Peter's. Peace was also negotiated between the Sioux and Chippewas, who had been at war for many years. At the foot of the Falls of St. Anthony, the boats were unloaded, and with great difficulty and labor, raised above the falls and again launched and reloaded.

On the 16th of October, they met a snow storm, and soon after,

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*Long's Expedition to the source of St. Peter's river.

found they could not get their boats up the rapids before them. They were now two hundred and thirty-three miles above the falls of St. Anthony. Several of the men were sick, and one broke a blood-vessel, and was in a dangerous state. The snow continuing to fall, they constructed log houses, excavated canoes, and provided a supply of provisions by hunting. Here the sick and a few other men of the party were left, while Pike and the rest of the party attempted to proceed up the river in canoes. The attempt having failed, and the river being frozen, sleds were constructed, on which the baggage was transported, partly on the ice, and partly on the land. After sustaining various privations, and experiencing no small degree of difficulty in this inhospitable wintry region, Pike and his little party, with one or two British traders, reached Red Lake, then supposed to be the head of the Mississippi, about the middle of February, 1806. At Lake Winipec, fifteen miles below, was a British trading post, and the flag of that nation flying from the fort. The North-Western company then had their posts in all this wild region.

On the 28th of February, the party set out on their homeward march, but were detained on the route by ice, and holding "talks" with bands of Indians, so that they did not reach the falls of St. Anthony until the 10th of April. At the mouth of the St. Peter's, another council was held with the Sioux and Sauteurs, a branch of the Chippewas.

After holding conferences with several bands of Indians at Prairie du Chein, and other places, Pike and his party reached St. Louis on the 30th of April, after an absence of eight months and twenty-two days. This was the first exploration ever made of the Upper Mississippi, by authority of the United States. The objects of the expedition were accomplished, in the selection of positions for military posts, in making peace among hostile Indian nations, and in tracing the Mississippi to its source.

The second expedition had for its primary object, the protection and "safe delivery" of a deputation of Osages and some captives, to the town of the Grand Osage nation. The next was, to promote peace and a good understanding between the Kanzas* and Osage nations, and the Yanctons, Tetons and Camanches. The exploration of the country on the head waters of the Arkansas and Red rivers, would follow the effort to negotiate with the Camanches.

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* This is pronounced *Kanzeau*, and, by abbreviation, *Kaw* nation.

For this expedition, Capt. Pike's party consisted of two lieutenants, one surgeon, one sergeant, two corporals, sixteen privates, and one interpreter. Under their charge, were several chiefs of the Osages and Pawnees, who, with a number of women and children, had been to Washington city. These Indians had been redeemed from captivity from among the Pottawattamies. The whole number of Indians amounted to fifty-one.

The party left Belle Fontaine, near the mouth of the Missouri, on the 15th of July, 1806. In the company was Dr. John H. Robinson, a volunteer, and a gentleman of scientific attainments; a Mr. Henry, from New Jersey, also a volunteer, who spoke French and a little Spanish, and Lieutenant James Wilkinson, son of General Wilkinson. The Indians generally walked on the land. On the 28th of July, they arrived at the mouth of the Osage river, and proceeded up that stream to the village of the Grand Osages, which they reached on the 19th of August. Having provided horses, the party set off by land on the 1st of September for the heads of the Arkansas, holding councils with the various tribes of Indians through which they passed. They learned that troops from Mexico had visited the Pawnee village.

At that period there was an old trace, known as the "Spanish trace," made in 1720, by a party who left Santa Fe, to exterminate the Missouries.

Pike and his party, after much search, could not find this trace, but reached the Arkansas on the 18th of October. They found the water only twenty feet wide and six inches deep, though from bank to bank was two hundred and fifty yards. Here Lieutenant Wilkinson constructed canoes with pieces of wood and buffalo hides, and with three soldiers and an Osage, descended the river to the Mississippi, and from thence to New Orleans.

Pike and his party proceeded onward up the Arkansas until they got entangled in the range of mountains and in the depth of a severe winter. Here they wandered, half frozen and half starved, until the first week in February, when, getting into a grove of timber in a sheltered spot, they proceeded to erect a stockade as a protection from the Indians.

Dr. Robinson having received claims against a certain person in Mexico, parted from the expedition and attempted to find his way alone to Santa Fe. This claim of the Doctor was merely a *ruse* to gain information of the country and the intentions of the Mexican Spaniards. The claim was this. In the year 1804, William Morrison, Esq., an enterprising merchant of Kaskaskia, sent Baptiste

La Lande, a Creole, up the Missouri and Platte rivers, and directed him, if possible, to push into Santa Fe. He sent in some Indians, and the Spaniards came out with horses and carried him and his goods into the province. Finding he could sell his goods at a high price, and having land and a wife offered him, he concluded to expatriate himself and convert the property of Mr. Morrison to his own benefit. Mr. M., supposing Pike might meet with some Spanish factor on his route, entrusted him with his claim, with orders to collect it. Pike made this claim a pretext for the visit of Dr. Robinson to Santa Fe, while the real object was to gain knowledge of the country and people.

On the 16th of February, Pike, while out on a hunting excursion with one man, was discovered by a Spanish dragoon and a Mexican Indian, who were sent out as spies. After a friendly interview they left, and by the 26th instant returned with one hundred officers and soldiers, who took the party prisoners. Unfortunately, being ignorant of the geography of the country, and having no guide, Pike was on the Rio del Norte instead of the Red river, as he supposed. He was in Mexico instead of the United States.

After undergoing an examination before the governor of Santa Fe, whose name was Allencaster, Pike with his comrades were allowed to retain their arms, but were marched through Albuquerque, St. Fernandez, El Paso, to Chihuahua, where he underwent another examination before Governor Salcedo. After various embarrassments, accompanied by Dr. Robinson, he had leave to depart, by Monclova to San Antonio, in Texas.

The party commenced the march on the last of April, and reached San Antonio, in Texas, where they arrived on the 7th of June. Here they tarried one week, and proceeding through Texas, reached Natchitoches on the 1st day of July, 1807.

This expedition, unfortunate as it was to the commander, brought to the knowledge of the United States, the plains of the Arkansas, and the Mexican region, a large part of which now belongs to the United States.

In September, 1806, Messrs. Lewis and Clarke returned from their exploration of the Missouri and Oregon rivers. This expedition had been suggested by Mr. Jefferson, in January, 1803. His views being sanctioned by Congress, Captain Lewis, and Clarke, equal in command, entered the Missouri, May 14, 1804. The ensuing winter they spent among the Mandans, and in April, 1805, again set forward. With great difficulty, the mountains were passed in the September following, and the Pacific reached on the

17th of November. Here the winter of 1805–6 was passed. On the 27th of March, 1806, the return journey was begun, and the mountains were crossed late in June.

During this year, the conviction became more and more strong 1806.] that the North-Western tribes were meditating hostilities against the United States, but nothing of consequence took place; although Tecumthe and the Prophet constantly extended and confirmed their influence.

Renewed difficulties with Spain, began early in the year to assume a serious appearance; in February, acts of a semi-hostile character took place, and in August, Spanish troops crossed the Sabine and took possession of the territory east of that river. This led first to a correspondence between Governor Claiborne and the Spaniard in command: and next to a movement by General Wilkinson and his army to the contested border.* While his troops were at Natchitoches, in immediate expectation of an engagement, Samuel Swartwout reached Wilkinson's camp, with letters from Burr and Dayton, of such a character as almost instantly to bring matters in relation to the conquest of Mexico to a crisis.

Burr, from January to August, Mr. Davis declares, was most of the time in Washington and Philadelphia, but not idle; for, in a letter to Wilkinson, dated April 16th, the conspirator says: "Burr will be throughout the United States this summer;" and refers to "the association," as enlarged, and to the "project" as postponed till December.

In July, Commodore Truxton learned from Burr, that he was interested largely in lands upon the Washita, which he proposed to settle if his Mexican project failed; and in August it seems that he left for the West. On the 21st of that month, he was in Pittsburgh, and there suggested to Colonel George Morgan and his son, the probable disunion of the States, growing out of the extreme weakness of the federal government, a suggestion similar to that said to have been made, though in a much more distinct and strong form, to General Eaton, in the March preceding.

His plans, indeed, whatever their extent, were before this time fixed and perfected; for it was upon the 29th of July that he wrote from Philadelphia to General Wilkinson the letter confided to Swartwout, which led to the development of the whole business;

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* American State Papers. See for documents, Wilkinson's Memoirs.

this letter is extracted, together with Wilkinson's deposition of December 26th, explanatory of Burr's plans:

"Yours, post-marked 13th of May, is received. I, Aaron Burr, have obtained funds, and have actually commenced the enterprise. Detachments from different points, and under different pretenses, will rendezvous on Ohio, 1st November—everything internal and external favors views; protection of England is secured. T——— is going to Jamaica, to arrange with the Admiral on that station; it will meet on the Mississippi.—England.—Navy of the United States are ready to join, and final orders are given to my friends and followers; it will be a host of choice spirits.

"Wilkinson shall be second to Burr only; Wilkinson shall dictate the rank and promotion of his officers. Burr will proceed westward 1st of August, never to return; with him go his daughter; the husband will follow in October, with a corps of worthies.

"Send forth an intelligent and confidential friend with whom Burr may confer; he shall return immediately with further interesting details; this is essential to concert and harmony of movement; send a list of all persons known to Wilkinson, west of the mountains, who may be useful, with a note delineating their characters. By your messenger, send me four or five commissions of your officers, which you can borrow under any pretense you please; they shall be returned faithfully.

"Already are orders to the contractor given, to forward six months provisions to points Wilkinson may name; this shall not be used until the last moment, and then under proper injunctions; the project is brought to the point so long desired. Burr guarantees the result with his life and honor, with the lives, the honor and fortune of hundreds, the best blood of our country.

"Burr's plan of operations is, to move down rapidly from the falls on the 15th November, with the first five hundred or one thousand men, in light boats now constructing for that purpose, to be at Natchez between the 5th and 15th of December, there to meet Wilkinson; there to determine whether it will be expedient in the first instance to seize on or pass by Baton Rouge; on receipt of this send an answer; draw on Burr for all expenses, &c. The people of the country to which we are going, are prepared to receive us; their agents now with Burr say, that if we will protect their religion and will not subject them to a foreign power, that in three weeks all will be settled.

"The gods invite to glory and fortune; it remains to be seen whether we deserve the boon; the bearer of this goes express to

you; he will hand a formal letter of introduction to you from Burr; he is a man of inviolable honor and perfect discretion, formed to execute rather than to project; capable of relating facts with fidelity, and incapable of relating them otherwise; he is thoroughly informed of the plans and intentions of Burr, and will disclose to you as far as you inquire, and no further; he has imbibed a reverence for your character, and may be embarrassed in your presence; put him at ease and he will satisfy you.*

"I instantly resolved," says Wilkinson, in his affidavit, "to avail myself of the reference made to the bearer, and, in the course of some days, drew from him (the said Swartwout,) the following disclosure: 'That he had been dispatched by Colonel Burr, from Philadelphia; had passed through the States of Ohio and Kentucky, and proceeded from Louisville to St. Louis, where he expected to find me; but discovering at Kaskaskias that I had descended the river, he procured a skiff, hired hands, and followed me down the Mississippi to Fort Adams; and from thence set out for Natchitoches, in company with Captain Sparks and Hooke, under the pretense of a disposition to take part in the campaign against the Spaniards, then depending.

"'That Colonel Burr, with the support of a powerful association, extending from New York to New Orleans, was levying an armed body of seven thousand men from the State of New York, and the Western States and territories, with a view to carry an expedition against the Mexican provinces; and that five hundred men, under Colonel Swartwout, and a Colonel or Major Tyler, were to descend the Allegheny, for whose accommodation light boats had been built and were ready.'

"I inquired what would be their course; he said, 'this territory would be revolutionized, where the people were ready to join them; and that there would be some seizing, he supposed, at New Orleans; that they expected to be ready to embark about the 1st of February, and intended to land at Vera Cruz, and to march from thence to Mexico.'

"I observed that there were several millions of dollars in the bank of this place, to which he replied, 'we know it full well;' and, on my remarking that they certainly did not mean to violate private property, he said, 'they meant to borrow, and would return it; that they must equip themselves in New Orleans; that they expected

* Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. 3.

naval protection from Great Britain; that the captains and the officers of our navy were so disgusted with the government, that they were ready to join; that similar disgusts prevailed throughout the western country, where the people were zealous in favor of the enterprise; and that pilot-boat built schooners were contracted for along our southern coast for their service; that he had been accompanied from the falls of Ohio to Kaskaskias, and from thence to Fort Adams, by a Mr. Ogden, who had proceeded on to New Orleans, with letters from Colonel Burr, to his friends there.'

"Swartwout asked me whether I had heard from Dr. Bollman; and, on my answering in the negative, he expressed great surprise, and observed, 'that the doctor and a Mr. Alexander had left Philadelphia before him, with dispatches for me; and that they were to proceed by sea to New Orleans, where he said they must have arrived.'

"Though determined to deceive him, if possible, I could not refrain telling Mr. Swartwout, it was impossible that I could ever dishonor my commission; and I believe I duped him by my admiration of the plan, and by observing, that although I could not join in the expedition, the engagements which the Spaniards had prepared for me in my front, might prevent my opposing it. Yet I did, the moment I had deciphered the letter, put it into the hands of Colonel Cushing, my adjutant and inspector, making the declaration that I should oppose the lawless enterprise with my utmost force.

"Mr. Swartwout informed me that he was under engagements to meet Colonel Burr at Nashville, on the 20th of November, and requested of me to write to him, which I declined; and on his leaving Natchitoches, about the 18th of October, I immediately employed Lieutenant T. A. Smith to convey the information in substance to the president, without the commitment of names; for from the extraordinary nature of the project, and the more extraordinary appeal to me, I could but doubt its reality, notwithstanding the testimony before me; and I did not attach solid belief to Mr. Swartwout's reports respecting their intentions on this territory and city, until I received confirmatory advice from St. Louis."*

After leaving Pittsburgh, Burr went probably direct to Blannerhassett's Island, where he had stopped the previous summer, while passing down the Ohio, and which he thenceforth made his head-

*Wilkinson's Memoirs.

quarters. This he was probably led to do by the fact that Blannerhasset, in December, 1805, had written him, that he should like to take part in any western speculations, or in attacking Mexico, should a Spanish war actually occur.

This offer, together with the supposed wealth of Blannerhassett, and the admirable position of his island for Burr's purposes, made that place the very one most desirable for him to select as his centre of operations. From this point the chief made excursions into Ohio and Kentucky, obtaining money, men, boats and provisions.

Among those from whom he received the most aid was Davis Floyd, of Jeffersonville, a member of the Indiana Territorial Assembly. This gentleman, Blannerhassett, Comfort Tyler, and Israel Smith, were Burr's chiefs of division, and led the few followers that at last went down the river in his company.

Meantime, the rumor was prevalent "in every man's mouth," that the settlement of the Washita lands,* for which the men were nominally enlisted, was a mere pretense, and that an attack on Mexico, if not something worse, was in contemplation. That something was looked for beyond a conquest of the Spanish provinces, seemed probable from the views expressed in a series of essays called the "Querist;" these were published in September, in the Ohio Gazette, (Marietta,) were written by Blannerhassett, immediately after Burr's visit to his island, and strongly intimated that wisdom called on the western people to leave the Union.

At this time Colonel Joseph Daviess was attorney for the United States in Kentucky, and he, together with others, felt that the general government ought to be informed of what was doing, and of what was rumored. Mr. Jefferson, accordingly, in the latter part of September, received intimations of what was going forward, but as nothing definite could be charged, there was no point of attack, and the Executive and his friends could do nothing further than watch and wait. At length, late in October, notice of the building of boats and collection of provisions having reached him, the president sent a confidential agent into the West, and also gave orders to the governors and commanders to be upon their guard.

Daviess, meantime, had gathered a mass of testimony implicating Burr, which led him to take the step of bringing the subject, in November, before the United States District Court, making oath,

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*See Colonel Lyon, in Wilkinson, ii. Appendix, lxviii.—Davis, ii. 392.

"that he was informed, and did verily believe, that Aaron Burr for several months past had been, and now is engaged, in preparing and setting on foot, and in providing and preparing the means for a military expedition and enterprise within this district, for the purpose of descending the Ohio and Mississippi therewith, and making war upon the subjects of the king of Spain."

After having read this affidavit, the attorney added, "I have information on which I can rely, that all the western territories are the next object of the scheme, and finally, all the region of the Ohio is calculated as falling into the vortex of the newly proposed revolution."

Upon this affidavit, Daviess asked for Burr's arrest, but the motion was overruled. The accused, however, who saw at once the most politic course, came into court, and demanded an investigation, which could not be had, however, in consequence of the impossibility of obtaining Davis Floyd as a witness.

Thus far the public generally sympathized with Burr, whose manners secured all suffrages, and who, on the 1st of December, was able to write to Henry Clay, his attorney, in these terms: "I have no design, nor have I taken any measure to promote a dissolution of the Union, or a separation of any one or more States from the residue. I have neither published a line on this subject, nor has any one, through my agency, or with my knowledge.

"I have no design to intermeddle with the government, or to disturb the tranquillity of the United States, nor of its territories, or of any part of them. I have neither issued, nor signed, nor promised, a commission to any person, for any purpose. I do not own a musket nor bayonet, nor any single article of military stores, nor does any person for me, by my authority, or my knowledge.

"My views have been explained to, and approved by, several of the principal officers of government, and, I believe, are well understood by the administration, and seen by it with complacency; they are such as every *man of honor and every good citizen* must approve.

"Considering the high station you now fill in our national councils, I have thought these explanations proper, as well to counteract the chimerical tales, which malevolent persons have industriously circulated, as to satisfy you that you have not espoused the cause of a man in any way unfriendly to the laws, the government, or the interests of the country."*

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* Butler's Kentucky.

The agent from government, who was all along actively engaged in procuring evidence relative to Burr's plans, finding abundant proof of his Mexican project, and learning also that he thought the West ought to separate from the East, determined, in December, to take measures to arrest his boats and provisions. This he effected by an application to the Legislature of Ohio, through Governor Tiffin.

The legislature authorized the governor to take the necessary steps, and before the 14th of December, ten boats, with stores, were arrested on the Muskingum, and soon after, four more were seized by the troops at Marietta. Blannerhassett, Tyler, and thirty or forty men, on the night of December 10th, left the island, and proceeded down the river, barely escaping an arrest by General Tupper, on behalf of the State of Ohio. On the 16th, this party united with that of Floyd, at the Falls, and on the 26th, the whole, together, met Burr at the mouth of the Cumberland. On the 29th, the company passed Fort Massac.

But while Daviess and Graham were laboring to put a stop to Burr's progress, the general government had received information which enabled the president to act with decision; this was the message of Wilkinson, bearing an account of Burr's letter, already quoted. This message was sent from Natchitoches upon the 22d of October, and reached the seat of government, November 25th; on the 27th, a proclamation was issued, and word sent westward to arrest all concerned.

About the same time, (November 24th or 25th,) Wilkinson, who had done, unauthorized, upon the 1st of November, the very thing he had been ordered on the 8th to do—namely, to make an accommodation with the Spanish commander on the Sabine, and fall back to the Mississippi—reached New Orleans, and prepared to resist any attack thereon. At this city he arrested Swartwout and Peter V. Ogden, who were discharged, however, on *habeas corpus*, and Dr. Erick Bollman, who had also borne messages from Burr and Dayton.

Washington College, Pennsylvania, was incorporated in the year 1806. It was engrafted upon the Washington Academy, which had been incorporated as early as 1787, and endowed with five thousand acres of land by the commonwealth. This appropriation, like many others of a similar nature, remained for years unproductive. In 1797, the legislature granted three thousand dollars to the academy, "to complete the buildings for the institution," and

also provided for the admission of not more than ten indigent students, gratis, none of them to remain longer than two years.

After the institution became a college, the legislature granted to it five thousand dollars, payable in annual installments, commencing with 1820. The number of students in 1822 was sixty-nine, and the institution was then considered as in a flourishing state by its friends; but it afterward languished, and for a time its operations were suspended. In the autumn of 1830 it was resuscitated upon a permanent basis.

The first class graduated in 1808. Whole number of graduates, upward of seven hundred. First President, Rev. Matthew Brown, D. D.

The Washington Female Seminary was established about the year 1836, commencing with forty pupils. In 1842, its catalogue numbered one hundred and forty-seven. This institution is supposed to be one of the most flourishing and permanent female schools west of the Alleghenies.

What Burr may have felt or intended after he met his fugitive followers at the mouth of Cumberland river, late in December, 1806, it is impossible to say, but it is certain that he went on openly and boldly, protesting against the acts of Ohio, and avowing his innocence. If he had relied on Wilkinson, he was as yet undeceived with regard to him.

On the 4th of January, 1807, he was at Fort Pickering, Chickasaw Bluffs, and soon after at Bayou Pierre. From this point, he wrote to the authorities below, referring to the rumors respecting him, alleging his innocence, and begging them to avoid the horrors of civil war. Word had just been received from Jefferson, however, of the supposed conspiracy; the militia were under arms, and the acting governor of the Mississippi territory, Cowles Mead, on the 16th of January, sent two aids to meet Colonel Burr; one of these was George Poindexter. At this meeting an interview between the acting governor was arranged, which took place on the 17th, at which time Burr yielded himself to the civil authority.

He was then taken to Washington, the capital of the territory, and legal proceedings commenced. Mr. Poindexter was himself attorney-general, and as such, advised that Burr had been guilty of no crime within Mississippi, and wished to have him sent to the seat of government of the United States; the presiding judge, however, summoned a grand jury, which, upon the evidence before

them, presented—not Burr, for treason,—but the acting governor, for calling out the militia! That evening, Colonel Burr, fearing an arrest by officers sent by Wilkinson, forfeited his bonds and disappeared.

A proclamation being issued by the governor for his apprehension, he was seized on the Tombigbee river on his way to Florida, and was sent at once to Richmond, where he arrived March 26th. On the 22d of May, Burr's examination began in the Circuit Court of the United States, at Richmond, before Judge Marshall; two bills were found against him; one for treason against the United States, the other for a misdemeanor in organizing an enterprise against Mexico, while at peace with the United States; but on both these charges the jury found him "not guilty," "upon the principle that the offense, if committed anywhere, was committed out of the jurisdiction of the court."

The Chief Justice, however, upon the latter charge, subsequently ordered his commitment for trial within the proper jurisdiction. This commitment, however, being impliedly upon the supposition that the United States wished, under the circumstances, to prosecute the accused, and the attorney for the government declining to do so, no further steps were taken to bring the supposed culprit to justice, and the details of his doings and plans have never yet been made known.

Although a mystery still hangs about Burr's plans, in consequence of the discontinuance of the suit by the United States, it has been clearly proved by the trial at Richmond, and other evidence, that Burr went into the West in 1805, with the feeling that his day at the East was over; in New York he feared even a prosecution if he remained there.

That his plans, until late in that year, were undefined; speculations of various kinds, a residence in Tennessee, an appointment in the South-West, were under consideration, but nothing was determined:

That he at length settled upon three objects, to one or the other of which, as circumstances might dictate, he meant to devote his energies. These were—

A separation of the West from the East, under himself and Wilkinson:

Should this be, upon further examination, deemed impossible, then an invasion of Mexico, by himself and Wilkinson, with or without the sanction of the federal government:

In case of disappointment in reference to Mexico, then the foun-

dation of a new State upon the Washita, over which he might preside as founder and patriarch.

That the Washita scheme was not a mere pretense, is evident from the fact that Burr actually paid toward the purchase, four or five thousand dollars; that it was not the only object, and that the conquest of Mexico, if it could be effected, was among his settled determinations, his friends all acknowledged, but said this conquest was to take place upon the supposition of a war with Spain, and in no other case; that Burr may have thought the government would wink at his proceedings, is very possible; and that Wilkinson either meant to aid him, or pretended he would, in order to learn his plans, is certain; but the secrecy of his movements, the language of his letter to Wilkinson in July, 1806, and his whole character implies that he would, if he could, have invaded Mexico, whether the United States were at war or peace with Spain.

But it cannot be doubted that, going beyond a violation of the laws of the Union, he was disposed to seek a separation of that Union itself.

During his visit of 1805, he was undoubtedly made fully acquainted with the old schemes for independence entertained in Kentucky, and was led to question the real attachment of the western people to the federal government. So long as he thought there was a probability of disunion, it would naturally be his first object to place himself at the head of the republic beyond the mountains, and should he find himself deceived as to the extent of disaffection in the Great Valley, all his means could be brought to bear upon Mexico. His conversations with the Morgans at Pittsburgh, the views of the "Querist" prepared by Blannerhassett under Burr's eye, and the declarations of Blannerhassett to Henderson and Graham, seem to leave no room for doubting the fact that a dissolution of the United States had been contemplated by the ex-Vice-President, although we think there is as little reason to doubt that it had been abandoned as hopeless, long before his arrest.

With regard to Wilkinson, it is not easy to form a decided opinion; the strongest fact in his favor is that he informed the government of Burr's projects, in the fall of 1805; the strongest fact against him is, that if innocent, he was able to outwit and entrap so subtile a man as the conspirator. It has been charged against Wilkinson, that he altered the letter sent him by Burr, and then swore that the *copy* was a true copy: this, however, is fully explained by the deposition of Mr. Duncan, Wilkinson's legal adviser

at New Orleans, by whom indeed the omission was suffered designedly to remain, in opposition to the general's repeated and strong expression of his wish that it should be supplied.

Another charge has been brought against Wilkinson since his death, that he claimed of Mexico two hundred thousand dollars for stopping Burr. This charge seems improbable, and it seems equally improbable that during the persecution of the general in 1810, no knowledge of so strange an act, and one of so public a nature, should have been reached by his enemies. As it was not brought forward till 1836, eleven years after his death, no opportunity has occurred for explaining or disproving it, but it ought not to weigh against his memory until further evidence is offered in its support.

On the 27th of January, 1807, Governor Hull, of Michigan Territory, had been authorized by the federal government to enter into a treaty with the North-Western Indians, for the lands upon the eastern side of the Peninsula, and for those west of the Connecticut Reserve, as far as the Au Glaize. The directions then given having been repeated in September, a council was held at Detroit, and a treaty made November 17th, with the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, and Pottawattamies, by which the country from the Maumee to Saginaw Bay, on the eastern side of Michigan, was transferred, with certain reservations, to the United States.

Congress confirmed the old French claims to land in the West, during this year.

A stockade was built round the new town of Detroit.

The region of country comprised in the Territories of Indiana and Upper Louisiana, for a number of years after their organization, was too remote, too much exposed to Indian depredations, and too destitute of the comforts of civilized life, to attract many emigrants.

"Lands equally good, and much more secure from danger, were more convenient. Hence the settlements on the Wabash, on the Illinois, on the Upper Mississippi, and near the Detroit river, increased in numbers slowly. The Indians still lingered around their houses and familiar hunting grounds, as if reluctant to abandon the scenes of their youth, and the graves of their ancestors, although they had received the stipulated payment, and had consented to retire from them."*

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* Valley of the Mississippi, ii. 523.

"Enterprise had not then pushed its energies so far into the wilderness as in modern times, and capital floated along the shores of the Eastern States. In fact, a great portion of that uncultivated tract of country, which constitutes the splendid scenery of western New York, adorned, as it now is, with large cities and villages, and intersected by rail roads and canals, was a dense forest. The principal business of the settlements in Michigan was the fur trade; and the wilderness around, instead of revealing its treasures to the substantial labor of agriculture, was preserved a waste, for the propagation of wild game, and the fur-bearing animals.

"No permanent settlements of any considerable importance had been made throughout this section of the country, besides those at Detroit, Michilimackinack, a small establishment at St. Mary's river, Fox river of Green Bay, Prairie du Chein, and certain trading posts of eastern companies, some of which are now in ruins. 'Grim-visaged war had smoothed her wrinkled front,' and the country which had been for so long a period drenched in blood, now shone out in the mild, but glorious light of peace."*

During this year was brought to a close the movement in favor of introducing slavery into Indiana Territory. It began with the petition of four men in the Kaskaskia region, in 1796.

In 1803, it was again brought before Congress, and reported against by Mr. Randolph. In 1804, it was a third time brought up, and the following resolution offered in the House of Representatives:

"Resolved, That the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery within the said territory, be suspended, in a qualified manner, for ten years, so as to permit the introduction of slaves, born within the United States, from any of the individual States: Provided, That such individual State does not permit the importation of slaves from foreign countries. And provided, further, That the descendants of all such slaves shall, if males, be free at the age of twenty-five years, and if females, at the age of twenty-one years."

In 1806, the report of the committee offering this resolution was referred, and the same resolve again offered.

In 1807, the subject once more came up, upon a representation by the House of Representatives and Legislative Council of the territory. The National Representatives were again asked by

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* History of Michigan, 183.

their committee to approve the step; but in the Senate a different view was taken, and it was declared inexpedient to suspend the ordinance.

During the year 1808, Tecumthe and the Prophet continued quietly to extend their influence, professing no other end than a reformation of the Indians. Before the month of June, they had removed from Greenville to the banks of the Tippecanoe, a tributary of the Upper Wabash, where a tract of land had been granted them by the Pottawattamies and Kickapoos. In July, the Prophet sent to General Harrison a messenger, begging him not to believe the tales told by his enemies, and promising a visit. In August, accordingly, he spent two weeks at Vincennes, and by his words and promises, led the governor to change very much his previous opinion, and to think his influence might be beneficial rather than mischievous.

Tecumthe entered upon the great work he had long contemplated, in the year 1805 or 1806. He was then about thirty-eight years of age. To unite the several Indian tribes, many of which were hostile to, and had often been at war with each other, in this great and important undertaking, prejudices were to be overcome, their original manners and customs to be re-established, the use of ardent spirits to be abandoned, and all intercourse with the whites to be suspended.

"The task was herculean in its character, and beset with difficulties on every side. Here was a field for the display of the highest moral and intellectual powers. He had already gained the reputation of a brave and sagacious warrior, and a cool-headed, upright, wise, and efficient counselor. He was neither a war nor a peace chief, and yet he wielded the power and influence of both.

"The time having now arrived for action, and knowing full well, that to win savage attention, some bold and striking movement was necessary, he imparted his plan to his brother, the Prophet, who adroitly, and without a moment's delay, prepared himself for the part he was appointed to play in this great drama of savage life. Tecumthe well knew that excessive superstition was everywhere a prominent trait in the Indian character; and therefore, with the skill of another Cromwell, brought superstition to his aid.

"Suddenly, his brother began to dream dreams, and see visions; he became afterward an inspired prophet, favored with a divine commission from the Great Spirit—the power of life and death was placed in his hands. He was appointed agent for preserving the

property and lands of the Indians, and for restoring them to their original happy condition. He thereupon commenced his sacred work. The public mind was aroused, unbelief gradually gave way; credulity and wild fanaticism began to spread its circles, widening and deepening, until the fame of the prophet and the divine character of his mission had reached the frozen shores of the lakes, and overran the broad plains which stretched far beyond 'the great Father of Waters.'

"Pilgrims from remote tribes, sought with fear and trembling the head-quarters of the prophet and the sage. Proselytes were multiplied, and his followers increased beyond all former example. Even Tecumthe became a believer, and seizing upon the golden opportunity, he mingled with the pilgrims, won them by his address, and on their return sent a knowledge of his plan of concert and union to the most distant tribes.

"The bodily and mental labors of Tecumthe next commenced. His life became one of ceaseless activity. He traveled, he argued, he commanded. His persuasive voice was one day listened to by the Wyandots, on the plains of Sandusky; on the next, his commands were issued on the banks of the Wabash.

"He was anon seen paddling his canoe across the Mississippi, then boldly confronting the governor of Indiana, in the council-house at Vincennes. Now carrying his banner of union among the Creeks and Cherokees of the south, and from thence to the cold and inhospitable regions of the north, neither intoxicated by success, nor discouraged by failure."

The year 1808, made a change in the Presidency of the United States, though not in political measures. Mr. Jefferson, who had administered the affairs of the country with pre-eminent success through two terms, and who was generally popular throughout the West, retired to private life, and Mr. Madison became his successor, in March, 1809.

England and France, and indeed most of the European governments, had been in a state of hostility for some years. Napoleon had introduced and carried into effect what has been called the "*Continental System.*" This was designed to exclude England from all intercourse with the continent of Europe. All importation of English manufactures and produce was prohibited. This system involved the rights of neutral powers, and both England and France commenced depredations on the commerce of the United States.

In November, 1806, Napoleon issued the famous decree of Berlin, by which the British Islands were declared to be in a state of

blockade. Immediately, England directed reprisals against the Berlin decree, and issued her "Orders in Council" in 1807. Every neutral vessel with its cargo was confiscated which violated these orders. England also claimed the right to search all neutral vessels, in order to execute the orders in council. With this odious practice was connected the "right of search" on neutral vessels, for British seamen, and all were claimed as such, who could not show official papers of their birth, and regular shipment under a neutral government. Hundreds of naturalized citizens, and even native born Americans, were thus taken under our flag and impressed on board of British ships of war. These "orders" were followed on the part of France, by the decree of Milan, December, 1807, and a more aggravated one of the Tuilleries, in January, 1808.

These decrees denationalized and confiscated every neutral vessel which had been searched by an English ship. These difficulties with England were greatly increased by the wanton attack on the frigate Chesapeake, in the waters of the United States. This produced a call upon the militia of the United States.

The Imperial decrees of France, and the aggressions of Great Britain, induced Congress, by recommendation of the President, to lay an embargo prohibiting the exportation of all articles from the United States, in December, 1807. This measure met with so much opposition that it was repealed in 1809, and at the same time all trade and intercourse with France and England was prohibited by an act of Congress.*

During the same period, British officers and traders were encouraging the Indians to contend for their rights, by instilling into their minds the notion that they had sovereignty over all the country not ceded by the treaty of Greenville. These lessons were relished by Tecumthe and his brother, the Prophet. In reference to the hostilities of 1811, but which had existed in feelings and plans at an early period, Mr. Lanman says:—

"The basis of these hostilities was the fact that Elshwatawa, the Prophet, who pretended to certain supernatural powers, had formed a league with Tecumthe, to stir up the jealousy of the Indians against the United States. It seems that this was an act of preconcert on the part of these brothers, in order to produce a general confederacy of Indians against the United States.

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* See Encyclopædia Americana, article, "Continental System."

"Mutual complaints were urged on both sides. It was maintained by Governor Harrison that the Indians had endeavored to excite insurrection against the Americans, had depredated upon their property, and murdered their citizens; and that they were, moreover, in league with the British. He ordered them, therefore, to return to their respective tribes, and to yield up the property which they had stolen, and also the murderers.

"Tecumthe, in answer, denied the league. He alleged that his only design, and that of his brother, was to strengthen the amity between the different tribes of Indians, and to improve their moral condition. In answer to Governor Harrison's demand for the murderers of the whites who had taken refuge among their tribes, he denied that they were there; and secondly, that if they were there, it was not right to punish them, and that they ought to be forgiven, as he had forgiven those who had murdered his people in Illinois.

"The Indians, comprised of seceders from the various tribes, were incited by the conviction that their domain was encroached upon by the Americans; that they were themselves superior to the white men; and that the Great Spirit had directed them to make one mighty struggle in throwing off the dominion of the United States. British influence, which had before exerted its agency in the previous Indian war, was active on the American side of the Detroit river, and it must be admitted that it had strong ground of action.

"An ardent correspondence had for some time existed regarding the conduct of the savages, and powerful efforts were made to dissuade them from advancing in their projects. In a speech which was sent to Tecumthe and his brother, complaining of injuries which had been committed by the Indians, and demanding redress, Gov. Harrison, who then resided at Vincennes, remarks: 'Brothers, I am myself of the Long Knife fire; as soon as they hear my voice, you will see them pouring forth their swarms of 'hunting-shirt men,' as numerous as the musquitoes on the shores of the Wabash. Brothers, take care of their stings.'"

On the 25th of November, Governor Hull met at Brownstown, the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawattamies, Wyandots, and Shawanese, and obtained from them a grant of a strip of land connecting the Maumee with the Western Reserve, and another strip connecting Lower Sandusky with the country south of the line agreed upon in 1795. These strips were to be used for roads.

The white settlements in Upper Louisiana, in the beginning of 1808, had not extended much beyond the boundaries claimed by

the Spanish authorities in virtue of former treaties with native tribes.

On the 10th of November of that year, a grand council of the nation of Osages was held at Fort Clark, on the right bank of the Missouri river, where a treaty was made in which the Osages relinquish their claims to all their lands between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers, as far west as a line drawn from Fort Clark due south to Arkansas. This treaty threw open the territory to settlements to this boundary.

Throughout the year 1809, Tecumthe and his brother were strengthening themselves, both openly and secretly. Governor Harrison, however, had been once more led to suspect their ultimate designs, and was preparing to meet an emergency, whenever it might arise. The probability of its being at hand was very greatly increased by the news received from the Upper Mississippi, of hostile movements there among the savages. In reference to these movements, and the position of the Shawanese brothers, Governor Harrison wrote to the Secretary of War, on the 5th of July, as follows:

"The Shawanese prophet and about forty followers arrived here about a week ago. He denies most strenuously any participation in the late combination to attack our settlements, which he says was entirely confined to the tribes of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers; and he claims the merits of having prevailed upon them to relinquish their intentions.

"I must confess that my suspicions of his guilt have been rather strengthened than diminished at every interview I have had with him since his arrival. He acknowledged that he received an invitation to war against us, from the British, last fall, and that he was apprised of the intention of the Sacs, Foxes, &c., early in the spring, and warmly solicited to join in their league. But he could give no satisfactory explanation of his neglecting to communicate to me, circumstances so extremely interesting to us, and toward which I had a few months before directed his attention, and received a solemn assurance of his cheerful compliance with the injunctions I had impressed upon him.

"The result of all my inquiries on the subject is, that the late combination was produced by British intrigue and influence, in anticipation of war between them and the United States. It was, however, premature and ill-judged, and the event sufficiently manifests a great decline in their influence, or in the talents and ad-

dress, with which they have been accustomed to manage their Indian relations.

"The warlike and well armed tribes of the Pottawattamies, Ottawas, Chippewas, Delawares, and Miamies, I believe neither had, nor would have joined in the combination; and although the Kickapoos, whose warriors are better than those of any other tribe, the remnant of the Wyandot excepted, are much under the influence of the prophet, I am persuaded that they were never made acquainted with their intentions, if these were really hostile to the United States."

In this same letter the governor, at the request of the secretary, Dr. Eustis, gives his views of the defense of the frontiers, in which portion of his epistle many valuable hints are given in relation to the course proper to be pursued in case of a war with England.

In September, October, and December, the governor of Indiana succeeded in extinguishing the claims of the Delawares, Pottawattamies, Miamies, Eel river Indians, Weas, and Kickapoos, to certain lands upon the Wabash, which had not yet been purchased, and which were believed to contain copper ore.

The treaties with the Delawares, Pottawattamies, Miamies, and Eel river Indians, were made at Fort Wayne; the others at Vincennes; they were protested against by Tecumthe in the following year.

On the 17th of February the Legislature of Ohio passed the charter of the Miami University. With regard to this institution, a question at once arose, whether it should be within Symmes' Purchase, as it had been originally intended it should be, and as the charter required; or placed upon the lands with which it was endowed; which lands it had been found necessary to select out of the Purchase, as has been already related. The legislature decided that the University should be upon the lands which had been appropriated to its support in the township of Oxford, and there, accordingly, it was placed.

One of the events of 1809, which claims special notice, was the organization of the territory of Illinois.

The people of Illinois, as has happened to others more recently, at several periods were left without a regularly constituted government. Originally it was a portion of ancient Louisiana, under the French monarchy. By the treaty of France with Great Britain, in 1763, all Canada, including the Illinois country, was ceded to the latter power.

But British authority and laws did not reach Illinois until 1765, when Captain Sterling, in the name and by the authority of the British crown, established the provisional government at Fort Chartres.

In 1766, the "Quebec Bill," as it was called, passed the British Parliament, which placed Illinois, and the North-Western Territory under the local administration of Canada.

The conquest of the country by General Clark, in 1778, brought it under the jurisdiction of Virginia, and in the month of October, the Legislature of that State organized the county of Illinois.

The cession of the country to the Continental Congress was made in 1784, and the ordinance to organize the North-Western Territory, which provided for a territorial government, was not passed until 1787, and the governor and judges who exercised, in one body, legislative and judicial authority, did not go into operation until July, 1788. Still the Illinois country remained without any organized government till March, 1790, when Governor St. Clair organized the county that bears his name. Hence, for more than six years at one period, and for a shorter time at other periods, there was no executive, legislative, and judicial authority in the country. The people were a "law unto themselves," and good feelings, harmony, and fidelity to engagements predominated.

From 1800 they had been a part of the territory of Indiana. In all the territories at that period, there were two grades of territorial government. The first was that of governor and judges. These constituted the law-making power. Such was the organization of Illinois in 1809. The next grade was a territorial legislature; the people electing the house of representatives, and the president and senate appointing the council.

By an act of Congress, of February 3d, 1809, all that part of Indiana Territory which lies west of the Wabash river, and a direct line drawn from that river and Post Vincennes, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, was constituted into a separate territory, by the name of Illinois; and the first grade of territorial government was established.

For eight years Illinois had formed a part of Indiana, and the principal statutes of that territory were re-enacted by the governor and judges, and became the basis of statute law in Illinois, much of which, without change of phraseology, remains in the revised code of that State, as the same laws, in substance, originated in the legislation of the governor and judges of the North-Western Territory, and were enacted by the governor and judges of Indiana, in

the territory of Louisiana, during the period of their temporary jurisdiction west of the Mississippi.

The following specimen of their early jurisprudence may not be without interest to the reader.

A competent number of persons for each county were nominated and commissioned by the governor with power to take all manner of recognizances and obligations as any justices of the peace in the United States—all to be certified to the court of common pleas at the next session—except those for a felony, which belonged to the court of oyer and terminer. One or more justices of the peace, may hear and determine, by due course of law, any petty crimes and misdemeanors, where the punishment shall be fine only, not exceeding three dollars. Justices were required to commit the offender when a crime was perpetrated in their sight, without further testimony. All warrants to be under the hand and seal of the justice. Justices to have power to punish by fine, as provided in the statute, all assaults and batteries not of an aggravated nature; and cause to be arrested all affrayers, rioters and disturbers of the peace, and bind them over by recognizance, to appear at the next general court, or court of common pleas, to be held within the county, and to require such persons to give security. Justices of the peace to examine into all homicides, murders, treasons and felonies, done in their respective counties, and to commit to prison all persons suspected to be guilty of manslaughter, murder, treason, or other capital offense, and hold to bail all persons suspected to be guilty of lesser offenses; and require sureties for the good behavior of idle, vagrant, disorderly characters; swindlers and gamblers, as well as every description of disorderly and vagrant persons.

Courts.—Courts of common pleas were organized in each county, of three judges, any two of whom were a quorum. They were appointed and commissioned by the governor for and during good behavior. Said courts to hear and determine, according to the common law, all crimes and misdemeanors, the punishment whereof did not extend to life, limb, imprisonment for one year, or forfeiture of goods and chattels, lands and tenements. This court held pleas of *assize*, *scire facias*, *replevins*, and was empowered to hear and determine all manner of pleas, suits, actions and crimes, real, personal, and mixed, according to law. For the more speedy administration of justice, the court held six sessions annually.

If the court was not opened on the day appointed, the sheriff could adjourn from day to day for two days, and then until the next term.

Compensation of the judges of this court was two dollars and fifty cents per day, paid from the county levy.

This court had power to take all recognizances and obligations, and all cases not within their jurisdiction, to be certified to the next court of oyer and terminer. All fines to be duly and truly assessed according to the quality of the offense, without affection or partiality.

Criminals who had absconded from the counties to be brought back by warrant. Any person aggrieved may appeal to the general court. All writs issued to be in the name of the United States. Judges had power to grant under seal, *replevins*, *writs of partition*, *writs of view*, and all other writs and process, under said pleas and actions cognizable in said court, as occasion may require.

The court could issue subpœnas, under seal, and signed by any clerk, into any county in the territory, summoning any witness. The clerk of said court was appointed by the governor during good behavior.

The Supreme—styled *General Court*—was held twice a year, at Vincennes, on the first Tuesdays in April and September—had authority to issue writs of *habeas corpus*, *certiorari*, and writs of *error*. The members of the court were constituted *circuit* judges, and required to hold a circuit court once in each year in the counties of Dearborn, Clark, Randolph and St. Clair. This court was empowered to hear and determine all cases, matters and things, cognizable in said court; to examine and correct errors of inferior courts, and punish; to punish the "contempts, omissions, neglects, favors, corruptions and defaults of all justices of the peace, sheriffs, coroners, clerks, and all other officers; award process to collect all fines, forfeitures and amercements;" to hold courts of oyer and terminer, and general jail delivery. The governor was empowered to call a special term for capital offenses.

By the requisition of the Secretary of War, under the act of Congress of 1808, for arming and equipping one hundred thousand militia in the United States, Governor Lewis of the territory of Louisiana, made proclamation for raising and equipping three hundred and seventy-seven militia of the territory, which were duly apportioned in the counties of St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, and Arkansas.

On the 28th of June, 1809, Nicholas Jarrot, of Cahokia, who had just returned from Prairie du Chein, made affidavit, that the British agents and traders at that place, and on the frontiers of Canada, were stirring up the Indians, furnishing them with guns and ammunition, and preparing them for hostile demonstrations.

In November, a communication came from Messrs. Portier and Bleakly, of Prairie du Chein, denying the statements of M. Jarrot. They were persons implicated. About the same period, hostile demonstrations were made on the part of the Sac and Fox nations, against Fort Madison. During the same month, hostilities commenced between the Osages and Iowas; the latter having killed some of the former, not far from where Liberty is now situated, north of the Missouri river.

About this time, for some three or four years, great excitement 1810.] was caused in Ohio, by what was known under the name of the "Sweeping Resolutions." The legislature of Ohio had passed an act, giving justices of the peace jurisdiction, without the aid of a jury, in the first instance in the collection of debts, in all cases where the demand did not exceed fifty dollars. Inasmuch as by the constitution of the United States, all matters of claim, where the amount exceeds twenty dollars, are referred to a jury; and, inasmuch too, as anything in the laws or constitution of a State, contrary to the provisions of the national constitution, is utterly void, and of no effect, the judges of all the courts declared this act of the legislature void, and of no effect. This boldness of the judges aroused the anger of the legislators, and in order to punish the bold expounders of the law, the latter were impeached in the Senate, and removed from office. Three judges were in this way successively removed, in the years preceding 1809–10 for this cause. In the fall of 1809, however, the people did not elect "sweepers" (as the impeaching legislators were called,) enough to the Senate, to enable the House to carry an impeachment through the same, and a new plan was therefore devised for asserting the supremacy of the legislature. The doctrine was started, that in a short time it would be seven years since the constitution of Ohio went into operation, and certainly all civil officers ought to go out of office every seven years, and so have the field entirely cleared off for new aspirants to office; and accordingly, on the 7th of January, 1810, the great so called "Sweeping Resolution" was passed, which, with its preamble, reads as follows:

"Whereas, it is provided by the eighth section of the third article of the constitution of this State, that the judges of the supreme court, the presidents and associate judges of the court of common pleas, shall be appointed by joint ballot of both houses of the general assembly, and shall hold their offices for seven years, if so long they behave well; and whereas, the first general assembly of this State did appoint judges of the supreme court, presi-

dents and associate judges of the court of common pleas, many of whose offices have become vacant at different times, and elections have been had to fill vacancies; and whereas, the original term of office is about to expire, and it becomes necessary for the general assembly *to provide for that event:*

"Therefore, *Resolved*, by the general assembly of the State of Ohio, that the constitution of the State having limited and defined the term of office which the judges of the supreme court, the presidents and judges of the court of common pleas, the secretary of State, the auditor and treasurer of the State shall hold, and also the mode of filling vacancies by the legislature, it cannot, of right, be construed to extend beyond the end of the original term for which the first officers were appointed." *

This resolution, when passed, was sent to the Senate, and passed there on the 18th of January, 1810, and thus every civil officer in the State was at once swept out of office, and in the following month the legislature proceeded to fill some of the vacancies so made, and to order elections by the people of those officers who were so elected. Many of the counties had not been organized longer than three or four years, and many judges had not held office for two years, although the constitution makes the term seven years. By this means the whole State was thrown into confusion for a time; many of the old officers refused to give way to the new ones, and it was some time before the utter unconstitutionality of the proceedings of the legislature was seen and acknowledged all around, and peace and order again restored.

The hostile intentions of Tecumthe and his followers toward the United States, were placed beyond a doubt in 1810. The exciting causes were—the purchase at Fort Wayne in 1809, which the Shawanese denounced as illegal and unjust, and British influence. And here, as in 1790 to 1795, it is almost impossible to learn what really was the amount of British influence, and whence it proceeded; whether from the agents merely, or from higher authority. On the one hand there are many assertions like the following:—

VINCENNES, 26th June, 1810.†

Winemac assured me that the Prophet, not long since, proposed to the young men to murder the principal chiefs of all the tribes,

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* Atwater's History of Ohio. † Harrison Dispatches.

observing, that their hands would never be untied until this was effected; that these were the men who had sold their lands, and who would prevent them from opposing the encroachments of the white people.

An Iowa Indian informs me, that two years ago this summer, an agent from the British arrived at the Prophet's town, and, in his presence, delivered the message with which he was charged, the substance of which was, to urge the Prophet to unite as many tribes as he could against the United States, but not to commence hostlities until they gave the signal.

VINCENNES, July 18, 1810.

From the Iowas, I learn that the Sacs and Foxes have actually received the tomahawk, and are ready to strike whenever the Prophet gives the signal. A considerable number of the Sacs went, some time since, to see the British superintendent; and on the first instant, fifty more passed Chicago for the same destination. A Miami chief, who has just returned from his annual visit to Malden, after having received the accustomed donation of goods, was thus addressed by the British agent: "My son, keep your eyes fixed on me; my tomahawk is now up; be you ready, but do not strike until I give the signal."

VINCENNES, July 25th, 1810.

There can be no doubt of the designs of the Prophet and the British agent of Indian affairs, to do us injury. This agent is a refugee from the neighborhood of———, and his implacable hatred to his native country, prompted him to take part with the Indians, in the battle between them and General Wayne's army. He has, ever since his appointment to the principal agency, used his utmost endeavors to excite hostilities; and the lavish manner in which he is allowed to scatter presents among them, shows that his government participates in his enmity and authorizes his measures.

FORT WAYNE, August 7, 1810.

Since writing you on the 25th ultimo, about one hundred men of the Saukies have returned from the British agent, who supplied them liberally with everything they stood in want of. The party received forty-seven rifles, and a number of fusils, with plenty of powder and lead. This is sending fire-brands into the Mississippi country, inasmuch as it will draw numbers of our Indians to the British side, in the hope of being treated with the same liberality.

JOHN JOHNSTON, Indian Agent.

On the other hand, it is well known that Sir James Craig, the governor of Canada, wrote on the 25th of November, 1810, to Mr. Morier, the British Minister at Washington, authorizing him to inform the United States government that the northern savages were meditating hostilities; it is likewise known that in the following March, Sir James wrote to Lord Liverpool in relation to the Indians, and spoke of the information he had given the Americans, and that his conduct was approved, besides the repeated denial by the English minister at Washington, of any influence having been exerted over the frontier tribes adverse to the States, by the authority or with the knowledge of the English ministry, or the governor of Canada. These, disconnected with other circumstances, should acquit the *rulers* of Great Britain; but they do not show who, nor how high in authority the functionaries were who tried, as Tecumthe told Harrison, to set the red men, as dogs, upon the whites.

But, however the evil influence originated, certain it is that the determination was taken by "the successor of Pontiac," to unite all the western tribes in hostility to the United States, in case that power *would not give up the lands bought at Fort Wayne*, and undertake to recognize the principle, that no purchases *should be thereafter made unless from a council representing all the tribes united as one nation.* By various acts, the feelings of Tecumthe became more and more evident; but in August, he having visited Vincennes to see the governor, a council was held at which, and at a subsequent interview, the real position of affairs was clearly ascertained. Of that council, the account contained in Drake's life of the great chieftain is given:

"Governor Harrison had made arrangements for holding the council on the portico of his own house, which had been fitted up with seats for the occasion. Here, on the morning of the fifteenth, he awaited the arrival of the chief, being attended by the judges of the Supreme Court, some officers of the army, a sergeant and twelve men, from Fort Knox, and a large number of citizens.

"At the appointed hour, Tecumthe, supported by forty of his principal warriors, made his appearance, the remainder of his followers being encamped in the village and its environs. When the chief had approached within thirty or forty yards of the house, he suddenly stopped, as if awaiting some advances from the governor.

"An interpreter was sent requesting him and his followers to take seats on the portico. To this Tecumthe objected—he did not think the place a suitable one for holding the conference, but pre-

ferred that it should take place in a grove of trees—to which he pointed—standing a short distance from the house. The governor said he had no objection to the grove, except that there were no seats in it for accommodation.

"Tecumthe replied, that constituted no objection to the grove, the earth being the most suitable place for the Indians, who loved to repose upon the bosom of their mother. The governor yielded the point, and the benches and chairs having been removed to the spot, the conference was begun, the Indians being seated on the grass.

"Tecumthe opened the meeting by stating, at length, his objections to the treaty of Fort Wayne, made by Governor Harrison in the previous year; and in the course of his speech, boldly avowed the principle of his party to be, that of resistance to every cession of land, unless made by all the tribes, who, he contended, formed but one nation. He admitted that he had threatened to kill the chiefs who signed the treaty of Fort Wayne, and that it was his fixed determination not to permit the village chiefs, in future, to manage their affairs, but to place the power with which they had been heretofore invested, in the hands of the war chiefs.

"The Americans, he said, had driven the Indians from the sea coast, and would soon push them into the lakes; and, while he disclaimed all intention of making war upon the United States, he declared it to be his unalterable resolution to take a stand, and resolutely oppose the further intrusion of the whites upon the Indian lands. He concluded by making a brief but impassioned recital of the various wrongs and aggressions inflicted by the white men upon the Indians, from the commencement of the Revolutionary war down to the period of that council, all of which was calculated to arouse and inflame the minds of such of his followers as were present.

"To him the Governor replied, and having taken his seat, the interpreter commenced explaining the speech to Tecumthe, who, after listening to a portion of it, sprung to his feet and began to speak with great vehemence of manner.

"The governor was surprised at his violent gestures, but as he did not understand him, thought he was making some explanation, and suffered his attention to be drawn toward Winnemac, a friendly Indian lying on the grass before him, who was renewing the priming of his pistol, which he had kept concealed from the other Indians, but in full view of the governor.

"His attention, however, was again directed toward Tecumthe,

by hearing General Gibson, who was intimately acquainted with the Shawanee language, say to Lieutenant Jennings, 'those fellows intend mischief; you had better bring up the guard.'

"At that moment, the followers of Tecumthe seized their tomahawks and war clubs, and sprung upon their feet, their eyes turned upon the governor. As soon as he could disengage himself from the arm chair in which he sat, he rose, drew a small sword which he had by his side, and stood on the defensive.

"Captain G. R. Floyd, of the army, who stood near him, drew a dirk, and the chief Winnemac cocked his pistol. The citizens present were more numerous than the Indians, but were unarmed; some of them procured clubs and brick-bats, and also stood on the defensive. The Rev. Mr. Winans, a minister of the Methodist church, ran to the governor's house, got a gun, and posted himself at the door to defend the family.

"During this singular scene, no one spoke, until the guard came running up, and appearing to be in the act of firing, the governor ordered them not to do so. He then demanded of the interpreter an explanation of what had happened, who replied that Tecumthe had interrupted him, declaring that all the governor had said was false, and that he and the Seventeen Fires had cheated and imposed on the Indians.

"The Governor then told Tecumthe that he was a bad man, and that he would hold no further communication with him; that as he had come to Vincennes under the protection of a council-fire, he might return in safety, but that he must immediately leave the village.

"Here it was supposed the council would terminate. But early on the succeeding morning, the Shawanese chief appeared at the governor's residence, and desired another interview; and after making an apology for his conduct the day before, his request was complied with.

"Lest he should have a body of his followers secreted in the neighborhood, ready to join those who were with him, two companies of militia were mustered from the village and neighborhood, and ordered to parade morning and evening ready for action.

"The governor and several of his friends also attended the council, well armed. Tecumthe's conduct was upon this occasion, however, very different from what it had been at any previous meeting, and though firm and intrepid, he said nothing that was insolent.

"After finishing his speech, a Wyandot, a Kickapoo, a Pottawat-

tamie, an Ottawa, and a Winnebago, severally spoke; each declaring his tribe had entered into the Shawanese confederacy, and would support the principles laid down by Tecumthe, whom they had appointed their leader.

"The now undoubted purposes of the Northern Indians being of a character necessarily leading to war, Governor Harrison proceeded to strengthen himself for the contest, by preparing the militia, and posting the regular troops that were with him, under Captains Posey and Cross, at Vincennes.

"In a few days the Indians departed, and little more was heard from Tecumthe, the warrior, until next year. Meanwhile, his brother remained at Prophet's town, professing friendship for the frontier inhabitants; and, at one time previous to the warrior's last visit at Vincennes, he sent a message to Governor Harrison, asking that implements for building houses, as likewise farming utensils, be remitted from government, for the benefit of himself and others at their village."

With the close of the year 1810, western history is brought down to the very eve of the war with Great Britain, which, though an event that had "cast its shadow before," cannot be said to have its commencement until 1811, and it was therefore thought well to end the present period at this time.

The next period commences with the year 1811, and, after embracing the incidents of the war, and the intermediate events, it is extended to 1820, which may be said to bear the date of the commencement of State sovereignty west of the Mississippi, that being the year in which Missouri, the first State of the "Far West," was admitted into the Union.

PERIOD VII.

1811—1820.

During the first half of this year, while the difficulties with England made a war with her every day more probable, nothing took place to render a contest with the Indians any the less certain. In June, Harrison sent to the Shawanese leaders a message, bidding them beware of hostilities. To this Tecumthe gave a brief reply, promising the governor a visit.

It will be seen by the following, that his brother, the *Prophet*, made *his* first hostile demonstration soon afterward:

"June, 1811. The boat which was sent up the Wabash some time past, with the United States annuity of salt, for the Delaware, Miami, and Pottawattamie tribes of Indians, and a few barrels as a present to the Prophet, has returned without having accomplished the main object of its mission. Having proceeded as high up as the Prophet's town, they halted in order to leave that part destined for him. He at first refused to accept of it, but detained the boat until he would have a council of his chiefs; and after detaining them two days, he seized the whole cargo. So the Indians will not only suffer for want of salt, but may blame the government for faithlessness, in failing to deliver the article at the usual period.

"On being demanded the cause of his treachery and rash conduct, the Prophet gave no answer, or any explanation, but said his brother Tecumthe would visit the governor at Vincennes soon, and settle the affair with *him.*"*

Again, July 27th—

"For some days past very considerable alarm has existed in this place and vicinity, occasioned by the approach of the Shawanese chief, Tecumthe, the brother of the Prophet, accompanied by a great number of warriors. On the 28th he entered the town. His march here was performed leisurely, having been seven days occupied in traveling the last seventy miles."

Although the *ostensible* object of this visit was Tecumthe's going to the council, yet it was believed by many, that his real object

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* Western Sun of June 11, 1811.

was to intimidate the whites, by a show of his force, a belief that seems to gain strength from the unusual tardiness of his march.

This last council was still less satisfactory to the governor and citizens than the former one of August, 1810, because Tecumthe, on this occasion, acknowledged that he had already united the northern Indians, and furthermore, avowed his intention of proceeding south, on the errand of bringing the savages of that region into a league of offensive warfare, to reclaim their country.

Henceforth, nothing short of a speedy Indian war was anticipated, and on the 31st of July, during the session of the council, the citizens of Vincennes and its vicinity met in convention, and memorialized President Madison on the subject, though not so much for protection from a military force, as for permission to fight the Indians their own way.

The following letters furnish additional evidences of the state of affairs at that time, as being indicative of the impending war:

FORT WAYNE, February 8, 1811.

——— has been at this place. The information derived from him is the same I have been in possession of for several years, to wit: the intrigues of the British agents and partizans, in creating an influence hostile to our people and government, within our territory. I do not know whether a garrison is to be erected on the Wabash or not, but every consideration of sound policy urges the early establishment of a post, somewhere contiguous to the Prophet's residence.*

VINCENNES, 6th August, 1811.

The Shawanee chief, Tecumthe, has made a visit to this place, with about three hundred Indians, though he promised to bring but a few attendants; *his intentions are hostile*, though he found us prepared for him.

Tecumthe did not set out till yesterday; he then descended the Wabash, attended by twenty men, on his way to the southward. After having visited the Creeks and Choctaws, he is to visit the Osages, and return by the Missouri. The spies say, his object in coming with so many, was to demand a retrocession of the last purchase. At the moment he was promising to bring but few men with him, he was sending in every direction to collect his people. That he meditated a blow at this time, was believed by almost all the neutral Indians.†

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*Correspondence of Colonel Johnston, Indian agent.

†Governor Harrison's correspondence.

FORT WAYNE, August 18, 1811.

It appears that the fruit of the Shawanee Prophet, and his band, is making its appearance in more genuine colors than heretofore. I have lately had opportunities of seeing many of the Indians of this agency, from different quarters, and by what I have been able to learn from them, particularly the Pottawattamies, I am induced to believe the news circulating in the papers, respecting the depredations committed in the Illinois territory, by the Indians, is mostly correct, and is thought by them to have proceeded from Mar Poe, and the influence of the Shawanee Prophet. Several of the tribes have sent to me for advice.

VINCENNES, September 17, 1811.

——— states that almost every Indian from the country above this had been, or were then gone to Malden, on a visit to the British agent. We shall probably gain our destined point at the moment of their return. If then the British agents are really endeavoring to instigate the Indians to make war upon us, we shall be in their neighborhood at the very moment when the impressions which have been made against us are most active in the minds of the savages.

——— succeeded in getting the chiefs together at Fort Wayne, though he found them all preparing to go to Malden. The result of the council discovered that the whole tribes (including the Weas and Eel rivers, for they are all Miamies,) were about equally divided in favor of the Prophet, and the United States. Lapousier the Wea chief, whom I before mentioned to you as being seduced by the Prophet, was repeatedly asked by ——— what land it was that he was determined to defend with his blood; whether it was that which was ceded by the late treaty or not; but he would give no answer.

——— reports that all the Indians of the Wabash have been, or now are, on a visit to the British agents at Malden. He had never known one-fourth as many goods given to the Indians as they are now distributing. He examined the share of one man (not a chief,) and found that he had received an elegant rifle, twenty-five pounds of powder, fifty pounds of lead, three blankets, three trouds of cloth, ten shirts and several other articles. He says every Indian is furnished with a gun (either rifle or fusil) and an abundance of ammunition. A trader of this country was lately in the king's stores at Malden, and was told that the quantity of goods

for the Indian department, which had been sent out this year, exceeded that of common years by twenty thousand pounds sterling. It is impossible to ascribe this profusion to any other motive than that of instigating the Indians to take up the tomahawk. It cannot be to secure their trade; for all the peltry collected on the waters of the Wabash in one year, if sold in the London market, would not pay the freight of the goods which have been given to the Indians.

Harrison, meanwhile, had taken steps to increase his regular troops, and had received the promise of strong reinforcements, with orders, however, to be very backward in employing them unless in case of absolute need. Under these circumstances his plan as given to the Secretary of War upon the 1st of August was to again warn the Indians to obey the treaty at Greenville, but at the same time to prepare to break up the Prophet's establishment, if necessary.

Messages were sent out as proposed, and deputations from the natives followed, promising peace and compliance, but the governor, having received his reinforcements, commenced his proposed progress. On the 5th of October he was on the Wabash sixty or sixty-five miles above Vincennes, at which point he built "Fort Harrison." Here one of his sentinels was fired upon, and news was received from the friendly Delawares which made the hostile purposes of the Prophet plain. The governor then determined to move directly upon Tippecanoe, still offering peace, however. Upon the 31st of October he was near the mouth of the Vermillion river, where he built a block house for the protection of his boats, and a place of deposit for his heavy baggage.

The following account of the succeeding events is given by General Harrison himself in an official letter to the Secretary of War:

"VINCENNES, 18th November, 1811.

"SIR:—In my letter of the 8th inst., I did myself the honor to communicate the result of an action between the troops under my command and the confederation of Indians under the control of the Shawanee Prophet. I had previously informed you in a letter of the 2d inst., of my proceedings previous to my arrival at the Vermillion river, where I had erected a block house for the protection of the boats which I was obliged to leave, and as a depository for our heavy baggage, and such part of our provisions as we were unable to transport in wagons.

"On the morning of the 3d inst., I commenced my march from

the block house. The Wabash, above this, turning considerably to the eastward, I was obliged to avoid the broken and woody country, which borders upon it, to change my course to the westward of north, to gain the prairies which lie to the back of those woods. At the end of one day's march, I was enabled to take the proper direction, (N. E.) which brought me, on the evening of the 5th, to a small creek, at about eleven miles from the Prophet's town. I had, on the preceding day, avoided the dangerous pass of Pine creek, by inclining a few miles to the left, where the troops and wagons were crossed with expedition and safety. Our route on the 6th, for about six miles, lay through prairies, separated by small points of woods.

"My order of march hitherto had been similar to that used by General Wayne; that is, the infantry were in two columns of files on either side of the road, and the mounted rifle men and cavalry in front, in the rear and on the flanks. Where the ground was unfavorable for the action of cavalry, they were placed in the rear; but where it was otherwise, they were made to exchange positions with one of the mounted rifle corps.

"Understanding that the last four miles were open woods, and the probability being greater that we should be attacked in front, than on either flank, I halted at that distance from the town, and formed the army in order of battle. The United States infantry placed in the centre, two companies of militia infantry, and one of mounted riflemen, on each flank, formed the front line. In the rear of this line was placed the baggage, drawn up as compactly as possible, and immediately behind it, a reserve of three companies of militia infantry. The cavalry formed a second line, at the distance of three hundred yards in the rear of the front line, and a company of mounted riflemen, the advanced guard at that distance in front. To facilitate the march, the whole were then broken off into short columns of companies—a situation the most favorable for forming in order of battle with facility and precision.

"Our march was slow and cautious, and much delayed by the examination of every place which seemed calculated for an ambuscade. Indeed the ground was for some time so unfavorable, that I was obliged to change the position of the several corps three times in the distance of a mile. At half past two o'clock, we passed a small creek at the distance of one mile and a half from town, and entered an open wood, when the army was halted, and again drawn up in order of battle.

"During the whole of the last day's march, parties of Indians

were constantly about us, and every effort was made by the interpreters to speak to them, but in vain. New attempts of the kind were now made, but proving equally ineffectual, a Captain Dubois, of the spies and guides, offering to go with a flag to the town, I dispatched him with an interpreter, to request a conference with the Prophet. In a few moments a messenger was sent by Captain Dubois, to inform me that in his attempts to advance, the Indians appeared on both his flanks, and although he had spoken to them in the most friendly manner, they refused to answer, but beckoned to him to go forward, and constantly endeavored to cut him off from the army. Upon this information I recalled the captain, and determined to encamp for the night, and take some other measures for opening a conference with the Prophet.

"Whilst I was engaged in tracing the lines for the encampment, Major Daviess, who commanded the dragoons, came to inform me that he had penetrated the Indian fields; that the ground was entirely open and favorable; that the Indians in front had manifested nothing but hostility, and had answered every attempt to bring them to a parley with contempt and insolence. I was immediately advised by all the officers around me to move forward; a similar wish, indeed, pervaded all the army. It was drawn up in excellent order, and every man appeared eager to decide the contest immediately.

"Being informed that a good encampment might be had upon the Wabash, I yielded to what appeared the general wish, and directed the troops to advance, taking care, however, to place the interpreters in front, with directions to invite a conference with any Indians they might meet with. We had not advanced above four hundred yards, when I was informed that three Indians had approached the advanced guard, and had expressed a wish to speak to me. I found, upon their arrival, that one of them was a man in great estimation with the Prophet. He informed me that the chiefs were much surprised at my advancing upon them so rapidly; that they were given to understand, by the Delawares and Miamies, whom I had sent to them a few days before, that I would not advance to their town, until I had received an answer to my demands made through them; that this answer had been dispatched by the Pottawattamie chief, Winnemac, who had accompanied the Delawares and Miamies, on their return; that they had left the Prophet's town two days before, with a design to meet me, but had unfortunately taken the road on the south side of the Wabash.

"I answered that I had no intention of attacking them, until I discovered that they would not comply with the demands that I

had made; that I would go on, and encamp at the Wabash; and in the morning would have an interview with the Prophet and his chiefs, and explain to them the determination of the President; that in the meantime, no hostilities should be committed. He seemed much pleased with this, and promised that it should be observed on their part. I then resumed my march. We struck the cultivated ground about five hundred yards below the town, but as these extended to the bank of the Wabash, there was no possibility of getting an encampment which was provided with both wood and water.

"My guides and interpreters being still with the advanced guard, and taking the direction of the town, the army followed, and had advanced within about one hundred and fifty yards, when fifty or sixty Indians sallied out, and with loud acclamations called to the cavalry and to the militia infantry, which were on our right flank, to halt. I immediately advanced to the front, caused the army to halt, and directed an interpreter to request some of the chiefs to come to me.

"In a few moments, the man who had been with me before, made his appearance. I informed him that my object for the present was to procure a good piece of ground to encamp on, where we could get wood and water; he informed me that there was a creek to the north-west, which he thought would suit our purpose. I immediately dispatched two officers to examine it, and they reported the situation was excellent. I then took leave of the chief, and a mutual promise was again made for a suspension of hostilities until we could have an interview on the following day.

"I found the ground destined for the encampment not altogether such as I could wish it—it was indeed admirably calculated for the encampment of regular troops, that were opposed to regulars, but it afforded great facility to the approach of savages. It was a piece of dry oak land, rising about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front, (toward the Indian town,) and nearly twice that height above a similar prairie in the rear, through which, and near to this bank, ran a small stream, clothed with willows and brush-wood. Toward the left flank, this bench of high land widened considerably, but became gradually narrow in the opposite direction, and at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank, terminated in an abrupt point.

"The two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear of this ground, at the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from each other on the left, and something more than half that distance

on the right flank—these flanks were filled up, the first by two companies of mounted riflemen, amounting to about one hundred and twenty men, under the command of Major-General Wells, of the Kentucky militia, who served as a major; the other by Spencer's company of mounted riflemen, which amounted to eighty men.

"The front line was composed of one battalion of United States infantry, under the command of Major Floyd, flanked on the right by two companies of militia, and on the left by one company. The rear line was composed of a battalion of United States troops, under the command of Captain Bean, acting as major, and four companies of militia infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Decker.

"The regular troops of this line joined the mounted riflemen, under General Wells, on the left flank, and Col. Decker's battalion formed an angle with Spencer's company on the left.

"Two troops of dragoons, amounting to, in the aggregate, about sixty men, were encamped in the rear of the left flank, and Captain Parke's troop, which was larger than the other two, in the rear of the front line. Our order of encampment varied little from that above described, excepting when some peculiarity of the ground made it necessary.

"For a night attack, the order of encampment was the order of battle, and each man slept immediately opposite to his post in the line. In the formation of my troops, I used a single rank, or what is called Indian file—because in Indian warfare, where there is no shock to resist, one rank is nearly as good as two, and in that kind of warfare, the extension of line is of the first importance. Raw troops also maneuver with much more facility in single than in double ranks.

"It was my constant custom to assemble all the field officers at my tent every evening by signal, to give them the watchword, and their instructions for the night—those given for the night of the 6th were, that each troop which formed a part of the exterior line of the encampment, should hold its own ground until relieved.

"The dragoons were ordered to parade in case of a night attack, with their pistols in their belts, and to act as a corps de reserve. The camp was defended by two captains' guards, consisting each of four non-commissioned officers and forty-two privates; and two subalterns' guards, of twenty non-commissioned officers and privates. The whole under the command of a field officer of the day. The troops were regularly called up an hour before day, and made to continue under arms until it was quite light.

"On the morning of the 7th, I had risen at a quarter after four

o'clock, and the signal for calling out the men would have been given in two minutes, when the attack commenced. It began on our left flank—but a signal gun was fired by the sentinels, or by the guard in that direction, which made not the least resistance, but abandoned their officer, and fled into camp, and the first notice which the troops of that flank had of the danger, was from the yells of the savages within a short distance of the line—but even under those circumstances the men were not wanting to themselves or the occasion.

"Such of them as were awake, or were easily awakened, seized their arms, and took their stations; others which were more tardy, had to contend with the enemy in the doors of their tents. The storm first fell upon Captain Barton's company of the 4th United States regiment, and Captain Geiger's company of mounted riflemen, which formed the left angle of the rear line. The fire upon these was exceedingly severe, and they suffered considerably before relief could be brought to them.

"Some few Indians passed into the encampment near the angle, and one or two penetrated to some distance before they were killed. I believe all the other companies were under arms, and tolerably formed before they were fired on.

"The morning was dark and cloudy; our fires afforded a partial light, which, if it gave us some opportunity of taking our positions, was still more advantageous to the enemy, affording them the means of taking a surer aim; they were therefore extinguished. Under all these discouraging circumstances, the troops (nineteen-twentieths of whom had never been in action before,) behaved in a manner that can never be too much applauded. They took their places without noise, and less confusion than could have been expected from veterans placed in the same situation.

"As soon as I could mount my horse, I rode to the angle that was attacked—I found that Barton's company had suffered severely and the left of Geiger's entirely broken. I immediately ordered Cook's company and the late Captain Wentworth's, under Lieutenant Peters, to be brought up from the center of the rear line, where the ground was much more defensible, and formed across the angle in support of Barton's and Geiger's.

"My attention was then engaged by a heavy firing upon the left of the front line, where were stationed the small company of United States' riflemen, (then, however, armed with muskets) and the companies of Bean, Snelling, and Prescott, of the 4th regiment. I found Major Daviess forming the dragoons in the rear

of those companies, and understanding that the heaviest part of the enemy's fire proceeded from some trees about fifteen or twenty paces in front of those companies, I directed the major to dislodge them with a part of the dragoons.

"Unfortunately the major's gallantry determined him to execute the order with a smaller force than was sufficient, which enabled the enemy to avoid him in front and attack his flanks. The major was mortally wounded, and his party driven back. The Indians were, however, immediately and gallantly dislodged from their advantageous position, by Captain Snelling, at the head of his company.

"In the course of a few minutes after the commencement of the attack, the fire extended along the left flank, the whole of the front, the right flank, and part of the rear line. Upon Spencer's mounted riflemen, and the right of Warwick's company, which was posted on the rear of the right line, it was excessively severe. Captain Spencer and his first and second lieutenants, were killed, and Captain Warwick was mortally wounded—those companies, however, still bravely maintained their posts, but Spencer had suffered so severely, and having originally too much ground to occupy, I reinforced them with Robb's company of riflemen, which had been driven back, or by mistake ordered from their position on the left flank, toward the center of the camp, and filled the vacancy that had been occupied by Robb with Prescott's company of the 4th United States regiment.

"My great object was to keep the lines entire, to prevent the enemy from breaking into the camp until daylight, which should enable me to make a general and effectual charge. With this view, I had reinforced every part of the line that had suffered much; and as soon as the approach of morning discovered itself, I withdrew from the front line, Snelling's, Posey's (under Lieutenant Albright,) and Scott's, and from the rear line, Wilson's companies, and drew them up upon the left flank, and at the same time, I ordered Cook's and Bean's companies, the former from the rear, and the latter from the front line, to reinforce the right flank; forseeing that at these points the enemy would make their last efforts.

"Major Wells, who commanded on the left flank, not knowing my intentions precisely, had taken command of these companies, and charged the enemy before I had formed the body of dragoons with which I meant to support the infantry; a small detachment of these were, however, ready, and proved amply sufficient for the purpose.

"The Indians were driven by the infantry, at the point of the bayonet, and the dragoons pursued and forced them into a marsh, where they could not be followed. Captain Cook and Lieutenant Larabee had, agreeable to my order, marched their companies to the right flank, had formed them under the fire of the enemy, and being then joined by the riflemen of that flank, had charged the Indians, killed a number, and put the rest to precipitate flight. A favorable opportunity was here offered to pursue the enemy with dragoons, but being engaged at that time on the other flank, I did not observe it till it was too late.

"I have thus, sir, given you the particulars of an action, which was certainly maintained with the greatest obstinacy and perseverance, by both parties. The Indians manifested a ferocity uncommon even with them—to their savage fury our troops opposed that cool, and deliberate valor, which is characteristic of the Christian soldier."*

The Americans in this battle had not more than seven hundred efficient men,—non-commissioned officers and privates; the Indians are believed to have had seven hundred or one thousand warriors. The loss of the American army was thirty-seven killed on the field, twenty-five mortally wounded, and one hundred and twenty-six wounded; that of the Indians about forty killed on the spot, the number of wounded being unknown.

Governor Harrison, although very generally popular, had enemies, and after the battle of Tippecanoe they denounced him, for suffering the Indians to point out his camping ground; for allowing himself to be surprised by his enemy; and, because he sacrificed either Daviess or Owen, (accounts differed,) by placing one or the other on a favorite white horse of his own, which caused the savages to make the rider an especial mark. To these charges elaborate replies have been made: justice cannot do more than say, to the first, that although, as Harrison relates, the Indians pointed out the creek upon which was the site of his encampment, his own officers found, examined, and approved that particular site, and other military men have since approved their selection; to the next, the only reply needed is, that the facts were just as stated in the dispatch which has been quoted; and to the third, that Daviess was killed on foot, and Owen on a horse not General Harrison's: the last story probably arose from the fact that Major Taylor, a

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* American State Papers, v. 777, 778.

fellow aid of Owen, was mounted on a horse of the Governor's; but Taylor was not injured, though the horse he rode was killed under him.

The battle of Tippecanoe was fought upon the 7th of November. In a few weeks afterward, Harrison addressed the Secretary of War as follows:

"VINCENNES, 4th December, 1811.

"I have the honor to inform you that two principal chiefs of the Kickapoos of the Prairies arrived here, bearing a flag, on the evening before last. They informed me that they came in consequence of a message from a chief of that part of the Kickapoos which had joined the Prophet, requiring them to do so, and that the said chief is to be here himself in a day or two. The account which they give of the late confederacy, under the Prophet, is as follows: 'The Prophet, with his Shawanese, is at a small Huron village, about twelve miles from his former residence, on this side of the Wabash, where, also, were twelve or fifteen Hurons. The Kickapoos are encamped near to the Tippecanoe. The Pottawattamies have scattered and gone to different villages of that tribe. The Winnebagoes had all set out on their return to their own country, excepting one chief and nine men, who remained at their former village. The latter had attended Tecumthe in his tour to the northward, and had only returned to the Prophet's town the day before the action. The Prophet had sent a messenger to the Kickapoos of the Prairie, to request that he might be permitted to retire to their town. This was positively refused, and a warning sent to him not to come there. He then sent to request that four of his men might attend the Kickapoo chief here—this was also refused. These chiefs say, on the whole, that all the tribes who lost warriors in the late action, attribute their misfortune to the Prophet alone; that they constantly reproach him with their misfortunes, and threaten him with death; that they are all desirous of making their peace with the United States, and will send deputations to me for that purpose, as soon as they are informed that they will be well received. The two chiefs further say, that they were sent by Governor Howard and General Clarke, sometime before the action, to endeavor to bring off the Kickapoos from the Prophet's town; that they used their best endeavors to effect it, but unsuccessfully. That the Prophet's followers were fully impressed with the belief that they could defeat us with ease; that it was their intention to have attacked us at Fort Harrison, if we had gone no higher; that Racoon creek was then fixed on, and finally Pine creek; and that the latter

would probably had been the place, if the usual route had not been abandoned, and a crossing made higher up; that the attack made on our sentinels at Fort Harrison, was intended to shut the door against accommodation; that the Winnebagoes had forty warriors killed in the action, and the Kickapoos eleven, and ten wounded. They have never heard how many of the Pottawattamies and other tribes were killed; that the Pottawattamie chief left by me on the battle ground, is since dead of his wounds, but that he faithfully delivered my speech to the different tribes, and warmly urged them to abandon the Prophet, and submit to my terms.'

"I cannot say, sir, how much of the above may be depended on. I believe, however, that the statement made by the chiefs is generally correct, particularly with regard to the present disposition of the Indians. It is certain that our frontiers have never enjoyed more profound tranquillity than at this time. No injury of any kind, that I can hear of, has been done, either to the persons or property of our citizens. Before the expedition, not a fortnight passed over, without some vexatious depredations being committed.

"The Kickapoo chiefs certainly tell an untruth, when they say that there were but eleven of their tribe killed, and ten wounded; it is impossible to believe that fewer were wounded than killed. They acknowledge, however, that the Indians have never sustained so severe a defeat since their acquaintance with the white people."

During this year two events took place, beside the battle of Tippecanoe, which make it especially noticeable in the history of the West; the one was, the building of the steamer New Orleans, the first boat built beyond the Alleghenies; the other was the series of earthquakes which destroyed New Madrid, and affected the whole valley. Of the latter event, the following description is from the pen of Dr. Hildreth:*

"The first shock was felt in the night of the 16th of December, 1811, and was repeated at intervals, with decreasing violence, into February following. New Madrid, having suffered more than any other town on the Mississippi from its effects, was considered as situated near the focus from whence the undulations proceeded. The center of its violence was thought to be near the Little Prairie, twenty-five or thirty miles below New Madrid; the vibrations from which were felt all over the valley of the Ohio, as high up as Pittsburgh.

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* Dawson, 204 to 208.—McAfee's History of the War, 18 to 38.

"From an eye-witness, who was then about forty miles below that town, in a flat boat, on his way to New Orleans with a load of produce, and who narrated the scene to me, the agitation which convulsed the earth and the waters of the mighty Mississippi filled every living creature with horror. The first shock took place in the night, while the boat was lying at the shore in company with several others. At this period there was danger apprehended from the southern Indians, it being soon after the battle of Tippecanoe, and for safety several boats kept in company, for mutual defense in case of an attack.

"In the middle of the night there was a terrible shock and jarring of the boats, so that the crews were all awakened and hurried on deck with their weapons of defense in their hands, thinking the Indians were rushing on board. The ducks, geese, swans, and various other aquatic birds, whose numberless flocks were quietly resting in the eddies of the river, were thrown into the greatest tumult, and with loud screams expressed their alarm in accents of terror.

"The noise and commotion soon became hushed, and nothing could be discovered to excite apprehension, so that the boatmen concluded that the shock was occasioned by the falling in of a large mass of the bank of the river near them. As soon as it was light enough to distinguish objects, the crews were all up making ready to depart.

"Directly a loud roaring and hissing was heard, like the escape of steam from a boiler, accompanied by the most violent agitation of the shores and tremendous boiling up of the waters of the Mississippi in huge swells, rolling the waters below back on the descending stream, and tossing the boats about so violently that the men with difficulty could keep on their feet. The sandbars and points of the islands gave way, swallowed up in the tumultuous bosom of the river; carrying down with them the cottonwood trees, cracking and crashing, tossing their arms to and fro, as if sensible of their danger, while they disappeared beneath the flood.

"The water of the river, which the day before was tolerably clear, being rather low, changed to a reddish hue, and became thick with mud thrown up from its bottom; while the surface, lashed violently by the agitation of the earth beneath, was covered with foam, which, gathering into masses the size of a barrel, floated along on the trembling surface. The earth on the shores opened in wide fissures, and closing again, threw the water, sand and mud, in huge jets, higher than the tops of the trees.

"The atmosphere was filled with a thick vapor or gas, to which the light imparted a purple tinge, altogether different in appearance from the autumnal haze of Indian summer, or that of smoke. From the temporary check to the current, by the heaving up of the bottom, the sinking of the banks and sandbars into the bed of the stream, the river rose in a few minutes five or six feet; and, impatient of the restraint, again rushed forward with redoubled impetuosity, hurrying along the boats, now set loose by the horror-struck boatmen, as in less danger on the water than at the shore, where the banks threatened every moment to destroy them by the falling earth, or carry them down in the vortices of the sinking masses.

"Many boats were overwhelmed in this manner, and their crews perished with them. It required the utmost exertions of the men to keep the boat, of which my informant was the owner, in the middle of the river, as far from the shores, sandbars and islands as they could. Numerous boats wrecked on the snags and old trees thrown up from the bottom of the Mississippi, where they had quietly rested for ages, while others were sunk or stranded on the sandbars and islands. At New Madrid several boats were carried by the reflux of the current into a small stream that puts into the river just above the town, and left on the ground by the returning water a considerable distance from the Mississippi.

"A man who belonged to one of the company boats, was left for several hours on the upright trunk of an old snag in the middle of the river, against which his boat was wrecked and sunk. It stood with the roots a few feet above the water, and to these he contrived to attach himself, while every fresh shock threw the agitated waves against him, and kept gradually settling the tree deeper into the mud at the bottom, bringing him nearer and nearer to the deep muddy waters, which, to his terrified imagination, seemed desirous of swallowing him up. While hanging here, calling with piteous shouts for aid, several boats passed by without being able to relieve him, until finally a skiff was well manned, rowed a short distance above him, and dropped down stream close to the snag, from which he tumbled into the boat as she floated by.

"The scenes which occurred for several days, during the repeated shocks, were horrible. The most destructive ones took place in the beginning, although they were repeated for many weeks, becoming lighter and lighter, until they died away in slight vibrations, like the jarring of steam in an immense boiler. The sulphurated gases that were discharged during the shocks, tainted the air with

their noxious effluvia, and so strongly impregnated the water of the river, to the distance of one hundred and fifty miles below, that it could hardly be used for any purpose for a number of days.

"New Madrid, which stood on a bluff bank, fifteen or twenty feet above the summer floods, sunk so low that the next rise covered it to the depth of five feet. The bottoms of several fine lakes in the vicinity were elevated so as to become dry land, and have since been planted with corn!" *

To this interesting sketch by Dr. Hildreth, we append a few particulars.

In the town of Cape Girardeau, were several edifices of stone and brick. The walls of these buildings were cracked, in some instances from the ground to the top, and wide fissures were left.

"*The great shake*," as the people call it, was so severe in the county of St. Louis, that domestic fowls fell from the trees as if dead; crockery fell from the shelves and was broken, and many families left their cabins, from fear of being crushed beneath their ruins.

Mr. Bradbury, an English scientific explorer, who was on a keel boat passing down the river at the time, says:

"On the night of the 15th of December, the keel boat was moored to a small island, not far from Little Prairie, where the crew, all Frenchmen, were frightened, almost to helplessness, by the terrible convulsions.

"Immediately after the shock, we noticed the time, and found it near two o'clock in the morning of the 16th. In half an hour another shock came on, terrible, indeed, but not equal to the first." This shock made a chasm in the island, four feet wide and eighty yards in length. After noticing successive shocks, the writer states: "I had already noticed that the sound which was heard at the time of every shock, always preceded it at least a second, and that it always proceeded from the same point, and went off in an opposite direction. I now found that the shock came from a little northward of east, and proceeded to the westward. At daylight we had counted twenty-seven shocks, during our stay on the island." †

B. further records a series of shocks that continued daily, as he passed down the river, until the 21st of December.

The late L. F. Linn, in a letter to the Chairman of the Committee

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* American Pioneer, i. 129.

† Travels in the Interior of America, by John Bradbury, pp. 199–207.

on Commerce, dated February 1st, 1836, "relative to the obstructions to the navigation of the White, Big Black, and St. Francis rivers," has given a lucid geographical and descriptive sketch of this part of Missouri, from which is given a brief extract.

"The memorable earthquake of December, 1811, after shaking the valley of the Mississippi to its center, vibrated along the courses of the rivers and valleys, and passing the primitive mountain barriers, died away along the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. In the region now under consideration, during the continuance of so appalling a phenomenon, which commenced by distant rumbling sounds, succeeded by discharges as if a thousand pieces of artillery were suddenly exploded, the earth rocked *to and fro*, vast chasms opened, from whence issued columns of water, sand, and coal, accompanied by hissing sounds, caused, perhaps, by the escape of pent-up steam, while ever and anon flashes of electricity gleamed through the troubled clouds of night, rendering the darkness doubly horrible.

"The current of the Mississippi, pending this elemental strife, was driven back upon its source with the greatest velocity for several hours, in consequence of an elevation of its bed. But this noble river was not thus to be stayed in its course. Its accumulated waters came booming on, and, o'ertopping the barrier thus suddenly raised, carried every thing before them with resistless power. Boats, then floating on the surface, shot down the declivity like an arrow from a bow, amid roaring billows, and the wildest commotion.

"A few days' action of its powerful current sufficed to wear away every vestige of the barrier thus strangely interposed, and its waters moved on in their wonted channel to the ocean. The day that succeeded this night of terror, brought no solace in its dawn. Shock followed shock; a dense black cloud of vapor overshadowed the land, through which no struggling sumbeam found its way to cheer the desponding heart of man, who, in silent communion with himself, was compelled to acknowledge his weakness and dependence on the everlasting God.

"The appearances that presented themselves after the subsidence of the principal commotion, were such as strongly support an opinion heretofore advanced. Hills had disappeared, and lakes were found in their stead; and numerous lakes became elevated ground, over the surface of which vast heaps of sand were scattered in every direction, while in many places the earth for miles was sunk below the general level of the surrounding country, without

being covered with water, leaving an *impression in miniature of a catastrophe much more important in its effects, which had, perhaps, preceded it ages before.*

"One of the lakes formed on this occasion is sixty or seventy miles in length, and from three to twenty in breadth. It is in some places very shallow; in others, from fifty to one hundred feet deep, which is much more than the depth of the Mississippi river in that quarter. In sailing over its surface in a light canoe, the voyager is struck with astonishment at beholding the giant trees of the forest standing partially exposed amid a waste of waters, branchless and leafless.

"But the wonder is still further increased, on casting the eye on the dark-blue profound, to observe cane-brakes covering its bottom, over which a mammoth species of testudo is seen dragging its slow length along, while countless myriads of fish are sporting through the aquatic thickets."*

In the midst of this terrible convulsion, the first of western steamers was pursuing her way toward the south. But before mentioning her progress, the reader should be informed of the discovery of steam power, as likewise its application to utilitarian purposes.

In 1781, the invention of Watts' double-acting engine was made public, and in 1784 it was perfected.† Previous to this time many attempts had been made to apply steam to navigation, but, from want of a proper engine, all had been failures; and the first efforts to apply the new machine to boats were made in America, by John Fitch and James Rumsey.

The conception by Fitch, if the statement made by Robert Wickliffe is reliable, was formed as early as June, 1780, anterior to the announcement of Watts' discovery of the double-acting engine, though eleven years after his single engine had been patented.

This conception Fitch said he communicated to Rumsey. The latter gentleman, however, proposed a plan so entirely different from that of his fellow countrymen, (a plan which he is said to have originated in 1782 or '83,) that he cannot be considered a plagiarist. The idea of steam navigation was not new; it was the question—How shall we use the steam? which was to be so answered as to immortalize the successful respondents:—and to this question Fitch replied, By using Watts' engine so as to propel a system of

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* Wetmore's Gazatteer, pp. 139, 140.

†Renwick on Steam Engine, 260.

paddles at the sides of the boat; while Rumsey said, By applying the old atmospheric engine, to pump up water at the bow, and force it out at the stern of your vessel, and so drive her by water acting upon water. Referring, therefore, to the authorities quoted below, relative to Fitch and others, it must be given up that all failed until Fulton, in 1807, launched his vessel upon the Hudson. Fitch's failure, however, was not from any fault in his principle; and had his knowledge of mechanics equaled Fulton's, or had his means been more ample, or had he tried his boat on the Hudson, where coaches could not compete with him, as they did on the level banks of the Delaware, there can be no doubt that he would have entirely succeeded, twenty years before his plans were realized by another.

In the Columbian Magazine, published in Philadelphia, about the year 1786, is a plate showing the steamboat made by Fitch, with its paddles, and a description of its action, on the Delaware. If John Fitch had received the patronage necessary, it is probable his boat would have been successful.

When Fulton had at length attained, by slow degrees, success upon the Hudson, he began to look elsewhere for other fields of action, and the west, which had attracted the attention of both of his American predecessors, could not fail to catch his eye. Mr. Latrobe, who spoke, as will be seen, by authority, says:—

"The complete success attending the experiments in steam navigation made on the Hudson and the adjoining waters previous to the year 1809, turned the attention of the principal projectors to the idea of its application on the western rivers; and in the month of April of that year, Mr. Roosevelt, of New York, pursuant to an agreement with Chancellor Livingston and Mr. Fulton, visited those rivers, with the purpose of forming an opinion whether they admitted of steam navigation or not.

"At this time two boats, the North River and the Clermont, were running on the Hudson. Mr. R. surveyed the rivers from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, and as his report was favorable, it was decided to build a boat at the former town.

"This was done under his direction, and in the course of 1811 the first boat was launched on the waters of the Ohio. It was called the "New Orleans," and intended to ply between Natchez, in the State of Mississippi, and the city whose name it bore.

"In October it left Pittsburgh for its experimental voyage. On this occasion no freight or passengers were taken, the object being merely to bring the boat to her station. Mr. R., his young wife

and family, Mr. Baker, the engineer, Andrew Jack, the pilot, and six hands, with a few domestics, formed her whole burden. There were no wood-yards at that time, and constant delays were unavoidable.

"When, as related, Mr. R. had gone down the river to reconnoitre, he had discovered two beds of coal, about one hundred and twenty miles below the rapids of Ohio, at Louisville, and now took tools to work them, intending to load the vessel with the coal, and to employ it as fuel, instead of constantly detaining the boat while wood was procured from the banks.

"Late at night on the fourth day after quitting Pittsburgh, they arrived in safety at Louisville, having been but seventy hours descending upwards of six hundred miles.

"The novel appearance of the vessel, and the fearful rapidity with which it made its passage over the broad reaches of the river, excited a mixture of terror and surprise among many of the settlers on the banks, whom the rumor of such an invention had never reached; and it is related that on the unexpected arrival of the boat before Louisville, in the course of a fine still moonlight night, the extraordinary sound which filled the air as the pent-up steam was suffered to escape from the valves, on rounding to, produced a general alarm, and multitudes in the town rose from their beds to ascertain the cause.

"I have heard that the general impression among the good Kentuckians was, that the comet had fallen into the Ohio; but this does not rest upon the same foundation as the other facts which I lay before you, and which I may at once say, I had directly from the lips of the parties themselves.

"The small depth of water in the rapids prevented the boat from pursuing her voyage immediately; and during the consequent detention of three weeks in the upper part of the Ohio, several trips were successfully made between Louisville and Cincinnati. In fine the waters rose, and in the course of the last week in November, the voyage was resumed, the depth of water barely admitting their passage."

This steamer, after being nearly overwhelmed with the earthquakes, reached Natchez at the close of the first week of January, 1812.

The year 1811 was marked by the occurrence of various events of an uncommon nature, which exerted a combined influence, to throw a shade over the spirits of the people.

Early in September, a comet made its appearance in the northern

part of the heavens, and passing across our hemisphere, disappeared at the south, toward the end of the year. This created a feeling of alarm in the minds of very many, of the less enlightened at least, who looked upon it as an ominous forerunner of dire misfortunes to come.

This alarm, where it existed, was increased on the 17th of September, on which day there was an annular eclipse of the sun, which lasted from about twelve until half past three o'clock, and afforded a solemnly grand and impressive sight. The day was remarkably serene, and the sky cloudless, so that the contrast between the brightness before and the almost twilight darkness, during the height of the eclipse, was peculiarly striking.

Next came a circumstance, which, though it affected none but the most ignorant and superstitious, had yet its force, in fostering the gloomy apprehensions that were already existing. About the 1st of October, an impostor named Hughes, who had been imprisoned in south-west Virginia, on a charge of larceny, pretended, while in confinement, to have been entranced, and in that supernatural state to have had a revelation, foretelling the destruction of *one-third* of mankind, which was to take place on the 4th of June, 1812. The idea having been taken up by a certain ingenious and visionary young lawyer, was dressed up by him in the shape of a seemingly plausible story, and published in pamphlet form, adorned with sundry yankee pictures of horrible sights, portraying the dire calamity. It found an immense circulation, especially in the south-west.

Soon after, (on the 7th of November,) was fought the battle of Tippecanoe, which had brought grief and distress into almost every family of the West, as there were but few who had not some relative or intimate friend among the gallant slain or wounded; and on the 15th and 16th of December followed the extraordinary earthquake, already described.

Added to all these, was, on the 24th or 26th of December, the burning of the theatre at Richmond, Virginia, which took place while the house was filled with an audience of most respectable citizens. The flames spread with such terrific rapidity, that the people had not time to escape, and some seventy persons lost their lives—some being burnt, and others crushed to death in the escaping crowd. The accident was so heart-rending, and excited such a lively interest, that it served to throw a shade of grief, for a time, over the whole country.

In addition to these circumstances, the unmistakable evidence

of an approaching Indian war, were peculiarly calculated to alarm the people of the West, among whom, at the close of the year, there existed a universal feeling of gloom and consternation.

Although Harrison had written about the close of the last year that 1812.] "*the frontiers never enjoyed more perfect repose*," it is evident that a disposition to do mischief was by no means extinguished among the savages.

At the time of the battle of Tippecanoe, Tecumthe, the master spirit in Indian diplomacy, was amongst the southern Indians, to bring them into the grand confederacy he had projected. On his return, where he supposed he had made a strong and permanent impression, a few days after the disastrous battle, when he saw the dispersion of his followers, the disgrace of his brother, and the destruction of his long cherished hopes, he was exceedingly angry. The rash presumptuousness of the Prophet, in attacking the American army at Tippecanoe, destroyed his own power, and crushed the grand confederacy before it was completed.

When Tecumthe first met the Prophet, he reproached him in the bitterest terms, and when the latter attempted to palliate his conduct, he seized him by the hair, shook him violently, and threatened to take his life.

Tecumthe immediately sent word to Governor Harrison, that he had returned from the south, and that he was ready to visit the president, as had been previously proposed. The governor gave him permission to proceed to Washington, but not as the leader of a party of Indians, as he desired. The proud chief, who had appeared at Vincennes in 1811, with a large party of braves, had no desire to appear before his "Great Father," the president, without his retinue. The proposed visit was declined, and the intercourse between Tecumthe and the governor terminated.

In June, he sought an interview with the Indian agent at Fort Wayne; disavowed any intention of making war on the United States, and reproached General Harrison for having marched against his people during his absence. The agent replied to this; Tecumthe listened with frigid indifference, and after making a few general remarks, with a haughty air, left the council house, and departed for Fort Malden, in Upper Canada, where he joined the British standard.

The causes of complaint on the part of the United States against England, which at length led to the war of 1812, were, the interference with American trade enforced by the blockade system; the

impressment of American seamen; the encouragement of the Indians in their barbarities; and the attempt to dismember the Union by the mission of Henry. Through the winter of 1811–12, these causes of provocation were discussed in Congress and the public prints, and a war with Great Britain openly threatened: even in December, 1811, the proposal to invade Canada in the following spring, before the ice broke up, was debated in the House of Representatives, and in particular was urged the necessity of such operations at the outset of the anticipated contest, as should wrest from the enemy the command of the upper lakes, and secure the neutrality or favor of the Indian tribes by the conquest of Upper Canada.

While, therefore, measures were taken to seize the lower province, other steps were arranged for the defense of the north-west frontier against Indian hostility, and which, in the event of a rupture with Great Britain, would enable the United States to obtain the command of Lake Erie. These steps, however, were by no means suitable to the attainment of the object last named; in place of a naval force upon Lake Erie, the necessity of which had been pressed upon the Executive, by Governor Hull of Michigan Territory, in three memorials, one of them as early as the year 1810, a second dated March 6th, and a third on or about April 11th, 1812, and although the same policy was pointedly urged upon the Secretary of War, by General Armstrong, in a private letter of January 2d, yet the government proposed to use no other than military means, and hoped by the presence of two thousand soldiers, to effect the capture or destruction of the British fleet. Nay, so blind was the War Department, that it refused to increase the number of troops to three thousand, although informed by General Hull, that that was the least number from which success could be hoped.

When, therefore, Governor, now General Hull (to whom, in consideration of his revolutionary services, and his supposed knowledge of the country and the natives, the command of the army destined for the conquest of the Canadas had been confided) commenced his march from Dayton, on the 1st of June, it was with means which he himself regarded as utterly inadequate to the object aimed at, a fact which sufficiently explains his vascillating, nerveless conduct. Through that whole month, he and his troops toiled on toward the Maumee, busy with their roads, bridges and block houses.

On the 24th, advices from the Secretary of War, dated on the 18th, came to hand, but not a word contained in them made it probable that the long expected war would be immediately de-

clared, although Colonel McArthur at the same time received word from Chillicothe, warning him, on the authority of Thomas Worthington, then Senator from Ohio, that before the letter reached him, the declaration would have been made public. This information McArthur laid before General Hull; and when, upon reaching the Maumee, that commander proposed to place his baggage, stores, and sick on board a vessel, and send them by water to Detroit, the backwoodsman warned him of the danger, and refused to trust his own property on board.

Hull, however, treated the report of war as the old story which had been current through all the spring, and refused to believe it *possible* that the government would not give *him* information at the earliest moment that the measure was resolved on.

The following message from a gentleman at Detroit to his friend at Pittsburgh, gives a disinterested narrative of the then passing events:

"On Thursday morning, the 2d inst., our enemies gave us the first notice of war being declared against them. The evening preceding, an officer was seen to go with great dispatch down the opposite side of the river to Fort Malden, and the next morning the ferry boats that went from this side were detained on the other shore, which made us suspect that affairs were not long to remain tranquil between us. Shortly after, a gentleman in this place received a message from his friend on the British side, informing him of the declaration of war.

"I will now inform you of the remissness of government in not immediately sending an express to Governor Hull, and to this important place, on an event of so much magnitude; and the consequences which have resulted from that neglect.

"It now appears to us, that war was declared on the 18th of June, and dispatches sent off the next day by the common course of mail to Cleveland, which place they reached on Monday the 29th, about the middle of the day; making ten days and a half to that place; when the news ought to have been received here (Detroit) before that time.

"The postmaster at Cleveland received a letter from Washington, directing him to hire a person to go on with the dispatches to Governor Hull, who was at that time about eighty miles from this place, and he received them on the morning of the 2d inst.; making thirteen days from Washington. This information I had from the person who was hired by the postmaster at Cleveland, and who is now in this place; its correctness cannot be doubted.

"The British received their information by way of Fort Erie, and an express instantly started from thence, who came the north side of Lake Erie to Malden, and delivered the intelligence to that place on the 1st inst., by a circuitous route of one hundred miles greater distance than Governor Hull then was. The evil consequences of this gross negligence might have been immense; I will mention one which has resulted from it.

"When the army came to the foot of the rapids of Maumee river, Governor Hull, not then having received intelligence of the declaration of war, hired a small sloop in which he put his baggage and that of many of the officers of the army, all the hospital stores, his instructions from the war department, his commission and those of most of the officers of the 4th regiment, the ladies of two officers of said regiment, Lieutenant Goodwin and about thirty men, and was on the point of sending the pay-master with all the public money; this vessel, on passing Malden, was captured with all its contents; the ladies, Mrs. Fuller and Mrs. Goodwin, were put on shore at this place the next day, but all the others of course detained."

Another item of intelligence connected with this chapter of blunders, mishaps, and woes, was communicated to the publisher by Mr. R——, a venerable and highly respected gentleman of Amherstburg, Canada West:

"The commander at Fort Malden was so certain of the Americans being *first informed* of the declaration of war, that he desisted from attacking Detroit, at the sight of an unusual number of Mackinaw boats at the head of Lake Erie, which were supposed to contain an invading army."

On the 2d of July, a letter of the same date with that received on the 24th of June, reached General Hull, and apprised him that the declaration of war was indeed made,* and before his astonishment was over, word was brought of the capture of his packet off Malden. The conduct of the executive at this time was certainly most remarkable; having sent an insufficient force to effect a most important object, it next did all in its power to ensure the destruction of that force.

On the 1st of June, Mr. Madison recommended war to the Senate; on the 3d of June, Mr. Calhoun reported in favor it, and in an able manifesto set forth the reasons; and, on the 19th, proclamation of the contest was made. Upon the day preceding, Congress hav-

* Hull's Defense, 11, 12.

ing passed the needful act, the Secretary of War wrote to General Hull, one letter saying nothing of the matter, and sent it by a special messenger—and a second, containing the vital news, which he confided to a half organized post as far as Cleveland, and thence literally to accident. Nor is this all: while the general of the north western army was thus, not uninformed merely, but actually misled, letters franked by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, bore the notice of what had been done to the British post of St. Joseph, near the north-western shore of Lake Huron; and also to Malden, which place it reached upon the 28th of June. And as if to complete the circle of folly, the misled general, through neglect, suffered his official papers, which he owned ought never to have been out of his possession, to pass into that of the foe, and thus informed them of his purposes and strength.*

That strength, however, was such, compared with their own, that no effort was made to prevent the march of the Americans to Detroit, nor to interfere with their passage across the river to Sandwich, where they established themselves on the 12th of July, preparatory to attacking Malden itself, and commencing the conquest and conversion of Upper Canada. And here, at once, the incapacity of Hull showed itself; by his own confession he took every step under the influence of two sets of fears; he dared not, on the one hand, act boldly, for fear that his incompetent force would be all destroyed; while, on the other hand, he dared not refuse to act, for fear his militia, already uneasy, would utterly desert him.

Thus embarrassed, he proclaimed freedom and the need of submission to the Canadians, held out inducements to the British militia to desert, and to the Indians to keep quiet, and sat still at Sandwich, striving to pacify his blood thirsty backwoodsmen, who itched to be at Malden. To amuse his own army, and keep them from trying dangerous experiments, he found cannon needful to the assault of the British posts, and spent three weeks making carriages for five guns.

While these were under way, Colonel Cass and Colonel Miller, by an attack upon the advanced parties of the enemy, demonstrated the willingness and power of their men to push their conquests, if the chance were given, but Hull refused the opportunity; and when at length the cannon were prepared, the ammunition placed in wagons, and the moment for assault agreed on, the general, up-

*For the foregoing facts see Manifesto of the Senate, June 3d, 1812.

on hearing that a proposed attack on the Niagara frontier had not been made, and that troops from that quarter were moving westward, suddenly abandoned the enterprise, and with most of his army, on the night of the 7th of August, returned to Detroit, having effected nothing except the destruction of all confidence in himself, on the part of the whole force under his control, officers and privates.

Meanwhile, upon the 29th of July, Colonel Proctor had reached Malden, and perceiving instantly the power which the position of that post gave him over the supplies of the army of the United States, he commenced a series of operations, the object of which was to cut off the communications of Hull with Ohio, and thus not merely neutralize all active operations on his part, but starve him into surrender, or force him to detail his whole army, in order to keep open his way to the only point from which supplies could reach him. A proper force on Lake Erie, or the capture of Malden, would have prevented this annoying and fatal mode of warfare, but the imbecility of the government, and that of the general, combined to favor the plans of Proctor.*

Having by his measures stopped the stores on their way to Detroit, at the river Raisin, he next defeated the insufficient band of two hundred men under Van Horn, sent by Hull to escort them; and so far withstood that of five hundred under Miller, as to cause Hull to recall the remnant of that victorious and gallant band, though it had completely routed the British and Indians. By these means, Proctor amused the Americans until General Brock reached Malden, which he did upon the 13th of August, and prepared to attempt the conquest of Detroit itself.

And here again occurred a most singular want of skill on the part of the Americans. In order to prevent the forces in Upper Canada from being combined against Hull, General Dearborn had been ordered to make a diversion in his favor at Niagara and Kingston, but in place of doing this, he made an armistice with the British commanders, which enabled them to turn their attention entirely to the more distant West, and left Hull to shift for himself.

On the 14th of August, therefore, while a third party, under M'Arthur, was dispatched by Hull to open his communications with the river Raisin, though by a new and impracticable road,

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*See Hull's Defense, 42 to 71. Hull's Proclamation in Brown's History of Illinois.

General Brock appeared at Sandwich, and began to erect batteries to protect his further operations. These batteries Hull would not suffer any to molest, saying, that if the enemy did not fire on him, he would not on them, and though, when summoned to surrender upon the 15th, he absolutely refused, yet upon the 16th, without a blow struck, the governor and general crowned his course of indecision and unmanly fear, by surrendering the town of Detroit and territory of Michigan, together with fourteen hundred brave men longing for battle, to three hundred English soldiers, four hundred Canadian militia, disguised in red coats, and a band of Indian allies.*

For this conduct he was accused of treason and cowardice, and found guilty of the latter. However brave he may have been personally, he was, as a commander, a coward; and moreover, he was influenced, confessedly, by his fears as a father, lest his daughter and her children should fall into the hands of the Indians.

In truth, his faculties seemed to have been paralyzed by fear; fear that he should fail; fear that his troops would be unfair to him, fear that the savages would spare no one, if opposed with vigor; fear of some undefined and horrid evil impending. M'Afee accuses him of intemperance, but no effort was made on his trial to prove this, and we have no reason to think it a true charge; but his conduct was like that of a drunken man, without sense or spirit.

But the fall of Detroit, though the leading misfortune of this unfortunate summer, was not the only one. Word, as we have stated, had been sent through the kindness of some friend, under a frank from the American Secretary of the Treasury, informing the British commander at St. Joseph, of the declaration of war; while Lieut. Hanks, commanding the American fortress at Mackinac, received no notice from any source.

The consequence was an attack upon the key of the northern lakes, on the 17th of July, by a force of British, Canadians, and savages, numbering in all, one thousand and twenty-one: the garrison amounting to but fifty-seven effective men, felt unable to withstand so formidable a body, and to avoid the constantly threatened Indian massacre, surrendered as prisoners of war, and were dismissed on parole.†

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*M'Afee, from 85 to 92. Armstrong's Notices, i. 26 to 33; ibid. i. Appendix, No. 10.

†For the British account of Hull's surrender, see Niles' Register, iii. 14, 33, 265 to 268.

Less fortunate in its fate was the garrison of Fort Dearborn at Chicago.

The Indians in northern Illinois, and the country bordering on Lake Michigan, had manifested hostile feelings toward the Americans even before the battle of Tippecanoe. Governor Edwards, who was indefatigable in his efforts to protect the settlements, employed trusty Frenchmen, who had traded with these Indians, and who could still pass under that guise, as *spies* in the Indian country. Their communications, in a plain unlettered style, have been examined on the files of the State Department of Illinois. They are often particular and minute in giving the position of Indian villages, number of the braves, sources from whence they received their supplies, the names of head men, and other details.

These facts, at short intervals, were communicated by the Governor to the War Department, as proofs that the Indians were hostile, and were urged in his repeated applications to the War Department for protection to the inhabitants of that frontier territory.

A small trading post had been established at Chicago in the period of the French explorations, but no village formed. It was one of the thoroughfares in the excursions of both traders and Indians. By the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, negotiated with the Pottawattamies, Miamies, and other northern tribes, they agreed to relinquish their right to "one piece of land six miles square, at the mouth of Chicago river, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan, *where a fort formerly stood.*" *

In 1804, a small fort was erected here by the United States government. It stood on the spot where the fort stood in 1833, but it was differently constructed, having two "block houses on the southern side, and on the northern side, a sally-port, or subterranean passage from the parade ground to the river." † It was called Fort Dearborn.

The officers in 1812, were Captain ——— Heald, the commanding officer, Lieutenant Helm, and Ensign Ronan, (the two last very young men,) and the surgeon, Dr. Voorhees, with seventy-five men, very few of whom were effective.

Friendly intercourse had existed between these troops and individuals and bands of neighboring Indians. The principal chiefs and braves of the Pottawattamie nation visited Fort Malden on the Canada side annually, received presents to a large amount,

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*Indian Treaties, Washington, 1826, p. 51.

†Kinzie's Narrative.

and were in alliance with Great Britain. Many Pottawattamies, Winnebagoes, Ottawas, and Shawanese were in the battle of Tippecanoe, yet the principal chiefs in the immediate vicinity were on amicable terms with the Americans, and gave proof of it, by their rescue of those who were saved.

Besides those persons attached to the garrison, there was the family of Mr. Kinzie, who had been engaged in the fur trade at that spot from 1804, and a few Canadians, or *engages*, with their wives and children, who were attached to the same establishment.

On the afternoon of the 7th of August, *Winnemeg*, or Catfish, a trust-worthy Pottawattamie chief, arrived at the post, bringing dispatches from Governor Hull, the commander-in-chief. These dispatches announced the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain; furthermore, and that the British troops had already taken Mackinac.

His orders to Captain Heald were, "to evacuate the post if practicable, and, in that event, to distribute the property belonging to the United States, in the fort, and in the factory or agency, to the Indians in the neighborhood."

"After having delivered his dispatches, Winnemeg requested a private interview with Mr. Kinzie, who had taken up his residence in the fort. He stated to Mr. Kinzie that he was acquainted with the purport of the communications he had brought, and begged him to ascertion if it were the intention of Captain Heald to evacuate the post. He advised strongly that such a step should not be taken, since the garrison was well supplied with ammunition, and with provision, for six months; it would, therefore, he thought, be far better to remain until a reinforcement could be sent to their assistance. If, however, Captain Heald should decide on leaving the post, it should, by all means, be done immediately. The Pottawattamies, through whose country they must pass, being ignorant of Winnemeg's mission, a forced march might be made before the hostile Indians were prepared to interrupt them.

"Of this advice, so earnestly given, Captain Heald was immediately informed. He replied that it was his intention to evacuate the post, but that inasmuch as he had received orders to distribute the United States property, he should not feel justified in leaving until he had collected the Indians in the neighborhood, and made an equitable division among them.

"Winnemeg then suggested the expediency of marching out and leaving all things standing—possibly, while the savages were

engaged in a partition of the spoils, the troops might effect their retreat unmolested. This advice was strongly seconded by Mr. Kinzie, but did not meet the approbation of the commanding officer.

"The order for evacuating the post was read next morning upon parade. It is difficult to understand why Capt. Heald, in such an emergency, omitted the usual form of calling a council of war, with his officers. Perhaps it arose from a want of harmonious feeling between himself and one of his subalterns—Ensign Ronan—a high-spirited and somewhat overbearing, but brave and generous young man. In the course of the day, finding no council was called, the officers waited upon Capt. Heald, to be informed what course he intended to pursue. When they learned his intention to leave the post, they remonstrated with him upon the following grounds:

"First. It was highly improbable that the command would be permitted to pass through the country in safety, to Fort Wayne. For, although it had been said that some of the chiefs had opposed an attack upon the fort, planned the preceding autumn, yet, it was well known that they had been actuated in that matter by motives of private regard to one family, and not to any general friendly feeling toward the Americans; and that, at any rate, it was hardly to be expected that these few individuals would be able to control the whole tribe, who were thirsting for blood.

"In the next place, their march must necessarily be slow, as their movements must be accommodated to the helplessness of the women and children, of whom there were a number with the detachment. That of their small force, some of the soldiers were superannuated and others invalid; therefore, since the course to be pursued was left discretional, their advice was to remain where they were, and fortify themselves as strongly as possible. Succors from the other side of the peninsula might arrive before they could be attacked by the British from Mackinac, and even should there not, it were far better to fall into the hands of the latter, than to become the victims of the savages.

"Capt. Heald argued in reply, 'that a special order had been issued by the War Department, that no post should be surrendered without battle having been given; and that his force was totally inadequate to an engagement with the Indians. That he should, unquestionably, be censured for remaining, when there appeared a prospect of a safe march through, and that upon the whole, he deemed it expedient to assemble the Indians, distribute the property among them, and then ask of them an escort to Fort Wayne, with

the promise of a considerable reward upon their safe arrival—adding, that he had full confidence in the friendly professions of the Indians, from whom, as well as from the soldiers, the capture of Mackinac had been kept a profound secret.'

"From this time the officers held themselves aloof, and spoke but little upon the subject, though they considered the project of Capt. Heald little short of madness. The dissatisfaction among the soldiers hourly increased, until it reached a high degree of insubordination. Upon one occasion, as Capt. Heald was conversing with Mr. Kinzie, upon the parade, he said, 'I could not remain, even if I thought it best, for I have but a small store of provisions.' 'Why Captain,' said a soldier, who stood near, forgetting all etiquette, in the excitement of the moment, 'you have cattle enough to last the troops six months.' 'But,' replied Capt. Heald, 'I have no salt to preserve the beef with.' 'Then jerk it,' said the man, 'as the Indians do their venison.'

"The Indians now became daily more unruly. Entering the fort in defiance of the sentinels, they made their way without ceremony into the quarters of the officers. On one occasion, an Indian took up a rifle and fired it in the parlor of the commanding officer, as an expression of defiance. Some were of opinion, that this was intended, among the young men, as a signal for an attack. The old chiefs passed backward and forward, among the assembled groups, with the appearance of the most lively agitation, while the squaws rushed to and fro in great excitement, and evidently prepared for some fearful scene.

"Any further manifestation of ill-feeling was, however, suppressed for the present, and Capt. Heald, strange as it may seem, continued to entertain a conviction of his having created so amicable a disposition among the Indians, as would ensure the safety of the command, on their march to Fort Wayne."

During this excitement amongst the Indians, a runner arrived with a message from Tecumthe, with the news of the capture of Mackinac, the defeat of Van Horne, and the retreat of Gen. Hull from Canada. He desired them to arm immediately, and intimated that he had no doubt but Hull would soon be compelled to surrender.

In this precarious condition, matters remained until the 12th of August, when a council was held with the Indians who collected from the vicinity. None of the military officers attended but Capt. Heald, though requested by him. They had been informed that it was the intention of the young chiefs to massacre them in council,

and soon as the commander left the fort, they took command of the block houses, opened the port holes and pointed the loaded cannon so as to command the whole council. This, probably, caused a postponement of their horrid designs.

The captain informed the council of his intentions to distribute the next day, among them, all the goods in the storehouse, with the ammunition and provisions. He requested the Pottawattamies to furnish him an escort to Fort Wayne, promising them a liberal reward upon their arrival there, in addition to the liberal presents they were now to receive. The Indians were profuse in their professions of good will and friendship, assented to all he proposed, and promised all he desired. The result shows the true character of the Indians. No act of kindness, nor offer of reward, could assuage their thirst for blood.

Mr. Kinzie, who understood well the Indian character, and their designs, waited on the commander, in the hope of opening his eyes to the appalling danger. He told him the Indians had been secretly hostile to the Americans for a long time; that since the battle of Tippecanoe he had dispatched orders to all his traders, to furnish no ammunition to them, and pointed out the wretched policy of Captain Heald, of furnishing the enemy with arms and ammunition to destroy the Americans. This argument opened the eyes of the commander, who was struck with the impolicy, and resolved to destroy the ammunition and liquor.

The next day, (13th,) the goods, consisting of blankets, cloths, paints, &c., were distributed, but at night the ammunition was thrown into an old well, and the casks of alcohol, including a large quantity belonging to Mr. Kinzie, was taken through the sally-port, their heads knocked in, and the contents poured into the river. The Indians, ever watchful and suspicious, stealthily crept around, and soon found out the loss of their loved "fire-water."

On the 14th, Captain Wells departed with fifteen friendly Miamies. He was a brave man, had resided among the Indians from boyhood, and knew well their character and habits. He had heard at Fort Wayne, of the order of General Hull to evacuate Fort Dearborn, and knowing the hostile intentions of the Pottawattamies, he had made a rapid march through the wilderness, to prevent, if possible, the exposure of his sister, Mrs. Heald, the officers and garrison, to certain destruction. But he came too late! The ammunition had been destroyed, and on the provisions the enemy was rioting. His only alternative was to hasten their departure, and every preparation was made for the march of the troops next morning.

A second council was held with the Indians in the afternoon. They expressed great indignation at the destruction of the ammunition and liquor. Murmurs and threats were heard from every quarter.

Among the chiefs and braves were several, who, although they partook of the feelings of hostility of their tribe to the Americans, retained a personal regard for the troops, and the white families in the place. They exerted their utmost influence to allay the angry feelings of the savage warriors; but their efforts were in vain.

Among these was *Black Partridge*, a chief of some distinction. The evening after the second council, he entered the quarters of the commanding officer. "Father," said the venerable chief, "I come to deliver up to you the medal I wear. It was given me by the Americans, and I have long worn it, in token of our mutual friendship. But our young men are resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the whites. I cannot restrain them, and I will not wear a token of peace, while I am compelled to act as an enemy."

The reserved ammunition, twenty-five rounds to a man, was now distributed. The baggage wagons for the sick, the women and children, were ready, and, amidst the surrounding gloom, and the expectation of a fatiguing march through the wilderness, or a disastrous issue on the morrow, the whole party, except the watchful sentinels, retired for a little rest.

The fatal morning of the 15th of August arrived. The sun shone out in brightness as it arose from the glassy surface of the lake. The atmosphere was balmy, and could the feelings of the party have been relieved from the most distressing apprehensions, they could have departed with exhilarating feelings.

Early in the morning a message was received by Mr. Kinzie, from *To-pe-nee-be*, a friendly chief of the St. Joseph's band, informing him that the Pottawattamies, who had promised to be an escort to the detachment, designed mischief. Mr. Kinzie had placed his family under the protection of some friendly Indians. This party, in a boat, consisted of Mrs. Kinzie, four young children, a clerk of Mr. Kinzie's, two servants, and the boatmen, or *voyageurs*, with two Indians as protectors. The boat was intended to pass along the southern end of the lake to St. Joseph's. Mr. Kinzie and his eldest son, a youth, had agreed to accompany Captain Heald and the troops, as he thought his influence over the Indians would enable him to restrain the fury of the savages, as they were much attached to him and his family.

To-pe-nee-be urged him and his son to accompany his family in the boat, assuring him the hostile Indians would allow his boat to pass in safety to St. Joseph's.

The boat had scarcely reached the lake, when another messenger from this friendly chief arrived to detain them where they were. The reader is left to imagine the feelings of the mother. "She was a woman of uncommon energy and strength of character, yet her heart died within her as she folded her arms around her helpless infants." And when she heard the discharge of the guns, and the shrill, terrific warwhoop of the infuriated savages, and knew the party, and most probably her beloved husband and first born son were doomed to destruction, language has not power to describe her agony!

At nine o'clock, the troops, with the baggage wagons, left the fort with martial music, and in military array. Captain Wells, at the head of his band of Miamies, led the advance, with his face blackened after the manner of Indians. The troops, with the wagons, containing the women and children, the sick and lame, followed, while at a little distance behind, were the Pottawattamies, about five hundred in number, who had pledged their honor to escort them in safety to Fort Wayne. The party took the road along the lake shore.

On reaching the point where a range of sand hills commenced, (within the present limits of Chicago city,) the Pottawattamies defiled to the right into the prairie, to bring the sand hills between them and the Americans. They had marched about a mile and a half from the fort, when Captain Wells, who, with his Miamies, was in advance, rode furiously back, and exclaimed,

"They are about to attack us: form instantly and charge upon them."

The words were scarcely uttered when a volley of balls, from Indian muskets, behind the sand hills, poured upon them. The troops were hastily formed into lines and charged up the bank. One man, a veteran soldier of seventy, fell as they mounted the bank. The battle became general. The Miamies fled at the outset, though Captain Wells did his utmost to induce them to stand their ground. Their chief rode up to the Pottawattamies, charged them with treachery, and, brandishing his tomahawk, declared, "he would be the first to head a party of Americans and punish them." He then turned his horse and galloped after his companions over the prairie.

The American troops behaved most gallantly, and sold their

lives dearly. Mrs. Helm, the wife of Lieutenant Helm, who was in the action, behaved with astonishing presence of mind, (as did all the other females) and furnished Mr. Kinzie with many thrilling facts, from which are made the following extracts:

"Our horses pranced and bounded and could hardly be restrained, as the balls whistled around them. I drew off a little and gazed upon my husband and father, who were yet unharmed. I felt that my hour was come, and endeavored to forget those I loved, and prepare myself for my approaching fate.

"While I was thus engaged, the surgeon, Dr. V., came up; he was badly wounded. His horse had been shot under him, and he had received a ball in his leg. Every muscle of his countenance was quivering with the agony of terror. He said to me, 'Do you think they will take our lives? I am badly wounded, but I think not mortally. Perhaps we might purchase our lives by promising them a large reward. Do you think there is any chance?'

"'Dr. V.' said I, 'do not let us waste the few moments that yet remain to us, in such vain hopes. Our fate is inevitable. In a few moments we must appear before the bar of God. Let us endeavor to make what preparation is yet in our power.' 'Oh! I cannot die!' exclaimed he, 'I am not fit to die—if I had but a short time to prepare—death is awful!' I pointed to Ensign Ronan, who, though mortally wounded, and nearly down, was still fighting with desperation, upon one knee.

"'Look at that man,' said I, 'at least he dies like a soldier!'

"'Yes,' replied the unfortunate man, with a convulsive gasp, 'but he has no terrors of the future—he is an unbeliever!'

"At this moment, a young Indian raised his tomahawk at me. By springing aside, I avoided the blow which was aimed at my skull, but which alighted on my shoulder. I seized him around the neck, and while exerting my utmost efforts to get possession of his scalping knife, which hung in a scabbard over his breast, I was dragged from his grasp by another and an older Indian.

"The latter bore me, struggling and resisting, toward the lake. Notwithstanding the rapidity with which I was hurried along, I recognized, as I passed them, the lifeless remains of the unfortunate surgeon. Some murderous tomahawk had stretched him upon the very spot where I had last seen him.

"I was immediately plunged into the water, and held there with a forcible hand, notwithstanding my resistance. I soon perceived, however, that the object of my captor was not to drown me, as he held me firmly in such a position as to place my head above the

water. This reassured me, and regarding him attentively, I soon recognized, in spite of the paint with which he was disguised, *The Black Partridge.*

"When the firing had somewhat subsided, my preserver bore me from the water, and conducted me up the sand banks. It was a burning August morning, and walking through the sand in my drenched condition, was inexpressibly painful and fatiguing. I stopped and took off my shoes, to free them from the sand, with which they were nearly filled, when a squaw seized and carried them off, and I was obliged to proceed without them. When we had gained the prairie, I was met by my father, who told me that my husband was safe, and but slightly wounded. They led me gently back toward the Chicago river, along the southern bank of which was the Pottawattamie encampment. At one time I was placed upon a horse without a saddle, but soon finding the motion insupportable, I sprang off. Supported partly by my kind conductor, and partly by another Indian, *Pee-so-tum*, who held dangling in his hand the scalp of Captain Wells, I dragged my fainting steps to one of the wigwams.

"The wife of *Wau-bee-nee-mah*, a chief from the Illinois river, was standing near, and seeing my exhausted condition, she seized a kettle, dipped up some water from a little stream that flowed near, threw into it some maple sugar, and stirring it up with her hand, gave it to me to drink. This act of kindness, in the midst of so many atrocities, touched me most sensibly, but my attention was soon diverted to another object. The fort had become a scene of plunder, to such as remained after the troops had marched out. The cattle had been shot down as they ran at large, and lay dead or dying around.

"As the noise of the firing grew gradually less, and the stragglers from the victorious party dropped in, I received confirmation of what my father had hurriedly communicated in our rencontre on the lake shore; namely, that the whites had surrendered, after the loss of about two-thirds of their number. They had stipulated for the preservation of their lives, and those of the remaining women and children, and for their delivery at some of the British posts, unless ransomed by traders in the Indian country. It appears that the wounded prisoners were not considered as included in the stipulation, and a horrible scene occurred upon their being brought into camp.

"An old squaw, infuriated by the loss of friends, or excited by the sanguinary scenes around her, seemed possessed by a demoniac

ferocity. She seized a stable fork, and assaulted one miserable victim, who lay groaning and writhing in the agony of his wounds, aggravated by the scorching beams of the sun. With a delicacy of feeling scarcely to have been expected under such circumstances, *Wau-bee-nee-mah* stretched a mat across two poles, between me and this dreadful scene. I was thus spared, in some degree, a view of its horrors, although I could not entirely close my ears to the cries of the sufferer. The following night, five more of the wounded prisoners were tomahawked."

But why dwell upon this painful subject? Why describe the butchery of the children, twelve of whom, placed together in one baggage wagon, fell beneath the merciless tomahawk of one young savage? This atrocious act was committed after the whites, twenty-seven in number, had surrendered. When Capt. Wells beheld it, he exclaimed, "Is that their game? Then I will kill too!" So saying, he turned his horse's head, and started for the Indian camp near the fort, where had been left their squaws and children.

Several Indians pursued him, firing at him as he galloped along. He laid himself flat on the neck of his horse, loading and firing in that position. At length the balls of his pursuers took effect, killing his horse, and severely wounding himself. At this moment he was met by *Winnemeg* and *Wau-ban-see*, who endeavored to save him from the savages who had now overtaken him; but as they supported him along, after having disengaged him from his horse, he received his death-blow from one of the party, (*Pee-so-tum*,) who stabbed him in the back.

The heroic resolution of one of the soldier's wives deserves to be recorded. She had, from the first, expressed a determination never to fall into the hands of the savages, believing that their prisoners were always subjected to tortures worse than death. When, therefore, a party came up to her, to make her prisoner, she fought with desperation, refusing to surrender, although assured of safe treatment, and literally suffered herself to be cut to pieces, rather than become their captive.

The heart of Capt. Wells was taken out, and cut into pieces, and distributed among the tribes. His mutilated remains remained unburied until next day, when Billy Caldwell gathered up his head in one place, and mangled body in another, and buried them in the sand.

The family of Mr. Kinzie had been taken from the boat to their home, by friendly Indians, and there strictly guarded. Very soon

a very hostile party of the Pottawattamie nation arrived from the Wabash, and it required all the skill and bravery of *Black Partridge*, *Wau-ban-see* and *Billy Caldwell*, (who arrived at a critical moment,) and other friendly Indians, to protect them. Runners had been sent by the hostile chiefs to all the Indian villages, to apprise them of the intended evacuation of the fort, and of their plan of attacking the troops. In eager thirst to participate in such a scene of blood, but arrived too late to participate in the massacre, they were infuriated at their disappointment, and sought to glut their vengeance on the wounded and prisoners.

On the third day after the massacre, the family of Mr. Kinzie, with the *attaches* of the establishment, under the care of Francois, a half-breed interpreter; were taken to St. Joseph's in a boat, where they remained until the following November, under the protection of *To-pe-ne-be*, and his band. They were then carried to Detroit, under the escort of *Chandonnai*, and a friendly chief by the name of *Kee-po-tah*, and, with their servants, delivered up, as prisoners of war, to the British commanding officer.

Of the other prisoners, Captain Heald and Mrs. Heald were sent across the lake to St. Joseph's, the day after the battle. Captain Heald had received two wounds, and Mrs. Heald seven, the ball of one of which was cut from her arm by Mr. Kinzie, with a penknife, after the engagement.

Mrs. H. was ransomed on the battle field, by *Chandonnai*, a half breed from St. Joseph's, for a mule he had just taken, and the promise of ten bottles of whisky.

Captain Heald was taken prisoner by an Indian from the Kankakee, who, seeing the wounded and enfeebled state of Mrs. Heald, generously released his prisoner, that he might accompany his wife.

But when this Indian returned to his village on the Kankakee, he found that his generosity had excited so much dissatisfaction in his band, that he resolved to visit St. Joseph's and reclaim his prisoner. News of his intention having reached *To-pe-ne-bee*, *Kee-po-tah*, *Chandonnai*, and other friendly braves, they sent them in a bark canoe, under the charge of *Robinson*, a half breed, along the eastern side of Lake Michigan, three hundred miles, to Mackinac, where they were delivered over to the commanding officer.

Lieutenant Helm was wounded in the action and taken prisoner, and afterward taken by some friendly Indians to the Au Sable, and from thence to St. Louis, and liberated from captivity through the agency of the late Thomas Forsyth, Esq.

Mrs. Helm received a slight wound in the ankle; had her horse

shot from under her; and after passing the agonizing scenes described, went with the family of Mr. Kinzie to Detroit.

The soldiers, with their wives and children, were dispersed among the different villages of the Pottawattamies, upon the Illinois, Wabash, Rock River, and Milwaukie. The largest proportion were taken to Detroit and ransomed the following spring. Some, however, remained in captivity another year, and experienced more kindness than was expected from an enemy so merciless.

This event is given more in detail than many others, partly because the locality is Chicago, where some individuals are still living who passed through these terrible scenes; and partly to correct a common notion prevailing amongst many humane and philanthropic persons, that Indian hostilities *always* "*commence by the first aggressions of the whites*," and that if the Indians are treated kindly, they will "*ever*" be just and kind in return.

As a general rule this is true, but the narrative above related affords one instance of a glaring exception.

The aborigines of this country were always rude savages; subsisting chiefly by fishing and hunting, and from the earliest traditionary notice, were engaged in petty exterminating wars with each other.

Delight in war and thirst for human blood is their "ruling passion." The liberal distribution of goods and provisions, and the promise of more ample rewards at Fort Wayne, by Captain Heald, could not allay this passion. They gave their solemn pledge for the protection of the party on their route to Fort Wayne, and sent out runners to rally their friends to the massacre the same day.

Captain Heald, after escaping many dangers, wrote the following dispatch from Pittsburgh, Pa., on the 23d of October:

"On the 9th of August, I received orders from General Hull to evacuate the post, and proceed with my command to Detroit, leaving it at my discretion to dispose of the public property as I thought proper. The neighboring Indians got the information as early as I did, and came from all quarters to receive the goods in the factory store, which they understood were to be given to them.

"On the 13th, Captain Wells, of Fort Wayne, arrived with about thirty Miamies, for the purpose of escorting us in, by the request of General Hull. On the 14th, I delivered to the Indians all the goods in the factory store, and a considerable quantity of provisions, which we could not take away with us.

"The surplus arms and ammunition I thought proper to destroy, fearing they would make bad use of them, if put in their possession.

"I destroyed all the liquor on hand soon after they began to collect. The collection was unusually large for that place, but they conducted themselves with the strictest propriety, till after I left the fort.

"On the 15th, at 9 o'clock, A. M., we commenced our march—a part of the Miamies were detached in front, the remainder in our rear, as guards, under the direction of Captain Wells. The situation of the country rendered it necessary for us to take the beach, with the lake on our left, and a high bank on our right, at about one hundred yards distance. We proceeded about a mile and a half, when it was discovered the Indians were prepared to attack us from behind the bank.

"I immediately marched the company up to the top of the bank, when the action commenced; after firing one round, we re-charged, and the Indians gave way in front, and joined those on our flanks. In about fifteen minutes, they got possession of all our horses, provision and baggage of every description, and, finding the Miamies did not assist us, I drew off the few men I had left, and took possession of a small elevation in the open prairie, out of shot of the bank or any other cover.

"The Indians did not follow me, but assembled in a body on the top of the bank, and, after some consultation among themselves, made signs to me to approach them. I advanced toward them alone, and was met by one of the Pottawattamie chiefs, called the *Blackbird*, with an interpreter.

"After shaking hands, he requested me to surrender, promising to spare the lives of all the prisoners. On a few moments' consideration, I concluded it would be the most prudent to comply with his request, although I did not put entire confidence in his promise. After delivering up our arms, we were taken back to their encampment, near the fort, and distributed among the different tribes.

"The next morning they set fire to the fort, and left the place, taking the prisoners with them. Their number of warriors was between four and five hundred, mostly of the Pottawattamie nation, and their loss, from the best information I could get, was about fifteen. Our strength was fifty-four regulars and twelve militia, out of which twenty-six regulars, and all the militia, were killed in the action, with two women and twelve children.

"Ensign George Ronan, and Doctor Isaac V. Van Voorhees, of my company, with Captain Wells, of Fort Wayne, are, to my great sorrow, numbered among the dead.

"Lieutenant Lina T. Helm, with twenty-five non-commissioned officers and privates, and eleven women and children, were prisoners, when we separated.

"Mrs. Heald and myself were taken to the mouth of the river St. Joseph, and being both badly wounded, were permitted to reside with Mr. Burnet, an Indian trader. In a few days after our arrival there, the Indians all went off to take Fort Wayne, and in their absence I engaged a Frenchman to take us to Michilimackinack, by water, where I gave myself up as a prisoner of war, with one of my sergeants.

"The commanding officer, Captain Robert, offered me every assistance in his power to render our situation comfortable while we remained there, and to enable us to proceed on our journey. To him I gave my parole of honor, and reported myself to Colonel Proctor, who gave us a passage to Buffalo; from that place I came by the way of Presqu' Isle, and arrived here yesterday."

"Thus, by the middle of August, the whole north-west, with the exception of Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison, was again in the hands of the British and their red allies. Early in September, these two posts were also attacked, and the latter, had it not been defended with the greatest vigor, would have been taken.

"The fort was invested by a large body of Indians, some of whom had affected to be friendly, and had, the day before, intimated to Captain Taylor, that an attack might soon be expected from the Prophet's party. On the evening of the 3d of September, two young men were killed near the fort; and the next day, a party of thirty or forty Indians, from the Prophet's town, appeared with a white flag, under pretense of obtaining provisions. Captain Taylor, suspecting an attack that night, examined the arms of his men, and furnished them with cartridges. The garrison was composed of no more than eighteen effective men, the commander and the greater part of his company having suffered very much from sickness. For some time past, the fort had actually been considered incapable of resisting an attack.

"About eleven o'clock, the night being very dark, the Indians had set fire to one of the block houses unperceived. Every effort was made to extinguish the flames, but without effect; a quantity of whisky amongst other stores belonging to the contractor, deposited there, blazed up, and immediately enveloped the whole in a flame.

"The situation of the fort became desperate; the yells of the Indians, the shrieks of a number of women and children within,

added to the horrors of the night, altogether produced a terrific scene. Two soldiers, giving themselves up for lost, leaped over the pickets, and one of them was instantly cut to pieces.

"The commander, with great presence of mind, ordered the roofs to be taken off the adjoining barracks; this attempt, with the assistance of Dr. Clarke, fortunately proved successful, although made under a shower of bullets. A breastwork was then formed before morning, six or eight feet high, so as to cover the space which would be left by the burnt block house.

"The firing continued until daylight, when the Indians retired, after suffering a severe loss; that of the fort was only three killed and a few wounded. The Indians, discouraged by the failure of this attack, thought proper to retire, and made no further attempts, until the place was happily relieved by the arrival of General Hopkins. In consequence of his conduct, Captain Taylor was afterward promoted to a majority." *

Before the surrender of Hull took place, extensive preparations had been made in Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, to bring into service a large and efficient army. Three points needed defense, Fort Wayne and the Maumee, the Wabash, and the Illinois river; the troops destined for the first point were to be under the command of General Winchester, a Revolutionary officer resident in Tennessee, and but little known to the frontier men; those for the Wabash were to be under Harrison, whose name, since the battle of Tippecanoe, was familiar everywhere; while Governor Edwards, of the Illinois territory, was to command the expedition upon the river of the same name.

Such were the intentions of the government; but the wishes of the people frustrated them, and led, first, to the appointment of Harrison to the command of the Kentucky volunteers, destined to assist Hull's army, and next to his elevation to the post of commander-in-chief over all the forces of the West and North-West; this last appointment was made September 17th, and was notified to the general on the 24th of that month.

Meantime, Fort Wayne had been relieved, and the line of the Maumee secured, so that when Harrison found himself placed at the head of military affairs in the West, his main objects were, first, to drive the Indians from the western side of the Detroit river; second, to take Malden; and third, having thus secured his communications, to re-capture the Michigan territory and its dependencies.

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* Brackenridge's History of the Late War.

The defeat of General Hull, and the victories of the British and Indians in the North-West, produced an intense excitement among the people in the Western States, and especially in Kentucky and Ohio, where but one sentiment prevailed.

Every citizen in the States referred to, and of the territories of Indiana and Illinois, and of Western Pennsylvania and Western Virginia, seemed animated with but one desire—to wipe off the disgrace with which our arms had been stained, and to avert the desolation that threatened the frontiers of Ohio and the territories beyond.

In August, several regiments which had been raised in Kentucky, were directed to the aid of Indiana and Illinois. Vincennes was made the principal rendezvous, and General Hopkins was appointed the commander to march in that direction.

In the meantime, the Governor of Illinois, was active in raising men and making preparations for an expedition against the hostile Indians on the Illinois river.

Colonel Russell, of the 17th United States regiment, was engaged in raising companies of troops, denominated "Rangers," to co-operate with Governor Edwards. Their place of rendezvous was near the present town of Edwardsville, and named "Camp Russell."

The concerted arrangement was, for General Hopkins, with between four and five thousand mounted riflemen, to move up the Wabash to Fort Harrison, cross over to the Illinois country, destroy all the Indian villages near the Wabash, march across the prairies to the head waters of the Sangamon and Vermillion rivers, form a junction with the Illinois rangers under Governor Edwards and Colonel Russell, and sweep over all the villages along the Illinois river.

On the 29th of September, Hopkins wrote from Vincennes to the Governor of Kentucky, thus: "My present intention is to attack every Indian settlement on the Wabash, and destroy their property, then fall upon the Illinois; and I trust, in all next month to perform much service. Serious opposition, I hardly apprehend, although I intend to be prepared for it."

No better account of this expedition can be given than the general's dispatch to Governor Shelby, in October, as follows:

"Fort Harrison, ——— .

"The expedition of the mounted riflemen has terminated. The Wabash was re-crossed yesterday, and the whole corps are on their way to Busseron, where the Adjutant-General will attend, in order

to have them properly mustered and discharged, and where their horses may get forage during the delay necessary for this object.

"Yes, sir, this army has returned, without hardly obtaining the sight of the enemy. A simple narrative of facts, as they occurred, will best explain the reasons that have led to this state of things. The army having finished crossing the Wabash on the 14th inst., marched about three miles and encamped. I here requested the attendance of the general field-officers and captains, to whom I imparted the objects of the expedition, and the advantages that might result from a fulfillment of them. That the nearest Kickapoo villages were from eighty to one hundred miles distant, and Peoria not more than one hundred and sixty. By breaking up these, or as many as our resources would permit, we would be rendering a service to all the territories. That from their numbers, this tribe was more formidable than any other near us; and from their situation and hostility, had it more in their power to do us mischief; of course to chastise and destroy these would be rendering a real benefit to our country. It was observed by some officers that they would meet the next morning, consult together, and report to me their opinions—desiring at the same time, to be furnished with the person on whom I had relied for intelligence of the country.

"This council was held, and all the intelligence furnished that had been requested, and I had a report highly favorable to the enterprise. This to me was more gratifying, as I had found as early as our encampment at Vincennes, discontents and murmuring, that portended no wish to proceed further. At Busseron I found an evident increase of discontent, although no army was ever better or more amply supplied with rations and forage than ours at this place. At Fort Harrison, where we encamped on the 10th, and where we were well supplied with forage, &c., I found on the 12th and 13th, many breaking and returning without applying to me for a discharge; and as far as I know, without any notification to their officers. Indeed I have every reason to suppose the officers of every grade, gave no countenance to such a procedure.

"Thinking myself now secure in the confidence of my brother officers and the army, we proceeded on our march early on the 15th, and continued it four days; our course being near north in the prairie until we came to an Indian house where some corn, &c. had been cultivated. The last day of the march to this place, I had been made acquainted with a return of that spirit that had, as I had hoped, subsided, and when I had ordered a halt near sunset (for

the first time that day) in a fine piece of grass in the prairie, to aid our horses, I was addressed by one of the officers in the most rude and dictatorial manner, requiring me immediately to resume my march, or his battallion would break off from the army and return. This was Major Singleton—I mention him in justice to the other officers of that grade. But from every information, I began to fear the army waited but for a pretext to return.

"This was afforded the next day by our guides, who had thought they had discerned an Indian village, on the side of a grove about ten miles from where we encamped on the fourth night of our march, and turned us about six or eight miles out of our way. An almost universal discontent seemed to prevail, and we took our course in such a direction as we hoped would best atone for the error, in the morning. About, or after sunset, we came to a thin grove affording water; here we took up our camp, and about this time arose one of the most violent gusts of wind, I ever remember to have seen, not proceeding from clouds. The Indians had set fire to the prairie, which drove on us so furiously, that we were compelled to fire around our camp, to protect ourselves.

"This seems to have decided the army to return. I was informed of it in so many ways, that early in the next morning, (October 20th,) I requested the attendance of the general and field officers, and stated to them my apprehensions, the expectations of our country, the disgrace attending the measure, and the approbation of our own consciences.

"Against this I stated the weary situation of our horses, and the want of provision, (which to me seemed only partial, six days having only passed since every part of the army, as was believed, was furnished with ten days in bacon, beef, or bread stuff.) I requested the commandants of each regiment to convene the whole of the officers belonging to it, and to take fully the sense of the army on this measure, and report to commandants of brigades, who were requested to report to me in writing; adding that if five hundred volunteers would turn out I would put myself at their head and proceed in quest of the towns, and the balance of the army might retreat under the conduct of their officers, in safety to Fort Harrison. In less time than one hour, the report was made almost unanimously to return.

"I then requested that I might dictate the course to be pursued that day only, which I pledged myself should not put them more than six miles out of the way, my object being to cover the reconnoitering parties I wished to send out for the discovery of the

Indian towns. About this time, the troops being paraded, I put myself in front, took my course and directed them to follow me. The columns moving off quite a contrary way, I sent Captain Taylor and Major Lee to apply to the officers leading the columns to turn them; they said it was not in their power; the army had taken their course and would pursue it. Discovering great confusion and disorder in their march, I threw myself into their rear, fearing an attack on those who were there from necessity, and continued in that position the whole day.

"Neither the exhausted state of the horses, nor the hunger of the men, retarded this day's march; so swiftly was it prosecuted that it was long before the rear arrived at the encampment. The Generals Ray, Allen, and Ramsay, lent all their aid and authority, in restoring our march to order, and so far succeeded as to bring on the whole with much less loss than I had feared; indeed, I had no reason to think we were either followed or menaced by an enemy.

"I think we marched at least eighty or ninety miles in the heart of the enemy's country; had he possessed a design to fight, opportunities in abundance presented. So formidable was our appearance in the prairie, and in the country (as I am told) never trod before by hostile feet, that it must impress the bordering tribes with a sense of their danger. If it operates beneficially in this way, our labor will not be altogether in vain. I hope the expense of this expedition will be found less than usual on such occasions. I have consulted economy in every instance; subject only to real necessity has been the expenditure. The forage has been the heaviest article. To the officers commanding brigades, many of the field officers, captains, &c., my thanks are due.

"Many of the old Kentucky veterans, whose heads are frosted by time, are entitled to every confidence and praise their country can bestow. To the adjutant quarter-master-general, and the members of my own family, I feel indebted for ready, able, and manly support, in every instance. Let me here include Major Du Bois, who commanded the corps of spies, La Plant, as likewise W. B.—— and L., interpreters and guides, deserve well of me. I am certain we were not twenty miles from the Indian villages, when we were forced to retire, and I have many reasons to prove we were in the right way. I have myself (superadded to the mortification I felt at thus returning) been in a bad state of health from first to last, and am now so weak as not to be able to keep myself on my horse. There are yet many things of which I wish to write; they relate substantially to prospective operations."

"Toward the last of September, 1812, all the forces of United States rangers, and mounted volunteers, to the number of three hundred and fifty, were assembled at Camp Russell, and duly organized, preparatory to marching against the Indians, and join the army under Gen. Hopkins. Camp Russell was one mile and a half north of Edwardsville, and then on the frontier.

"This little army being organized, and with their provisions for twenty or thirty days packed on the horses they rode, (except in a few instances, where pack horses were fitted out,) took up the line of march in a northwardly direction.

"Captain Craig, with a small company, was ordered to take charge of a boat, fortified for the occasion, with provision and supplies, and proceed up the Illinois river to Peoria.

"This little army, at that time, was all the efficient force to protect Illinois. We commenced the march from Camp Russell, on the last day of September. At that period the Indians on the Sangamon, Mackinac, and Illinois rivers, were both numerous and hostile.

"The route lay on the west side of Cahokia creek, to the lake fork of the Macoupin, and across Sangamon river, below the forks, a few miles east of Springfield. We left the Elkheart grove to the left, and passed the old Kickapoo village on Kickapoo creek, and directed our course toward the head of Peoria lake. The old Kickapoo village, which the Indians had abandoned, was destroyed. As the army approached near Peoria, Governor Edwards dispatched Lieutenant Peyton, James Reynolds, and some others, to visit the village of the Peorias, but they made no discoveries.

"There was a village of the Kickapoos and Pottawattamies on the eastern bluff of the Illinois river, nearly opposite the head of Peoria lake.

"The troops moved with rapidity and caution toward the village, and encamped for the night within a few miles of it. Three men were sent by the governor to reconnoiter the position of the enemy, and report to the commanding officer. This duty was performed at considerable peril, but with much adroitness. Their position was found to be about five miles from our troop, on a bluff, and surrounded by swamps impassable by mounted men, and scarcely by footmen. The swamps were not only miry, but at that time covered with high grass and brushwood, so that an Indian could not be discovered until within a few feet of him.

"The army marched under the bluff, that they might reach the village undiscovered, but as they approached, the Indians with their

squaws were on the retreat to their swamps. Instant pursuit was given, and in a short distance from the village, horses, riders, arms and baggage, were overwhelmed in the morass. It was a democratic overthrow, for the governor and his horse shared the same fate as the subaltern, or the private soldier. We were all literally '*swamped.*'

"A pursuit on foot was ordered, and executed with readiness, but extreme difficulty. In this chase many of the enemy were killed, and at every step, kettles, mats, and other Indian property were distributed in the morass.

"Captain Samuel Whiteside, with a party, pursued the scattered enemy to the river, and several were shot in attempting to cross to the opposite shore. So excited were the volunteers, that three of them crossed the river on logs, to follow the retreating foe. The Indians fled into the interior wilderness. Some of our men were wounded, but none killed in the charge.

"On our return to the village, some children were found hid in the ashes, and were taken to the settlement. After destroying their corn and other property, and securing all their horses, we commenced the homeward march. After traveling till dark to find a good camping ground, the rain set in, and the night was dark. Not knowing but that there were other Indian towns above, and learning that the expedition of Gen. Hopkins had failed to meet us, we apprehended danger from a night attack. Many of the soldiers had lost their blankets and other clothing in the swamp, and there was much suffering in camp that night.

"Captain Craig, who arrived at Peoria, with his boat, where he remained several days, was repeatedly attacked by Indians, but being fortified and on his own ground, sustained no damage. He returned with the stores in safety. The troops marched back to Camp Russell, where they were discharged."*

General Hopkins did not immediately return with his disorderly troops to Kentucky. Being determined to wipe off the disgrace of his *prairie expedition*, he remained at Fort Harrison until another and better disciplined army was raised, which he led against the Indians on the upper Wabash.

On the 11th of November, Hopkins set out from Fort Harrison with about twelve hundred men, while at the same time seven boats, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Butler ascended the river with supplies and provisions.

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*Hon. John Reynolds, Belleville, Ill.

On the 19th, the army arrived at the Prophet's town, and immediately General Hopkins ordered Colonel Butler, with three hundred men, to surprise the Indian towns on Ponce Passu creek.

When arrived at that stream, about daylight, he found all the villages evacuated.

One large Kickapoo town, containing one hundred and twenty cabins, was burned, and all the winter provisions of corn in the vicinity destroyed. No Indians were discovered until the 21st, when they fired upon a small party, and killed one man.

The next day about sixty horsemen went to bury the dead, when they were suddenly attacked, and eighteen men killed and wounded. The Indians then evacuated their camp, and retreated.

The inclement season advancing rapidly, it was deemed prudent to prepare for returning, especially as the ice in the river began to obstruct the passage.

The good conduct of this detachment forms a favorable contrast with Hopkins' first army, and proves that militia may in time be trained to the discipline of the camp, so as to become efficient troops.*

This corps suffered exceedingly, many of them were sick, and, as the general said, "shoeless and shirtless" during the cold weather of this season.

The first step taken by Harrison after the relief of Fort Wayne, was to reconnoiter, with two thousand men, the whole length of Maumee river, to the head of Lake Erie.

He reached Forts Defiance and Deposit before the middle of September. From these posts, which were partially invested by the Indians, the latter immediately disappeared. Having given aid to the feeble garrisons, Harrison, not thinking it advisable to proceed to the rapids, until sufficiently strengthened by the arrival of the other troops, returned with a portion of his command to Fort Wayne before the 20th, where he found General Winchester, with considerable reinforcements from Ohio and Kentucky.

"This officer had been unexpectedly placed in command by the president; on which General Harrison resolved to retire, and set out on his return to Indiana, but was overtaken by a messenger, with information of the subsequent arrangements by order of the president. On the 23d he accordingly resumed the command.

"The day before his return, General Winchester had marched for Fort Defiance, on his way to the rapids, the place of ultimate

*Brackenridge.

destination. His force consisted of a brigade of Kentucky militia, four hundred regulars, and a troop of horse, in all about two thousand men. The country which he was compelled to traverse, opposed great difficulties, particularly in the transportation of stores. Along the heads of the rivers which discharge themselves into the Ohio in the south, and those which discharge themselves into the lakes on the north, there is a great extent of flat land, full of marshes and ponds, in which the streams take their rise. In rainy seasons, particularly, it is exceedingly difficult to pass, the horses at every step sinking to the knees in mud. The ground besides, is covered with deep forests and close thickets. To facilitate the passage through this wilderness, each man was obliged to carry provisions for six days."*

Under these difficulties the march was very slow. From the closeness of the thickets, the troops were under the necessity of cutting open a road each day, and were not able to make more than six to eight miles. They usually encamped at three o'clock and threw up a breast work, to guard against a night attack. The main body was preceded by a party of spies, and an advanced guard of about three hundred men. The proximity of the Indians was apparent on the march at various times, and several soldiers were killed by them, although, with the stealthiness peculiar to savages, they never showed themselves.

Colonel Jennings having preceded the army with provisions, on the 29th a messenger arrived from that officer, with the information, that having discovered Fort Defiance to be in possession of the British and Indians, he had thought it prudent to land about forty miles above that place, where he had erected a block house, and was awaiting further orders. This was a sad disappointment to the troops, who were by this time short of provisions, and had hoped to fall in with Colonel Jennings at this point. A small detachment was sent to him, with orders to forward the provisions, while the troops took possession of the fort, which was precipitately deserted by the British and Indians, who descended the river. Soon after a brigade of Jennings' pack-horses arrived with provisions, which gave new life and vigor to the half starved army.

General Winchester now remained at Fort Defiance for the winter. His force, however, was very much reduced, by the expi-

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*Brackenridge.

ration of the term of service of many of the volunteers, who returned, so that no more than about eight hundred men were left to him.

Meanwhile, late in September, General Harrison proceeded in person to Fort St. Mary's, and thence, on the 4th of October, to Franklinton, on the Scioto river, which place he made his head-quarters, for the purpose of organizing his ulterior operations.

In pursuance of his plan for retaking Michigan, he made three divisions of his troops, viz:

The right to march from Wooster, through Upper Sandusky, the centre from Urbana, by Fort M'Arthur, on the heads of the Scioto, and the left from St. Mary's, by the Au Glaize and Maumee—all meeting, of course, at the Rapids.*

This plan, however, failed: the division of the left column, under Winchester, deprived of its efficiency by a reduction of numbers, and half worn out and starved, as has been seen, were lodged for the winter at Fort Defiance; and the mounted men of the centre, under General Tupper, unable to do any thing, partly from their own want of subordination, but still more from the shiftlessness of their commander, were resting idly at Fort M'Arthur. This condition of the troops, and the prevalence of disease among them, together with the increasing difficulty of transportation after the autumnal rains set in, forced upon the commander the conviction that he must wait until the winter had bridged the streams and morasses with ice; and, even when that had taken place, he was doubtful as to the wisdom of an attempt to conquer without vessels on Lake Erie.

Thus, at the close of the year 1812, nothing effectual had been done toward the re-conquest of Michigan.

Late in the month of November, General Harrison ordered a detachment of six hundred men to march from his head-quarters at Franklinton, to destroy the Indian towns on the Mississinewa river, one of the tributaries of the Wabash. The detachment consisted of Colonel Simeral's regiment of Kentucky volunteers; Major James Ball's squadron of United States dragoons; Captain John B. Alexander's company of riflemen, from Greensburg, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania; Captain Joseph Markle's troop of horse from Westmoreland, Pennsylvania; Captain James Butler's light infantry company of Pittsburgh Blues; Captain

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* McAfee, 142, &c., 192, &c., at the latter reference Harrison's letter is given.

Elliott's company of infantry; Captain Garrard's troop of horse, from Lexington, Kentucky; Captain Pierce's troop of horse, from Zanesville, Ohio; Lieutenant Lee's detachment of Michigan volunteers.

These troops were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John B. Campbell, of the nineteenth United States regiment. After great hardships, in this inclement season of the year, in passing through the wilderness, they reached the Mississinewa about the middle of December. This stream they followed downward, until arriving within twenty miles of the first Indian town, when Col. Campbell called a council of war, to ask the advice of his officers. Their advice was to march all night, and take the enemy by surprise. Just as they were entering the town, one of the Kentuckians gave an Indian yell, which gave the alarm and prevented the surprise. Notwithstanding this, eight warriors were killed, and forty-two men, women and children taken prisoners. Pressing onward, they destroyed three other towns lower down, and returned to the site of the first. At this place, on the 18th of December, at five o'clock in the morning, they were attacked by several hundred Indian warriors, who were concealed in the edge of the forest, behind some old fallen timbers, and opened a heavy fire on the troops.

The Americans at once sprang to their arms. The battle raged until daylight; the dragoons however, being instantly aided by the Pittsburgh Blues, finally dislodged the enemy, who were then repulsed with great slaughter, and driven into the woods. A number of dead Indians were left on the battle ground; but the greatest number of dead were probably carried off, according to the usual practice of the savages. The Americans had twelve killed and about thirty wounded. They had also lost a great many horses, for it being quite dark when the attack was first made, so that they could not distinctly see the enemy, they stood behind their horses until daylight, so that these were unavoidably sacrificed, as the means of saving the lives of many soldiers.

The inclemency of the weather was now so great, and the troops were laboring under so many disadvantages, being cumbered with the wounded, and their prisoners, and short of horses and provisions, besides being apprehensive of an attack in the rear from the infuriated savages, who had been driven but not conquered by General Hopkins, that they were obliged to return, without having been able to reach or break up the principal Indian town. Carrying their wounded on litters, they proceeded as quickly as possible to Greenville, which they reached on the 24th of December, and

thence by easy marches, by way of Dayton, Ohio, to winter quarters.

Their suffering had been very great; the roads were much impaired by frost and snow; the weather was very cold and provisions short. No less than one hundred and eighty men were more or less frost-bitten.

Among the killed in the battle, were Captain Pierce, of Zanesville, and Lieutenant Waltz, of Captain Markle's troop of horse, from Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania.

The object of this expedition was to prevent the Indians from having a place of safety from whence they could issue, and interrupt the intercouse between our settlements and Fort Wayne, then occupied by our troops. It was to drive them further off to the St. Joseph's of Michigan, so that they could not waylay our parties, as they were passing and re-passing between our settlements and troops, then concentrating on the Maumee river. This object was in a great measure accomplished by it, and the bravery and enduring fortitude of all composing it, officers and soldiers, is worthy of the highest commendation. It has indeed been justly called one of the best conducted campaigns of 1812.*

In the summer of 1812, an expedition was in contemplation, for the defense of the northern frontier, and although neither the order for the same, nor its place of destination, are strictly within the province of this work, yet as the movements were chiefly Western, and the men engaged in them were mostly from the west of the Alleghenies, it is thought not to be inappropriate.

The following order was first issued by the Governor of Pennsylvania:

"HARRISBURG, August 25th, 1812.

"The President of the United States having, through the Secretary of War and General Dearborn, under date respectively of the 13th instant, required a detachment of two thousand militia, to be marched, with the least possible delay, from the north-western parts of Pennsylvania to Buffalo, in the State of New York: duty and feeling direct a prompt compliance with a requisition, giving scope for action to the patriotism evinced by that portion of our citizen soldiery who have volunteered their services, under general orders of the 12th of May last, '*in substitution of the draft required of the State.*'

*Atwater's History of Ohio.

"For obvious reasons, the Adjutant-General has orders to designate for the service such of the volunteers as can, with the least possible delay, be marched to the scene of action; and is charged with the organization of the detachment of two thousand men, conformably to the following plan: The detachment to constitute a brigade, to consist of four regiments, and each regiment to consist of two battalions, to be arranged by the Adjutant-General at the place of rendezvous.

"The general rendezvous will be at Meadville, to which place the volunteers composing the detachment will march with the requisite expedition, so that they be there on the 25th day of September next. Apprized of the generally prevailing desire, that those appointed to command may be the choice of the commanded, the governor authorizes and directs the officers and privates of the detachment, on the day succeeding the 25th of September next, or those who shall have previously arrived, to elect, agreeably to the rules prescribed by the militia law, one brigadier-general; each regiment to elect a colonel-commandant; each battalion one major.

"The brigadier-general to appoint his own brigade-major; the field-officers of each regiment shall appoint their respective regimental staffs. To accelerate the expedition in discharge of this duty, the Adjutant-General will attend in person, and deliver to the officers elect their respective commissions."

Pursuant to the foregoing orders, most of the volunteers immediately left their respective homes, and moved with great celerity, many having arrived at Meadville, Pennsylvania, previous to the 20th of September, where they had their rendezvous, and elected their field officers—Adamson Tannehill being chosen brigadier-general.

On the 25th of October, three regiments departed from Meadville for Niagara; but they were detained at Le Bœuf (Waterford) until they were joined by the second regiment, from south-western Pennsylvania, under Colonel Purviance, which was still in the rear, and which did not overtake them for ten days. In the meantime, they were also joined by some accessions from Virginia, and two companies from Baltimore.

About the latter part of November, they arrived at Buffalo, where they were met by several hundred New York volunteers, and a number of United States troops. The whole force now amounted to four thousand five hundred men. Here they remained some time, during which the officers were actively engaged in drilling, equipping and organizing them for the intended enter-

prise. The following account of the close of the campaign is taken from Brackenridge's "History of the Late War."

"Seventy boats, and a number of scows, were prepared for the reception of the army, that they might be at once transported to the Canadian shore. But, preparatory to the principal attack, two detachments, one under Colonel Boerstler, and another under Captain King, received orders to pass over before day; the first, to destroy a bridge about five miles below Fort Erie, and capture the guard stationed there; the other, to storm the British batteries. Before they reached the opposite shore, the enemy opened a heavy fire. The first detachment landed, and took some prisoners, but failed in destroying the bridge. The other, under Captain King, landed higher up, at the Red House, drove the enemy, and then advanced to their batteries, which they stormed, and then spiked the cannon.

"Lieutenant Angus, with a number of marines, accidentally separated from Captain King, and no reinforcements arriving from the opposite side, they concluded that King and his party had been taken prisoners, and therefore returned. The party of King, now consisting of seventeen, besides Captains Morgan and Sprowl, and five other officers, was in full possession of the works, while the enemy was completely dispersed. Finding, at length, that they could not expect to be supported, they resolved to return.

"But one boat could be found to transport them all. Captains Sprowl and Morgan passed over with the prisoners; leaving Captain King, who was soon after, with his small party, surrounded and taken prisoners. On the return of Captain Sprowl, Colonel Winder was ordered to pass over with about three hundred men. He instantly embarked and led the van. His own boat was the only one which touched the opposite shore, the others having been swept down by the swiftness of the current.

"From various causes, the embarkation of the main body was retarded much beyond the appointed time, so that it was twelve o'clock in the day, when about two thousand men were ready to move. General Tannehill's volunteers, and Colonel M'Clure's regiment, were drawn up ready for a second embarkation. The enemy by this time had collected on the opposite shore, and appeared ready to receive them. The departure of our troops was, in the most unaccountable manner, delayed until late in the afternoon, when orders were given to debark. Much murmuring and discontent ensued; which were in some measure silenced, by assurances that another attempt would be made.

"It was now resolved to land about five miles below the navy yard; and accordingly, on Monday evening, the 29th, all the boats were collected for the purpose. The whole body, with the exception of about two hundred men, were embarked at four o'clock; the men conducting themselves with great order and obedience, and affording every hope of success. Nothing was wanting but the word to move; when, after some delay, orders were suddenly given for the whole to land, accompanied with a declaration, that the invasion of Canada was given over for that season, while arrangements were made to go into winter quarters.

"One universal expression of indignation burst forth; the greater part of the militia threw down their arms, and returned to their homes, and those who remained, continually threatened the life of the general. Severe recriminations passed between him and General Porter, who accused him of cowardice and unofficer-like deportment. General Smyth, in vindication of his conduct, alleged that he had positive instructions not to risk an invasion with less than three thousand men, and that the number embarked did not exceed fifteen hundred. Be this as it may, great dissatisfaction was produced through the country, and his military reputation, from that time, declined in public estimation.

"Throughout the whole of this year, we were continually suffering the effects of our total want of experience in war. Every thing seemed to baffle our calculations, and to disappoint our hopes, particularly in our movements against Canada, although many acts of gallantry were performed both by regulars and militia."

On the 10th of January, 1813, Winchester, with his troops, reached 1813.] the Rapids, General Harrison, with the right wing of the army, being still at Upper Sandusky, and Tupper, with the centre, at Fort M'Arthur. From the 13th to the 16th, messengers arrived at Winchester's camp from the inhabitants of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, representing the danger to which that place was exposed from the hostility of the British and Indians, and begging for protection. These representations and petitions excited the feelings of the Americans, and led them, forgetful of the main objects of the campaign, and of military caution, to determine upon the step of sending a strong party to the aid of the sufferers.

On the 17th, accordingly, Colonel Lewis was dispatched with five hundred and fifty men to the river Raisin, and soon after, Colonel Allen followed with one hundred and ten more.

Marching along the frozen borders of the bay and lake, on the afternoon of the 18th, the Americans reached and attacked the enemy, who were posted in the village, and after a severe contest defeated them. Having gained possession of the town, Colonel Lewis wrote for reinforcements, and prepared himself to defend the position he had gained. And it was evident that all his means of defense would be needed, as the place was but eighteen miles from Malden, where the whole British force was collected under Proctor.

Winchester, on the 19th, having heard of the action of the previous day, marched with two hundred and fifty men, which was the most he dared detach from the Rapids, to the aid of the captor of Frenchtown, which place he reached on the next evening. But instead of placing his men in a secure position, and taking measures to prevent the secret approach of the enemy, Winchester suffered the troops he had brought with him to remain in the open ground, and took no efficient measures to protect himself from surprise, although informed that an attack might be expected at any moment. The consequence was, that during the night of the 21st, the whole British force approached undiscovered, and erected a battery within three hundred yards of the American camp. From this, before the troops were fairly under arms in the morning, a discharge of bombs, balls, and grape-shot, informed the devoted soldiers of Winchester, of the folly of their commander, and in a moment more the dreaded Indian yell sounded on every side.

The troops under Lewis were protected by the garden pickets, behind which their commander, who alone seems to have been upon his guard, had stationed them; those last arrived were, as has been said, in the open field, and against them the main effort of the enemy was directed. Nor was it long so exerted without terrible results; the troops yielded, broke and fled, but under a fire which mowed them down like grass. Winchester and Lewis, (who had left his pickets to aid his superior officer,) were taken prisoners. Upon the party who fought from behind their slight defenses, however, no impression could be made, and it was not till Winchester was induced to send them what was deemed an order to surrender,* that they dreamed of doing so.

This Proctor persuaded him to do by the old story of an Indian massacre in case of continued resistance, to which he added a

*He says he did not mean it for an order, but merely for advice.

promise of help and protection to the wounded, and of a removal at the earliest moment; without which last promise the troops of Lewis refused to yield, even when required by their general. But the promise, even if given in good faith, was not redeemed, and the horrors of the succeeding night and day will long be remembered by the inhabitants of the frontier. Of a portion of those horrors, a description is here given, in the words of an eye witness, who served in the capacity of surgeon in one of the Kentucky regiments: *

"On the morning of the 23d, shortly after light, six or eight Indians came to the house of Jean Baptiste Jereaume, where I was, in company with Major Graves, Captains Hart and Hickman, Doctor Todd, and fifteen or twenty volunteers, belonging to different corps. They did not molest any person or thing on their first approach, but kept sauntering about until there was a large number collected, (say one or two hundred,) at which time they commenced to plunder the houses of the inhabitants, and massacre the wounded prisoners. I was one amongst the first that were taken prisoners, and was taken to a horse about twenty paces from the house, after being divested of a part of my clothing, and commanded by signs there to remain for further orders. Shortly after being there, I saw them knock down Captain Hickman at the door, together with several others with whom I was not acquainted. Supposing a general massacre had commenced, I made an effort to get to a house about one hundred yards distant, which contained a number of wounded; but on my reaching the house, to my great mortification, found it surrounded by Indians, which precluded the possibility of my giving notice to the unfortunate victims of savage barbarity.

"An Indian chief of the Tawa tribe, of the name of M'Carty, gave me possession of his horse and blanket, telling me by signs to lead the horse to the house which I had just before left. The Indian that first took me, by this time came up, and manifested a hostile disposition toward me, by raising his tomahawk as if to give me the fatal blow, which was prevented by my very good friend M'Carty. On my reaching the house which I had first started from, I saw the Indians take off several prisoners, which I afterward saw in the road, in a most mangled condition, and entirely stripped of their clothing.

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*Dr. Gustavus M. Bower.

"Messrs. Bradford, Searls, Turner, and Blythe, were collected round a carryall, which contained articles taken by the Indians from the citizens. We had all been placed there by our respective captors, except Blythe, who came where we were, entreating an Indian to convey him to Malden, promising to give him forty or fifty dollars, and whilst in the act of pleading for mercy, an Indian more savage than the other, stepped up behind, tomahawked, stripped, and scalped him. The next that attracted my attention, was the houses on fire that contained several wounded, whom I knew were not able to get out.

"After the houses were nearly consumed, we received marching orders, and having arrived at Sandy creek, the Indians called a halt and commenced cooking; after preparing and eating a little sweetened gruel, they gave some to Messrs. Bradford, Searls, Turner, and myself, and we were eating, when an Indian came up and proposed exchanging his moccasins for Mr. Searls' shoes, which he readily complied with. They then exchanged hats, after which the Indian inquired how many men Harrison had with him, and at the same time, calling Searls a Washington or Madison, then raised his tomahawk and struck him on the shoulder, which cut into the cavity of the body. Searls then caught hold of the towahawk, and appeared to resist, and upon my telling him his fate was inevitable, he closed his eyes, and received the savage blow which terminated his existence.

"I was near enough to him to receive the brains and blood, after the fatal blow, on my blanket. A short time after the death of Searls, I saw three others share a similar fate. We then set out for Brownstown, which place we reached about twelve or one o'clock at night. After being exposed to several hours incessant rain in reaching that place, we were put into the council house, the floor of which was partly covered with water, at which place we remained until next morning, when we again received marching orders for their village on the river Rouge, which place we made that day, where I was kept six days, then taken to Detroit and sold."

Of the American army, which was about eight hundred strong, one-third were killed in the battle and massacre which followed. Less than forty escaped. The number taken prisoners on this occasion must have been unusual.

It has been justly charged against the British, that their leaving the American prisoners in the hands, and at the mercy of the remorseless savages, was an act of barbarous inhumanity. In exten-

uation it is alleged by them, that some of the American soldiers, thinking no doubt to intimidate their foes, and thus to avert the destruction that was awaiting them, had declared that General Harrison, with a large force, was then at Otter creek, only a few miles distant, and advancing. This report was believed by the British, who fled precipitately across the Detroit river to Fort Malden, for safety from this American succor, which they supposed to be approaching; while the Indians, who probably had their spies and emissaries more generally about the country, and well knew the falsity of the report, remained and continued the massacre.

General Harrison, as has been stated, was at Upper Sandusky when Winchester reached the Rapids. On the night of the 16th, word came to him of the arrival of the left wing at that point, and of some meditated movement. He at once proceeded with all speed to Lower Sandusky, and on the morning of the 18th, sent forward a battalion of troops to the support of Winchester. On the 19th he learned what the movement was that had been meditated and made, and with additional troops he started instantly for the falls, where he arrived early on the morning of the 20th; here he waited the arrival of the regiment with which he had started, but which he had outstripped. This came on the evening of the 21st, and on the following morning was dispatched to Frenchtown, while all the troops belonging to the army of Winchester, yet at the falls, three hundred in number, were also hurried on to the aid of their commander. But it was, of course, in vain; on that morning the battle was fought, and General Harrison with his reinforcements met the few survivors long before they reached the ground. A council being called, it was deemed unwise to advance any further, and the troops retired to the Rapids again: here, during the night, another consultation took place, the result of which was a determination to retreat yet further, in order to prevent the possibility of being cut off from the convoys of stores and artillery upon their way from Sandusky. On the next morning, therefore, the block-house which had been built was destroyed, together with the provisions it contained, and the troops retired to Portage river, twenty miles in the rear of Winchester's position, there to wait the guns and reinforcements which were daily expected, but which, as it turned out, were detained by rains until the 30th of January.

By this time, Governor Meigs having dispatched two regiments to the assistance of Harrison, the latter again, on the 1st of February, advanced to the Rapids, and immediately set about construct-

ing a fort, which, in honor of the governor of Ohio, he named Fort Meigs. To this point he ordered all the troops to concentrate as rapidly as possible.

Fortifications were at the same time constructed at Upper Sandusky, by General Crooks, who commanded the Pennsylvania militia.

So far the military operations of the North-West had certainly been sufficiently discouraging. The capture of Mackinac, the surrender of Hull, the massacre of Chicago, and the overwhelming defeat of Frenchtown, are the leading events. The movements of Winchester had entirely deranged the plans of Harrison, and made it necessary to organize a new system.

He therefore returned to Ohio, for the purpose of obtaining additional force from that State and Kentucky; but about the 25th of March he received information which hastened his return to Fort Meigs.

"The enemy for some time past had been collecting in considerable numbers, for the purpose of laying siege to this place, and as the new levies had not yet arrived, the Pennsylvania brigade, although its term of service had expired, generally volunteered for the defense of the fort."*

This is corroborated in the following account, given by General Orr, of Armstrong county, Pennsylvania, which will at the same time serve to illustrate the character of General Harrison, and his power to win the good will of those under his command:

"Our brigade rendezvoused at Pittsburgh on the 2d of October, 1812, under the command of General Crooks, destined to join the North-Western army.

"At Upper Sandusky we were joined by a brigade of militia from Virginia, commanded by General Leftwitch, and while there, our commanding general received orders from Harrison, to send on immediately, in advance, under the command of a major, all the artillery, munitions, stores, &c., and for our main army to follow in a few days.

"I was ordered to take the charge and command of these, and marched immediately, with about three hundred men.

"On the third or fourth day of our march, we were met by an express from General Harrison, informing us of the disastrous defeat of Winchester, at the river Raisin, and that he, Harrison, after

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*Brackenridge.

burning the public stores, had retreated to Portage or Carrying river, where he required me to join him, with all possible dispatch, and for the more rapid movements of the troops, I was required to leave the artillery and all other heavy articles in charge of an officer. I set out next morning at three o'clock, and arrived at Portage river that same day, in the evening. There for the first time I saw and was placed under the command of General Harrison.

"Here we remained until joined by the army from Upper Sandusky, and then moved on to the Rapids of Maumee, at which place we continued until the expiration of our term of service.

"General Harrison now applied to those of the militia who were about to return home, for volunteers, to serve for the period of fifteen days, as within that time he expected reinforcements of Kentucky volunteers and others, and the fort would elsewise be left without sufficient men for its defense in case of an attack. Under these considerations, about two hundred of us Pennsylvanians volunteered as desired, all as *private soldiers*, and when the time had expired, which was on the 19th of April, 1813, the expected reinforcements having arrived, we were discharged, and left the fort.

"At this time, several of the officers who had thus volunteered the fifteen days, addressed a complimentary letter to the general, expressing our good wishes and confidence entertained for him as our commander, to which he replied in the following manner:

"'CAMP MEIGS, 17th April, 1813.

"'The detachment of Pennsylvania militia, under command of Major Nelson, which volunteered their services for fifteen days, after the 2d inst., having performed their engagements, are hereby honorably discharged. The general, on behalf of the government, gives his thanks to Majors Nelson, Ringland, and Orr, and every other officer, non-commissioned officer, and soldier of this detachment, for their services and magnanimous conduct upon this occasion. The general is too well convinced of the sacrifices which many of them have made, by a procrastination of their return home, at this critical season of the year, not to believe that their conduct on this occasion was the result of the purest patriotism. The general wishes them all a speedy meeting with their families, and a long continuance of that peace and happiness to which they have so just a claim.'"

About the time that Harrison's unsuccessful autumnal and winter campaign drew to a close, a change took place in the War Department, and General Armstrong succeeded his incapable friend,

Dr. Eustis. Armstrong's views were those of an able soldier; in October, 1812, he had again addressed the government through Mr. Gallatin, on the necessity of obtaining command of the lakes,* and when raised to power, determined to make naval operations the basis of the military movements of the North-West.

His views in relation to the coming campaign in the West, were based upon two points, viz: the use of regular troops alone, and the command of the lakes, which he was led to think could be obtained by the 20th of June.

Although the views of the secretary, in relation to the non-employment of militia, were not, and could not be, adhered to, the general plan of merely standing upon the defensive until the command of the lake was secured, was persisted in, although it was the 4th of August, instead of the first of June, before the vessels at Erie could leave the harbor in which they had been built.

Among these defensive operations of the spring and summer of 1813, that at Fort or Camp Meigs, the new post taken by Harrison at the Rapids, and that at Lower Sandusky, deserve to be especially noticed. It had been anticipated that, with the opening of spring, the British would attempt the conquest of the position on the Maumee, and measures had been taken by the general to forward reinforcements, which were detained, however, as usual, by the spring freshets and the bottomless roads.

As had been expected, on the 28th of April, the English forces began the investment of Harrison's camp, and by the 1st of May had completed their batteries; meantime, the Americans behind their tents had thrown up a bank of earth twelve feet high, and upon a basis of twenty feet, behind which the whole garrison withdrew the moment that the gunners of the enemy were prepared to commence operations. Upon this bank, the ammunition of his Majesty was wasted in vain, and down to the 5th, nothing was effected by either party.

On that day, General Clay, with twelve hundred additional troops, came down the Maumee in flatboats, and, in accordance with orders received from Harrison, detached eight hundred men under Colonel Dudley, to attack the batteries upon the left bank of the river, while, with the remainder of his forces, he landed upon the southern shore, and after some loss and delay, fought his way into camp. Dudley, on his part, succeeded perfectly in capturing

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*Armstrong's Notices, i. 177, Note.

the batteries, but instead of spiking the cannon, and then instantly returning to his boats, he suffered his men to waste their time, and skirmish with the Indians, until Proctor was able to cut them off from their only chance of retreat; taken by surprise, and in disorder, the greater part of the detachment became an easy prey, only one hundred and fifty of the eight hundred escaping captivity or death.

This sad result was partially, though but little, alleviated by the success of a sortie made from the fort by Col. Miller, in which he captured and made useless the batteries that had been erected south of the Maumee. The result of the day's doings had been sad enough for the Americans, but still the British general saw in it nothing to encourage him; his cannon had done nothing, and were in fact no longer of value; his Indian allies found it "hard to fight people who lived like ground hogs." News of the American successes below had been received, and additional troops were approaching from Ohio and Kentucky.

Proctor, weighing all things, determined to retreat, and upon the 9th of May, returned to Malden.

Meanwhile, the work of ship building was vigorously going on at Erie. "The northern frontier of Pennsylvania and Ohio was at that time little better than a wilderness; supplies and artisans had to be brought from the Atlantic coast, and the timber for the larger vessels was to be cut fresh from the forest." The rigging for all the fleet was brought from Pittsburgh, where Commodore Perry contracted for it in person, with John Irwin and Boyle Irwin, who carried on the rope making separately at that place.

The Allegheny river this year continued in good keel boat order until August, a circumstance so unusual, that it seems *providential*, and thus means were afforded for the conveyance of the manufactured rigging to Erie, while, if the river had receded as low as usual, the fleet could not have been rigged in time for the glorious victory that was to follow.

About the same time, the followers of Proctor again approached Fort Meigs, around which they remained for a week, effecting nothing, though very numerous. The purpose of this second investment seems, indeed, rather to have been the diversion of Harrison's attention from Erie, and the employment of the immense bands of Indians which the English had gathered at Malden, than any serious blow; and finding no progress made, Proctor next moved toward Sandusky, into the neighborhood of the commander-in-chief. The principal stores of Harrison were at Sandusky, while he was him-

self at Seneca, and Major Croghan at Fort Stephenson, or Lower Sandusky. This latter post being deemed indefensible against heavy cannon, and it being supposed that Proctor would of course bring heavy cannon, if he attacked it, the general, and a council of war called by him, thought it wisest to abandon it; but before this could be done, after the final determination of the matter, on the 31st of July, it was rendered impossible by the appearance of the enemy, who had secretly ascended the Sandusky river, in open row boats, temporarily constructed for the purpose, and were ready for immediate action.

The garrison of the little fort was composed of one hundred and fifty men, under a commander just past his twenty-first year, and with a single piece of cannon, while the investing force, including Tecumthe's Indians, was, it is said, three thousand three hundred strong, and with six pieces of artillery, all of them, fortunately, light ones. Proctor demanded a surrender, and told the unvarying story of the danger of provoking a general massacre by the savages, unless the fort was yielded; to all which the representative of young Croghan replied by saying that the Indians would have none left to massacre, if the British conquered, for every man of the garrison would have died at his post. Proctor, upon this, opened his fire, which being concentrated upon the north-west angle of the fort, led the commander to think that it was meant to make a breach there, and carry the works by assault: he, therefore, proceeded to strengthen that point by bags of sand and flour, while, under cover of night, he placed his single six pounder to rake the angle threatened, and then, having charged his infant battery with slugs, and hidden it from the enemy, he waited the event. During the night of the 1st of August, and till late in the evening of the 2d, the firing continued upon the devoted north-west corner; then, under cover of the smoke and gathering darkness, a column of three hundred and fifty men approached unseen, to within twenty paces of the walls. The musketry opened upon them, but with little effect—the ditch was gained, and in a moment filled with men: at that instant, the masked cannon, only thirty feet distant, and so directed as to sweep the ditch, was unmasked and fired, killing at once twenty-seven of the assailants. The effect was decisive; the column recoiled, and the little fort was saved with the loss of one man. On the next morning, the British and their allies, having the fear of Harrison before their eyes, were gone, leaving behind them in their haste, guns, stores, and clothing.

According to a *British* account of this affair, the number engaged

on their side is said to be far below that above stated. There were, they say, only four hundred regulars of the forty-first regiment, and three hundred Indians, with two six-pound cannon. There were ninety to ninety-three killed at the fort, and in all about one hundred men lost.

The ship building going forward at Erie during this time had not been unknown to, or disregarded by the English, who proposed all in good time to destroy the vessels upon which so much depended, and to appropriate the stores of the republicans: "The ordnance and naval stores you require," said Sir George Prevost to General Proctor, "must be taken from the enemy, whose resources on Lake Erie must become yours. I am much mistaken if you do not find Captain Barclay disposed to play that game." Captain Barclay was an experienced, brave, and able seaman, and was waiting anxiously for a sufficient body of troops to be spared him, in order to attack Erie with success. A sufficient force was promised him against July, at which time the British fleet went down the lake to reconnoiter, and if it were wise, to make the proposed attempt upon the Americans at Erie.

Perry, and his gallant officers and men were prepared to make some resistance, even before the vessels were built; but his main protection was from the north-western Pennsylvania militia, which was constantly held in readiness to repel any attack that might be made: the *county* of *Erie* militia particularly, who were called nearly every week during June and July.

Notwithstanding all this watchfulness, by a very extraordinary and happy coincidence, the British had disappeared from the vicinity of the harbor at the very time when Perry was ready to take his new fleet over the bar. What was the cause of their absence has never been satisfactorily ascertained. This, and the unusual navigation of the Allegheny river, may be considered as among the first circumstances in the war, after a series of reverses, that were favorable to the Americans.

On the 2d of August, the fleet was equipped, but there being difficulty in getting some of the vessels over the bar, it required two days, (until the 4th,) to get them all clear. For this purpose it was necessary to dismount most of the guns, and to protect the fleet at this time, when it was in a most helpless condition, and might otherwise have become a prey to the enemy, had he been on the spot, as anticipated, a very large force of militia was collected in the vicinity, whose services, however, were fortunately not needed.

Having sailed on the 4th in quest of the enemy, and not finding him, Perry returned on the 8th, took in some reinforcements, and sailed again on the 12th; on the 15th he anchored in the bay of Sandusky. After receiving some further reinforcements here, he again set sail in quest of the enemy, and after cruising off Malden, he retired to Put-in-Bay. His fleet consisted of the brig Lawrence, his flag vessel, of twenty guns; the Niagara, of twenty; the Caledonia, of three; the schooner Ariel, of four; the Scorpion, of two; the Somers, of two guns and two swivels; the sloop Trippe, and schooners Tigress and Porcupine, of one gun each; amounting in all to nine vessels, fifty-four guns, and two swivels. The British had three vessels less than the Americans, but their superior size, and the number of their guns, counterbalanced this advantage.*

On the morning of the 10th of September, our commander discovered the enemy bearing down upon him, and immediately prepared to fight.

Of the contest, Perry's own account is submitted:

"United States schooner Ariel, Put-in-Bay,
13th September, 1813.

"At sunrise on the morning of the 10th, the enemy's vessels were discovered from Put-in-Bay, where I lay at anchor with the squadron under my command.

"We got under weigh, the wind light at S. W. and stood for them. At 10, A. M. the wind hauled to S. E. and brought us to windward; formed the line and brought up. At fifteen minutes before twelve, the enemy commenced firing; at five minutes before twelve, the action commenced on our part. Finding their fire very destructive, owing to their long guns, and it being mostly directed to the Lawrence, I made sail, and directed the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the enemy. Every brace and bow line being shot away, she became unmanageable, notwithstanding the great exertions of the sailing master.

"In this situation she sustained the action upward of two hours, within canister shot distance, until every gun was rendered useless, and a greater part of the crew either killed or wounded. Finding she could no longer annoy the enemy, I left her in charge of Lieutenant Yarnall, who, I was convinced, from the bravery already displayed by him, would do what would comport with the honor of the flag.

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*Brackenridge.

"At half past two, the wind springing up, Captain Elliott was enabled to bring his vessel, the Niagara, gallantly into close action; I immediately went on board of her, when he anticipated my wish by volunteering to bring the schooners which had been kept astern by the lightness of the wind, into close action.

"It was with unspeakable pain that I saw, soon after I got on board the Niagara, the flag of the Lawrence come down, although I was perfectly sensible that she had been defended to the last, and that to have continued to make a show of resistance would have been a wanton sacrifice of the remains of her brave crew. But the enemy was not able to take possession of her, and circumstances soon permitted her flag to be hoisted.

"At forty-five minutes past two, the signal was made for 'close action.' The Niagara being very little injured, I determined to pass through the enemy's line, bore up and passed ahead of their two ships and a brig, giving a raking fire to them from the starboard guns, and to a large schooner and sloop, from the larboard side, at half pistol shot distance.

"The smaller vessels at this time having got within grape and canister distance, under the direction of Captain Elliott, and keeping up a well directed fire, the two ships, a brig, and a schooner, surrendered, a schooner and sloop making a vain attempt to escape.

"Those officers and men who were immediately under my observation evinced the greatest gallantry, and I have no doubt that all others conducted themselves as became American officers and seamen."*

Meanwhile the American army had received its reinforcements, and was only waiting the expected victory of the fleet to embark.

On the 27th of September, it set sail for the shore of Canada, and in a few hours stood around the ruins of the deserted and wasted Malden, from which Proctor had retreated to Sandwich, intending to make his way to the heart of Canada, by the valley of the Thames.† On the 29th, Harrison was at Sandwich, and McArthur took possession of Detroit and the territory of Michigan. At this point Colonel Johnson's mounted rifle regiment, which had gone up the west side of the river, rejoined the main army.

On the 2d of October, the Americans began their march in

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* American State Papers, xiv. 295. For Perry's Letters see Niles' Register, v. 60 to 62.

† See official accounts in Niles' Register, v. 117.

pursuit of Proctor, whom they overtook upon the 5th. He had posted his army with its left resting upon the river, while the right flank was defended by a marsh; the ground between the river and the marsh was divided lengthwise by a smaller swamp, so as to make two distinct fields in which the troops were to operate. The British were in two lines, occupying the field between the river and small swamp; the Indians extended from the small to the large morass, the ground being suitable to their mode of warfare, and unfavorable for cavalry.

Harrison at first ordered the mounted Kentuckians to the left of the American army, that is, to the field furthest from the river, in order to act against the Indians, while with his infantry formed in three lines and strongly protected on the left flank to secure it against the savages, he proposed to meet the British troops themselves. Before the battle commenced, however, he learned two facts, which induced him to change his plans; one was the bad nature of the ground on his left for the operations of horse; the other was the open order of the English regulars, which made them liable to a fatal attack by cavalry. Learning these things, Harrison, but whether upon his own suggestion or not, is unknown, ordered Colonel Johnston with his mounted men to charge, and try to break the regular troops, by passing through their ranks and forming in their rear. In arranging to do this, Johnson found the space between the river and small swamp too narrow for all his men to act in with effect; so, dividing them, he gave the right hand body opposite the regulars in charge to his brother James, while crossing the swamp with the remainder, he himself led the way against Tecumthe and his savage followers. The charge of James Johnson was perfectly successful; the Kentuckians received the fire of the British, broke through their ranks, and forming beyond them, produced such a panic by the novelty of the attack, that the whole body of troops yielded at once.

On the left the Indians fought more obstinately, and the horsemen were forced to dismount, but in ten minutes Tecumthe was dead,* and his followers, who had learned the fate of their allies, soon gave up the contest. In half an hour all was over, except the pursuit of Proctor, who had fled at the onset. The whole number in both armies was about five thousand, the whole number killed, less than forty, so entirely was the affair decided by panic.

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*As to who killed Tecumthe, see Drake's life of that chief, p. 199 to 219.

To this outline of the battle of the Thames, is added a part of Harrison's official statement:

"The troops at my disposal consisted of about one hundred and twenty regulars of the twenty-seventh regiment, five brigades of Kentucky volunteer militia infantry, under his Excellency, Governor Shelby, averaging less than five hundred men, and Colonel Johnson's regiment of mounted infantry, making in the whole an aggregate something above three thousand.

"No disposition of an army, opposed to an Indian force, can be safe unless it is secured on the flanks, and in the rear. I had, therefore, no difficulty in arranging the infantry conformably to my general order of battle.

"General Trotter's brigade of five hundred men, formed the front line, his right upon the road, and his left upon the swamp. General King's brigade as a second line, one hundred and fifty yards in the rear of Trotter's, and Chiles' brigade as a corps of reserve, in the rear of it. These three brigades formed the command of Major-General Henry; the whole of General Desha's division, consisting of two brigades, were formed *en potence* upon the left of Trotter.

"Whilst I was engaged in forming the infantry, I had directed Colonel Johnson's regiment, which was still in front, to be formed in two lines opposite to the enemy, and upon the advance of the infantry, to take ground to the left, and forming upon that flank, to endeavor to turn the right of the Indians.

"A moment's reflection, however, convinced me that from the thickness of the woods, and swampiness of the ground, they would be unable to do anything on horseback, and there was no time to dismount them, and place their horses in security; I therefore determined to refuse my left to the Indians, and to break the British lines at once, by a charge of the mounted infantry: the measure was not sanctioned by any thing that I had seen or heard of, but I was fully convinced that it would succeed.

"The American backwoodsmen ride better in the woods than any other people. A musket or rifle is no impediment to them, being accustomed to carry them on horseback from their earliest youth. I was persuaded, too, that the enemy would be quite unprepared for the shock, and that they could not resist it. Conformably to this idea, I directed the regiment to be drawn up in close column, with its right at the distance of fifty yards from the road, (that it might be in some measure protected by the trees from the artil-

lery,) its left upon the swamp, and to charge at full speed as soon as the enemy delivered their fire.

"The few regular troops of the twenty-seventh regiment, under their Colonel (Paull,) occupied, in column of sections of four, the small space between the road and the river, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's artillery, and some ten or twelve friendly Indians were directed to move under the bank. The crochet formed by the front line, and General Desha's division, was an important point. At that place, the venerable governor of Kentucky was posted, who, at the age of sixty-six, preserves all the vigor of youth, the ardent zeal which distinguished him in the Revolutionary war, and the undaunted bravery which he manifested at King's Mountain.

"With my aids-de-camp, the acting assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Butler, my gallant friend Commodore Perry, who did me the honor to serve as my volunteer aid-de-camp, and Brigadier-General Cass, who having no command, tendered me his assistance, I placed myself at the head of the front line of infantry, to direct the movements of the cavalry, and give them the necessary support.

"The army had moved on in this order but a short distance, when the mounted men received the fire of the British line, and were ordered to charge; the horses in front of the column recoiled from the fire; another was given by the enemy, and our column at length getting in motion, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute the contest in front was over; the British officers seeing no hopes of reducing their disordered ranks to order, and our mounted men wheeling upon them, and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered. It is certain that three only of our troops were wounded in this charge. Upon the left, however, the contest was more severe with the Indians.

"Colonel Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a most galling fire from them, which was returned with great effect. The Indians still further to the right advanced, and fell in with our front line of infantry, near its junction with Desha's division, and for a moment made an impression upon it.

"His Excellency, Governor Shelby, however, brought up a regiment to its support, and the enemy receiving a severe fire in front, and a part of Johnson's regiment having gained their rear, retreated with precipitation. Their loss was very considerable in the action, and many were killed in their retreat."

Those who wish to see a fuller account, are referred to the authorities below, many of which are easily accessible.*

The rule of the British over the *lower peninsula* of Michigan, which had lasted from August, 1812, to October, 1813, was now at an end, and the American eagle again floated over the territory and the lakes in the majestic consciousness of his power. This for the present closes the events of the war in the North-West, which, during the year under consideration, were fraught with interest, and embraced some of the most important incidents in the history of the Union.

Yet there was another section of country that now deserves attention. This is the region of the Upper Mississippi, above its juncture with the Ohio river, which was *then* called the "Far West," and which, if its wild prairies, noble waters and majestic forests were indeed as yet, little more than a wilderness almost unreclaimed—the haunts of wild animals and wilder savages—was yet even then resounding with the woodsman's axe, that, like a prophet's voice, proclaimed its future destiny, of speedily rising into significance and importance, till now it is the "Far West" no longer, but is becoming more and more nearly the center of civilization in our Union.

The year 1813 opened with gloomy prospects for these far-off and exposed territories. There were steps taken to protect the feeble settlements about the juncture of the three great rivers, (the Mississippi, the Missouri and Illinois,) from the depredations of the savages. The following items, taken from the Missouri Gazette, of St. Louis, which was the first newspaper ever published west of the Mississippi, will show what these were:

"We have now nearly finished twenty-two family forts, (stations,) extending from the Mississippi, nearly opposite Bellefontaine, (mouth of the Missouri,) to the Kaskaskia river, a distance of about seventy-five miles. Between each fort, spies are to pass and repass daily, and communicate throughout the whole line, which will be extended to the United States Saline, and from thence to the mouth of the Ohio.

"Rangers and mounted militia, to the amount of five hundred men, constantly scour the country from twenty to fifty miles in advance of our settlements, so that we feel perfectly easy as to an

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* Niles' Register, Dawson's Life of Harrison, Drake's Tecumthe, &c.

attack from our 'red brethren,' as Mr. Jefferson very lovingly calls them."

Notwithstanding these measures, predatory warfare from excursion of Indians was carried on throughout all of this and the next year, over this whole region of country.

"About this time, Benjamin Howard, Governor of Missouri Territory, resigned the office, and accepted the commission of Brigadier-General, to command the rangers of both territories."

"Fort Madison, above the lower rapids of Mississippi, was subject to repeated attacks from the Sacs, Foxes and Winnebagoes.

"On the 16th of July, the enemy carried a block house, lately erected, to command a ravine in which the Indians had taken advantage in all their attacks upon this place; they kept up a fire on the garrison for about two hours. This is the ninth or tenth rencontre that has taken place on our frontier, between the 4th and 17th of this month."

Amongst the British traders that had great influence over the northern Indians, was an individual named Dickson, who, previous to this period, had stationed himself at Prairie du Chien, and furnished the savages with large supplies of goods and munitions of war. Dickson had the manners and appearance of a gentleman, but doubtless, as did many other British subjects, who anticipated a war between Great Britain and the United States, felt himself authorized to enlist Indians as partisans.

An editorial in the same paper gives some important facts concerning Prairie du Chien, and the resources at the trading posts in Wisconsin, for supplying both British and Indians in their hostilities.

"Last winter we endeavored to turn the attention of government toward Prairie du Chien, a position which we ought to occupy, by establishing a military post at the village, or on the Ouisconsin, four miles below.

"For several months we have not been able to procure any other than Indian information from the Prairie, the enemy having cut off all communication with us; but we are persuaded that permanent subsistence can be obtained for one thousand regular troops in the upper lake country.

"At Prairie du Chien there are about fifty families, most of whom are engaged in agriculture; their common field is four miles long, by half a mile in breadth. Besides this field they have three separate farms of considerable extent, and twelve horse mills to manufacture their produce.

"At the village of L'abre Croche, an immense quantity of corn is raised; from thence to Milwaukie, on Lake Michigan, there are several villages where corn is grown extensively. These supplies, added to the fine fish which abound in the lakes and rivers, will furnish the enemy's garrison with provisions in abundance.

"Our little garrison on the Mississippi, half way up to the Prairie, (now Bellevue, Iowa,) has taught the Indians a few lessons on prudence. With about thirty effective men, those brave and meritorious soldiers, Lieutenant Hamilton and Vasquez, in a wretched pen, improperly called a fort, beat off five hundred savages of the North-West."

The following items are quoted from the Hon. John Reynolds:

"During the campaign in the summer and autumn of 1813, all the companies of rangers from Illinois and Missouri were under the command of General Howard. Large parties of hostile Indians were known to have collected about Peoria, and scouting parties traversed the district between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, then an entire wilderness.

"It was from these marauding parties that the frontier settlements of Illinois and Missouri were harassed. It became an object of no small importance, to penetrate the country over which they ranged, and establish a fort at Peoria, and then drive them to the northern wilderness.

"The rendezvous for the Illinois regiment was 'Camp Russel,' two miles north of Edwardsville. Thence they removed a short march, and encamped on the Mississippi, near the mouth of Piasa, opposite Portage des Sioux. Here they remained three weeks, waiting the arrival of the Missouri troops, who crossed the river from Fort Mason. The baggage and men of this party were transported in canoes, and the horses made to swim. The whole force from the two territories, when collected, made up of the rangers, volunteers, and militia, amounted to about fourteen hundred men.

"After the middle of September, they commenced the march, and swam their horses over the Illinois river, about two miles above the mouth. On the high ground in Calhoun county, they had a skirmish with a party of Indians.

"The army marched for a number of days along the Mississippi bottom. On or near the site of Quincy, was a large Sac village, and an encampment that must have contained several hundred warriors. It appeared to have been deserted but a short period.

"The army continued its march near the Mississippi, some distance above the Lower Rapids, and then struck across the prairies

for the Illinois river, which they reached below the mouth of Spoon river, and marched to Peoria village. Here was a small stockade, commanded by Colonel Nicholas, of the United States army.

"Two days previous, the Indians had made an attack on the fort, and were repulsed. The army, on its march from the Mississippi to the Illinois river, found numerous fresh trails, all passing northward, which indicated that the savages were fleeing in that direction.

"Next morning the general marched his troops to the Senatchwine, a short distance above the head of Peoria lake, where was an old Indian town, called Gomo's village. Here they found the enemy had taken water, and ascended the Illinois. This, and two other villages, were burnt.

"Finding no enemy to fight, the army was marched back to Peoria, to assist the regular troops in building Fort Clark, so denominated in memory of the old hero of 1778; and Major Christy, with a party, was ordered to ascend the river with two keel boats, duly armed and protected, to the foot of the rapids, and break up any Indian establishments that might be in that quarter. Major Boone, with a detachment, was dispatched to scour the country on Spoon river, in the direction of Rock river.

"The rangers and militia passed to the east side of the Illinois, cut timber, which they hauled on truck-wheels, by drag ropes, to the lake, and rafted it across. The fort was erected by the regular troops, under Captain Phillips. In preparing the timber, the rangers and militia were engaged about two weeks.

"Major Christy and the boats returned from the rapids without any discovery, except additional proofs of the alarm and fright of the enemy, and Major Boone returned with his force with the same observations.

"It was the plan of General Howard to return by a tour through the Rock river valley, but the cold weather set in unusually early. By the middle of October it was intensely cold, the troops had no clothing for a winter campaign, and their horses would, in all probability, fail. The Indians had evidently fled a long distance in the interior, so that, all things considered, he resolved to return the direct route to Camp Russell, where the militia and volunteers were disbanded, on the 22d of October. Supplies of provisions, and munitions of war had been sent to Peoria in boats, which had reached there a few days previous to the army.

"It may seem to those who delight in tales of fighting and blood-

shed, that this expedition was a very insignificant affair. Very few Indians were killed, very little fighting done, but one or two of the army were lost, and yet as a means of protecting the frontier settlements of these territories, it was most efficient, and gave at least six months quiet to the people. After this, the Indians shook their heads and said, 'White men like the leaves in the forest—like the grass in the prairies—they grow everywhere.'

The following additional items are taken from the Missouri
1814.] Gazette:

"During this season strenuous efforts were made by the small force at command, to plant forts along the Upper Mississippi. The general rendezvous was at Cape au Gris, an old French hamlet on the left bank of the Mississippi, a few miles above the mouth of the Illinois river. Armed boats were used for the purpose of transporting the necessary materials, men and stores.

"About the 1st of May, Governor Clark fitted out five barges, with fifty regular troops and one hundred and forty volunteers, and left St. Louis on an expedition to Prairie du Chien. On the 13th of June, the Governor, with several gentlemen who accompanied him, returned with one of the barges, having left the officers and troops to erect Fort Shelby and maintain the position.

"No Indians molested the party till they reached Rock river, where they had a skirmish with some hostile Sauks. The Foxes resided at Dubuque, and professed to be peaceable, and promised to fight on the American side.

"Twenty days before the expedition reached Prairie du Chien, the British trader, Dickson, left that place for Mackinac, with eighty Winnebagoes, one hundred and twenty Follsavoine, and one hundred Sioux, probably as *recruits* for the British army along the lake country. He had gained information of the expedition of Governor Clark from his Indian spies, and had left Captain Deace with a body of Mackinac fencibles, with orders to protect the place.

"The Sioux and Renards, (Foxes,) having refused to fight the Americans, Deace and his soldiers fled. The inhabitants also fled into the country, but returned as soon as they learned they were not to be injured. A temporary defense was immediately erected. Lieutenant Perkins, with sixty rank and file from Major Z. Taylor's company of the 7th regiment, took possession of the house occupied by the Mackinac Fur Company, in which they found nine or ten trunks of Dickson's property, with his papers and correspondence.

"The farms of Prairie du Chien are in high cultivation; between two and three hundred barrels of flour may be manufactured there this season, besides a vast quantity of corn.

"Two of the largest boats were left in command of Aid-de-Camp Kennerly, and Captains Sullivan and Yeizer, whose united forces amount to one hundred and thirty-five men. The regulars, under command of Lieutenant Perkins, are stationed on shore, and are assisted by the volunteers in building the new fort.

"About the last of June, Captain John Sullivan, with a company of militia, and some volunteers whose term of service had expired, returned from Prairie du Chien, and reported that the fort was finished, the boats well manned and barricaded; that the Indians were hovering around, and had taken prisoner a Frenchman while hunting his horses. The boats employed, carried six pounder on their main decks, and several howitzers on the quarters and gangways. The men were protected by a musket proof barricade.

"Soon after the return of Governor Clark from Prairie du Chien, it was thought expedient by General Howard to send up a force to relieve the volunteer troops, and strengthen that remote post. He therefore sent Lieutenant Campbell, (who was acting as Brigade Major,) and three keel boats, with forty-two regulars, and sixty-six rangers; and including the sutler's establishment, boatmen and women, making one hundred and thirty-three persons. They reached Rock river without difficulty, but at the foot of the rapids, they were visited by large numbers of Sauks and Foxes, pretending to be friendly, and some of them bearing letters from the garrison above to St. Louis. In a short time the contractors and sutler's boats had reached the head of the rapids; the two barges with the rangers followed, and were about two miles ahead of the commander's barge. Here a gale of wind arose and the barge drifted against the shore; therefore he thought proper to lie by until the wind abated; sentries were stationed at proper distances, and the men were on the shore cooking, when the report of several guns announced the attack.

"The savages were seen on shore in quick motion; canoes filled with Indians passed from an opposite island; and in a few moments they found themselves nearly surrounded with five or six hundred Indians, who gave the war-whoop and poured upon them a galling fire. The barges ahead, commanded by Captains Rector and Riggs, attempted to return, but one got stranded on the rapids; the other, to prevent a similar disaster, let go an anchor. The

rangers from both these barges opened a brisk fire on the Indians. The unequal contest was kept up for more than an hour; the Indians firing from the island and the shore under cover, when the commander's barge took fire. Captain Rector cut his cable, fell to windward, and took out the survivors. Captain Riggs soon after followed with his barge, and all returned to St. Louis.

"There were three regulars, four rangers, one woman and one child, killed; and sixteen wounded, among whom were Major Campbell and Dr. Stewart, severely."

On the 6th of August, the Gazette, (the authority for these details,) states:

"Just as we had put our paper to press, Lieutenant Perkins, with the troops which composed the garrison at Prairie du Chien, arrived here. Lieutenant Perkins fought the combined force of British and Indians three days and nights, until they approached the pickets by mining; provisions, ammunition and water were expended, when he capitulated. The officers to keep their private property, and the whole not to serve until duly exchanged. Five of our troops were wounded during the siege."

In a letter from Captain Yeizer, to Governor Clark, dated, St. Louis, July 28th, 1814, is found the following statement:

"Captain Y. commanded one of the gun-boats, a keel-boat fitted up in the manner heretofore described. On the 17th July, at half past one o'clock, from twelve to fifteen hundred British and Indians, marched up in full view of the fort and the town, and demanded a surrender, 'which demand was positively refused.'

"They attacked Mr. Yeizer's boat at three o'clock, at long-shot distance. He returned the compliment by firing round-shot from his six pounder, which made them change their position to a small mound nearer the boat. At the same time the Indians were firing from behind the houses and pickets. The boat then moved up the river to the head of the village; keeping up a constant discharge of fire-arms and artillery, which was answered by the enemy from the shore.

"The enemy's boats then crossed the river below, to attack the Americans from the opposite side of the river. A galling fire from opposite points was now kept up by the enemy, on this boat, until the only alternative was left for Captain Yeizer to run the boat through the enemy's lines to a point five miles below; keeping up a brisk fire.

"In the meantime, another gun-boat that lay on shore, was fired on until it took fire and was burnt. In Captain Yeizer's boat, two officers and four privates were wounded, and one private killed.

"The British and Indians were commanded by Colonel McCay, (or Mackay,) who came in boats from Mackinac, by Green Bay and the Wisconsin, with artillery. Their report gives from one hundred and sixty to two hundred regulars, and 'Michigan fencibles,' and about eight hundred Indians. They landed their artillery below the town and fort, and formed a battery; attacking the forts and the boats at the same time.

"After Captain Yeizer's boat had been driven from its anchorage, sappers and miners began operations in the bank, one hundred and fifty yards from the fort. Lieutenant Perkins held out while hope lasted. In the fort were George and James Kennerly—the former an aid to Governor Clark; the latter a Lieutenant in the militia."

"A detachment, under command of Major Taylor, left Cape au Gris, on the 23d of August, in boats, for the Indian town at Rock river. The detachment consisted of three hundred and thirty-four effective men, officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates. A report from the commanding officer to General Howard, dated from Fort Madison, September 6th, and published in the 'Missouri Gazette' of the 17th, gives the details of the expedition.

"They met with no opposition until they reached Rock Island, where Indian villages were situated on both sides of the river, above and below the rapids. The object was to destroy these villages and the fields of corn. They continued up the rapids to Campbell's Island, so named from the commander of one of the boats—from some hard fighting his detachment had with the Indians. The policy of the commanding officer was to commence with the upper villages, and sweep both sides of the river.

"But the policy was interrupted by a party of British, and more than a thousand Indians, with a six and a three pounder, as was believed, brought from Prairie du Chien. Captains Whiteside and Rector, and the men under their charge, with Lieutenant Edward Hempstead, who commanded a boat, fought the enemy bravely for several hours as they descended the rapids. The danger consisted in the enemy's shot sinking the boats, and they were compelled to fall down below the rapids to repair.

"I then called the officers together, and put to them the following question: 'Are we able, three hundred and thirty-four effective men, to fight the enemy, with any prospect of success and effect, which is to destroy their villages and corn?' They were of opinion the enemy was at least three men to one, and that it was not practicable to effect either object.

"I then determined to drop down the river to the Des Moines, without delay, as some of the officers of the rangers informed me their men were short of provisions, and execute the principal object of the expedition, in erecting a fort to command the river.

"In the affair at Rock river, I had eleven men badly wounded, three mortally, of whom one has since died.

"I am much indebted to the officers for their prompt obedience to orders, nor do I believe a braver set of men could have been collected, than those who compose this detachment. But, sir, I conceive it would have been madness in me, as well as in direct violation of my orders, to have risked the detachment without a prospect of success.

"I believe I would have been fully able to have accomplished your views, if the enemy had not been supplied with artillery, and so advantageously posted, as to render it impossible for us to have dislodged him, without imminent danger of the loss of the whole detachment.'

"Had Major Taylor known the *real* strength of the enemy, he would not have retreated, as it was soon afterward discovered that there were only three individual Britons present, with *one* small field piece.

"Fort Madison, after sustaining repeated attacks from the Indians, was evacuated and burnt. And in the month of October, the people of St. Louis were astounded with the intelligence that the troops stationed in Fort Johnston, had burnt the block-houses, destroyed the works, and retreated down the river to Cape au Gres. The officer in command, (Major Taylor having previously left that post,) reported they were out of provisions, and could not sustain the position. It should be here noticed, that the defeat of the Indians in the battle of the Thames, drove back a large force of hostile savages to the Mississippi.

"Fort Johnston, a rough stockade with block-houses of round logs, was then erected on the present site of the town of Warsaw, opposite the mouth of the Des Moines.

"On the 18th of September, General Benjamin Howard, whose military district extended from the interior of Indiana to the frontier of Mexico, died in St. Louis.

"The Boone's Lick settlement, near and about the Missouri river, at the commencement of the war with Great Britain, numbered about one hundred and fifty families. The governor of the territory considered them beyond the organized jurisdiction of any county, and for about four years the only authority over them was

patriarchal. The state of society was orderly, and the habits of the people back-woods fashion, "*neighbor-like.*" The force of public sentiment regulated society.

"The people erected five stockade temporary forts, at as many different locations, calculated to repel the prowling savages, and secure their own safety. When immediate danger was apprehended, the families repaired to these stockades, but the citizen soldiers, besides ranging in advance of the forts after the enemy, had to hunt game for provisions, and cultivate the land for corn. As much of their stock was killed or driven off by the early incursions of the enemy, the terms 'bear bacon,' and 'hog-meat,' were inserted in contracts for provisions in those days.

"Large enclosures near the forts were occupied for corn-fields, in common; and frequently sentinels stood on the borders of the field, while their neighbors turned the furrow. Skirmishes with parties of Indians were frequent.

"If they threatened the fort while the detachments were in the corn-field, or on the hunting range, the sound of the horn was the rallying signal.

"At the village of Cote Sans Dessein, the *Creole French* and Americans together erected a block-house and pallisade enclosure, to protect the families. The principal person in command was a resolute Frenchman, by the name of Baptiste Louis Roy. The fort was assailed by a large party of Indians, when only two men besides Captain Roy, with many women and children, were in it.

"The women cast bullets, cut patches, loaded rifles, and furnished refreshments, while Roy and his two soldiers defended the post, until fourteen braves were numbered as slain. The Indians attempted to set the house on fire, by shooting arrows armed with combustible materials, but the resolute women put out the fire. The defense proved successful, and M. Roy, at a period subsequent to the war, received a costly rifle from the young men at St. Louis for his gallant behavior.

"After about two years of hard fighting, 'on their own hook,' to use a western figure, application was made to the governor, and a detachment of rangers under General Henry Dodge, was sent to their relief. The mounted men, (rangers,) included the companies of Captain John Thompson, of St. Louis, Captain Daugherty, of Cape Girardeau, and Captain Cooper, of the Boone's Lick settlement, with fifty Shawanese and Delaware Indians; the whole amounting to three hundred men.

"They marched to the village of the Miamies, took about four

hundred men, women and children prisoners, and sent them to their nation, on the Wabash."

As before told, the battle of the Thames practically closed the 1814.] war in the North-West. The nominal operations of this year were as follows:

First, was undertaken an expedition into Canada, in February, by Captain Holmes, a gallant young officer, whose career closed soon after. In the previous month the enemy had taken post again upon the Thames, not far above the field of Proctor's defeat. Holmes directed his movements against this point.

Before he reached it, however, he learned that a much stronger force than his own was advancing to meet him, and taking up an eligible position upon a hill, he proceeded to fortify his camp, and waited their approach. They surrounded and attacked his entrenchments with great spirit, but being met with an obstinacy and courage equal to their own, and losing very largely from the well directed fire of the unexposed Americans, the British were forced to retreat again, without any result of consequence to either party.*

Second, a fruitless attempt was made by the Americans to retake Mackinac. It had been proposed to do this in the autumn of 1813, after the battle of the Thames, but one of the storms, which at that season are so often met with upon the lakes—by obliging the vessels that were bringing stores from below to throw over the baggage and provisions, defeated the undertaking. Early in the following April, the expedition up Lake Huron was once more talked of; the purpose being twofold, to capture Mackinac, and to destroy certain vessels which it was said the English were building in Gloucester bay, at the south-east extremity of the lake. This plan, however, was also abandoned; in part, from the want of men; in part, from a belief that Great Britain did not, as had been supposed, intend to make an effort to regain the command of the upper lakes; and also, in part, from a misunderstanding between General Harrison and Colonel Croghan, who commanded at Detroit, on the one hand, and the Secretary of War on the other.

General Armstrong had seen fit to pass by both the officers named, and to direct his communications to Major Holmes, their junior, a breach of military etiquette that offended them both, and in connection with other matters of a similar kind, led General

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* M'Afee, 441 to 444.—Holmes' own account is in Niles' Register, vi. 115.

Harrison to resign his post.* No sooner, however, had the plan of April been abandoned, than it was revived again, in consequence of new information as to the establishment at Gloucester bay, or properly, at Mackadash.

In consequence of the orders issued upon the 2d of June, seven hundred and fifty men, under Colonel Croghan, embarked in the American squadron, commanded by Sinclair, and upon the 12th of July, entered Lake Huron. After spending a week in a vain effort to get into Mackadash, in order to destroy the imaginary vessels there building, the fleet sailed to St. Joseph's, which was found deserted; thence a small party was sent to St. Mary's falls, while the remainder of the forces steered for Mackinac.

At the former point the trading house was destroyed, and the goods seized; at Mackinac, the result was far different. The troops landed upon the west of the island, upon the 4th of August, but after a severe action, in which Major Holmes and eleven others were killed, still found themselves so situated as to lead Croghan to abandon the attempt to prosecute the attack; and Mackinac was left in possession of the enemy.

Having failed in this effort it was determined by the American leaders to make an attempt to capture the schooner Nancy, which was conveying supplies to the island fortress. In this, or rather in effecting the destruction of the vessel, they succeeded, and having left Lieutenant Turner, to prevent any other provisions from Canada reaching Mackinac, the body of the fleet sailed for Detroit, which it reached, shattered and thinned by tempests.

Meanwhile the crew of the Nancy, who had escaped, passed over to Mackinac in a boat which they found, and an expedition was at once arranged by Lieutenant Worsley, who had commanded them, for frustrating all the plans of Croghan and Sinclair. Taking with him seventy or eighty men in boats, he first attacked and captured the Tigress, an American vessel lying off St. Joseph's; the next, sailing down the lake in the craft thus taken, easily made the three vessels under Turner, his own. In this enterprise, therefore, the Americans failed signally, at every point.†

In the third place, an attempt was made to control the tribes of the Upper Mississippi by founding a fort at Prairie du Chien. Early in May, Governor Clark, of Missouri, was sent thither, and there commenced Fort Shelby, without opposition. By the middle of

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* M'Afee, 414, 422.—Harrison's resignation is on 419.

† M'Afee, 422 to 437. The official accounts are in Niles' Register, vii. 4, &c., 18, 156.

July, however, British and Indian forces sent from Mackinac, surrounded the post, and Lieutenant Perkins, having but sixty men to oppose to twelve hundred, and being also scant of ammunition, after a defense of some days, was forced to capitulate: so that there again the United States were disappointed and defeated.

A fourth expedition was led by General McArthur, first against some bands of Indians which he could not find; and then across the peninsula of Upper Canada to the relief of General Brown at Fort Erie. The object of the last movement was either to join General Brown, or to destroy certain mills on Grand river, from which it was known that the English forces obtained their supplies of flour.

On the 26th of October, McArthur, with seven hundred and twenty mounted men, left Detroit, and on the 4th of November was at Oxford: from this point he proceeded to Burford, and learning that the road to Burlington was strongly defended, he gave up the idea of joining Brown, and turned toward the lake by the Long Point road, defeated a body of militia who opposed him, destroyed the mills, five or six in number, and managing to secure a retreat along the lake shore, although pursued by a regiment of regular troops nearly double his own men in number—on the 17th reached Sandwich again with the loss of but one man.

This march, though productive of no very marked results, was of consequence, from the vigor and skill displayed both by the commander and his troops. Had the summer campaign of 1812 been conducted with equal spirit, Michigan would not have needed to be retaken, and the labors of Perry and Harrison would have been uncalled for in the North-West.

With McArthur's march through Upper Canada the annals of war in the North-West closed.

Meanwhile, upon the 22d of July, a treaty had been formed at Greenville, under the direction of General Harrison and Governor Cass, by which the United States and the faithful Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, and Senecas, gave peace to the Miamies, Weas, and Eel river Indians, and to certain of the Pottawattamies, Ottawas and Kickapoos; and all the Indians engaged to aid the Americans should the war with Great Britain continue.* But such, happily, was not to be the case, and on the 24th of December the treaty of Ghent was signed by the representatives of England and

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* American State Papers, v. 826–836. Cist's Miscellany.

the United States. This treaty during the next year was followed by treaties with the various Indian tribes of the west and north-west, giving quiet and security to the frontiers once more.

About the middle of July, 1815, a large number of Indians, as 1815.] deputies from the nations and tribes of the North-West, assembled at Portage des Sioux, on the right bank of the Mississippi, a few miles above the mouth of the Missouri, to negotiate treaties of peace with the United States. The commissioners were the Governor of Missouri, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs west of the Mississippi, the Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Illinois, and Auguste Chouteau, of St. Louis. Robert Wash, was secretary to the commission. Colonel Dodge, with a strong military force was present, to prevent any collision or surprise.

The first in order was with the *Pottawattamies*. Every injury or act of hostility by either party against the other, was to be mutually forgiven; all prisoners to be delivered up; and "in sincerity and mutual friendship," every treaty, contract, and agreement, heretofore made between the United States and the Pottawattamie nation to be recognized, re-established, and confirmed. The same day a similar treaty was made with the *Piankeshaws*.

On the 19th of July, a series of treaties were made separately with several tribes of the *Sioux* or *Dakotah* nation. Similar terms were granted as to the Pottawattamies, and these branches of the Sioux nation acknowledged themselves under the protection of the United States.

On the 20th, a similar treaty was made with the *Mahas*, from the Upper Missouri.

The next in order was with the *Kickapoos*, on the 2d of September, and the conditions exactly similar to those of the Pottawattamies.

On the 13th of September, a treaty was made with that portion of the *Sac* nation of Indians, then residing on the Missouri river, represented by twelve chiefs.

They affirmed that they had endeavored to fulfill the treaty made at St. Louis, on the 3d day of November, 1804, in perfect good faith; and for that purpose had been compelled to separate themselves from the rest of their nation, and remove to the Missouri river, where they had continued to give proofs of their friendship and fidelity; they propose to confirm and re-establish the treaty of 1804; that they will continue to live separate and distinct from the

Sacs of Rock river, and give them no aid, until peace shall be concluded between them and the United States.

The United States on their part promise to allow the Sacs of the Missouri river, all the rights and privileges secured to them by the treaty at St. Louis.

The next day, September 14th, a treaty was made with the Fox tribe of Indians. The conditions place these Indians on the same footing they were before the war, and they also re-establish and confirm the treaty of St. Louis, of 1804. On the 12th of September, treaties were made with the *Great and Little Osage* nations, in which every act of hostility by either of the contracting parties against the other, was to be mutually forgiven and forgot. The treaty of 1808, made at "Fort Clark," on the Missouri, was re-confirmed.

On the 16th of September, a treaty was made with the *Ioway* Indians, on the same conditions as with the other hostile tribes.

On the 28th day of October, a treaty was made with the *Kansas* nation, on the same terms.

The Sacs of Rock river, led by the noted brave, Black Hawk, even now and subsequently *refused* to attend the treaty, proclaimed themselves to be British subjects, and went to Canada to receive presents.

A careful examination of these, and all other Indian treaties, since the great council of Greenville, in 1795, with full and correct knowledge of the historical events, will enable every unprejudiced person to perceive that the course of procedure on the part of the government of the United States, with the aborigines of the *northern portion* of our country, has been highly paternal, beneficent and liberal. The conduct of Great Britain cannot be brought in comparison. In justice and equity, the United States might have made and enforced remuneration in lands as a penalty for the hostilities committed, but the language in each treaty is, "that every injury or act of hostility, shall be forgiven and forgot."

The war being over, and the Indian tribes of the North-West being deprived of their distinguished British ally, and having consented to be at peace, confidence was restored to the frontier settlements, and emigration again began to push into the forests and prairies.

The campaigns of the rangers and mounted volunteers, who had traversed the groves and prairies of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Michigan, served as explorations of new and fertile countries, and

opened the way for thousands of hardy pioneers, and the formation of settlements.

The rich and delightful lands along the waters of the Wabash, the Kaskaskia, the Sangamon, and the Illinois rivers, had filled their hearts with enthusiasm, and the very men, who in hostile array had traversed the country, began to advance with their families in the peaceful character of husbandmen, and to plant new settlements in all this region.

The first *steamboat* that made a trip from New Orleans to Louisville, Ky., was the *Enterprise*. This boat left New Orleans on the 6th of May, 1815, and arrived at Louisville on the 31st of the same month, making the passage in *twenty-five days*. This was then regarded as quite an achievement in the navigation of the Mississippi and Ohio with steam.

On the 20th of June, in this year, the citizens of Meadville, Crawford county, Pennsylvania, held a public meeting, at which they resolved upon the establishment of an educational institution in their vicinity, to which was given the name of Allegheny College. The work was at once pushed on with a vigor and an enterprise that does honor to the public spirit of the citizens, and on the 4th of July, 1816, the new college was opened, with the Rev. Timothy Alden, an able and distinguished divine, as its president, and the Rev. Robert Johnson, as vice president. On the 24th of March, 1817, it was duly incorporated, and has since then continued in its course of usefulness, having in the meanwhile received some very rich and valuable endowments. Among these was the contribution by the Rev. Dr. Bentley, of Salem, Mass., of a very rare collection of theological works, said to be the best in the country. One of the buildings of the college has, in gratitude to the donor, been named Bentley Hall.

For some years after its establishment, it was not in a very flourishing condition. Not only was the surrounding country as yet too thinly settled for an institution of this kind to thrive, but the establishment of several rival colleges, that entered into competition with it, served to its injury.

These difficulties have been long since overcome, and Allegheny College is now one of the first and most flourishing institutions in the West. The growth of its prosperity may best be judged, when it is known, that in 1842 there were one hundred and fifty pupils in the institution, and in 1855, there were three hundred and twenty-eight, including males and females.

On the 18th of March, in this year, Pittsburgh was incorporated as
1816.] a city; it had been incorporated as a borough, on the 22d of April, 1794.

In the Territory of Michigan, a much larger portion of the soil remained in possession of the aborigines than further south. Previous to the war, but few settlements were made beyond the vicinity of Detroit, and along the river Raisin. These, to a great extent, had been broken up by the savages and their English allies during the war. It was not until a later period that the emigrants penetrated the interior of that territory. But Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, from 1816, to 1820, received a continuous succession of immigrants; particularly Kentucky, Carolina and Tennessee, sent out vast numbers to these new regions, where land was abundant, cheap, and productive.

In the early part of 1816, Congress having previously granted authority, a convention was elected in Indiana, and assembled to form a State Government. A constitution was adopted and reported to Congress. It was approved by that body, and the new State received admission into the Union.

The constitution having been made at a time when there was, as it were, a lull of party violence, produced by the late war, and when a general spirit of political conciliation and good feeling prevailed throughout, was framed with a great deal of care and wisdom. It was more conservative than perhaps that of any other State made out of a North-Western Territory.

The new State Government went into operation by the election of the Hon. Jonathan Jennings, Governor, who had represented the territory as Delegate in Congress, since 1809. The General Assembly discharged its duties in the formation of the various departments, agreeably to the provisions of the constitution, and changing the territorial laws in accordance with its position as a State.

So much apprehension was excited at this time in the minds of the people, in relation to the spurious *currency* that had been imposed upon them, that a clause in the constitution, restricted the banking system in the new State, to the charter of a single State bank with branches.

For not only had the States of Ohio and Kentucky been submerged with depreciated bank notes, but the new territories had in like manner been flooded with worthless paper.

Yet, notwithstanding the salutary example given by Indiana as

shown above, a general banking law was passed in Ohio immediately afterward.

A full history of banking in Ohio would as much exceed the limits of this work as it would tire the patience of the reader. But as about this time the disposition to an excess in the creation of such institutions was plainly manifested, it may not be improper to mention the leading acts of the legislature in reference to the subject.

The earliest bank chartered was the Miami Exporting Company of Cincinnati, the bill for which passed in April, 1803.

Banking was with this company a secondary object, its main purpose being to facilitate trade, then much depressed; nor was it till 1808, that the first bank, strictly speaking, that of Marietta, was chartered. During the same session the proposition of founding a State Bank was considered, and reported upon; it resulted in the establishment of the bank of Chillicothe.

From that time charters were granted to similar institutions up to the year 1816, when the great banking law was passed, incorporating twelve new banks, extending the charters of old ones, and making the State a party in the profits and capital of the institutions thus created and renewed, without any advance of means on her part.

This was done in the following manner: each new bank was at the outset to set apart one share in twenty-five for the State, without payment, and each bank, whose charter was renewed, was to create, for the State, stock in the same proportion; each bank, new and old, was yearly to set apart out of its profits a sum which would make, at the time the charter expired, a sum equal to one twenty-fifth of the whole stock, which was to belong to the State; and the dividends coming to the State were to be invested and reinvested until one-sixth of the stock was State property:—the last provision was subject to change by future legislatures.

This interest of the State in her banks continued until 1825, when the law was so amended as to change her stock into a tax of two per cent. upon all dividends made up to that time, and four per cent. upon all made thereafter. But before the law of 1816, in February, 1815, Ohio had begun to raise a revenue from her banking institutions, levying upon their dividends a tax of four per cent.

This law, however, was made null with regard to such banks as accepted the terms of the law of 1816. After 1825, no change was

made until March, 1831, when the tax was increased to five per cent.

Two important acts have been more lately passed by the legislature, to which we can here only refer. In 1839, a law was enacted, appointing bank commissioners, who were to examine the various institutions and report upon their condition. This inquisition was resisted by some of the banks, and much controversy followed, both in and out of the General Assembly. In 1845, a new system of banking was adopted, embracing both the State Bank with branches, and independent banks.

Columbus was this year (1816,) made permanently the capitol of Ohio.

On the 28th of December, 1816, the Bank of Shawaneetown, Illinois, was incorporated for twenty years, with a capital of three hundred thousand dollars.

Congress having previously granted to Michigan Territory a town-
1817.] ship of land, for the support of a college, in this year the University of Michigan was established by the governor and judges.

During 1817, an effort was made to extinguish the Indian title within the State of Ohio, and had the Miamies attended the council held at the Rapids of the Maumee, in September, it probably would have been done. As it was, Cass and M'Arthur purchased of the other tribes nearly the whole north-west of the State of Ohio. The number of acres, exclusive of reservations, being estimated at three million six hundred and ninety-four thousand five hundred and forty, for which were paid one hundred and forty thousand eight hundred and ninety-three dollars, being three cents and eight mills an acre.

In this year was commenced the building of bridges across the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to which the State had liberally contributed.

According to a census taken, this city then contained five glass houses, four air furnaces, one hundred and nine stores, eight steam engines in mills, one thousand three hundred and three houses, eight thousand people, and there were four hundred tons of nails manufactured by steam.

Among the glass houses, was one established about the year 1809, by William Eichbaum, Sr., a German, who had been formerly glass-cutter to Louis XVI, king of France, and who, having left that country after the downfall of that unhappy monarch, had

finally come to America, and established himself at Pittsburgh. He furnished some very fine work, and among the first articles made by him, was a splendid six-light chandelier, with prisms, very beautifully cut and finished, for the first Presbyterian church of Pittsburgh. This is said to have been the first article of the kind ever made in the United States.

The same enterprising gentleman, a year or so later, erected a mill for the manufactory of wire in the same city.

The first steamboat that ascended the Mississippi, above the mouth of the Ohio, was the *General Pike*, which reached St. Louis the 2d of August, 1817. It was commanded by Captain Jacob Reed, who subsequently became a citizen of that place, and died there. The second steamboat was the *Constitution*, which arrived on the 2d of October, in the same year. During 1818, there were several arrivals.

On the 18th of April, Congress authorized the people of Illinois to
1818.] form a State constitution. The northern boundary of the State, as fixed by Congress, was latitude 42° 30′.

Representatives to the convention to form a State constitution were chosen.

This body assembled at Kaskaskia, in July, and closed their labors by signing the constitution they had framed, on the 26th day of August.

The election for the first legislature was appointed to be held on the third Thursday, and the two following days in September, and all white male inhabitants above the age of twenty-one years, who were actual residents of the State at the time of signing of the constitution, had the right of suffrage. The first session of the General Assembly was to commence at Kaskaskia, on the first Monday in October following, but all subsequent sessions on the first Monday in December thereafter. The constitution was not referred to the people for adoption. In general, the latter were satisfied with the labors of their servants.

Members to the General Assembly were elected, met at the time appointed, and set in operation the new machinery of government. Shadrach Bond, of Kaskaskia, had been duly elected governor, and Pierre Menard, of the same place, lieutenant-governor. Their terms of service were from 1818 to 1822. Governor Bond, in his brief inaugural address, called the early attention of the General Assembly to a survey, preparatory to opening a canal between the Illinois river and Lake Michigan.

The second session commenced about the 1st of February, 1819, and continued until the 20th. During this period they revised and re-enacted the territorial laws, so far as applicable to the State, with such additional laws as the public exigencies seemed to require.

As has been said before, a very redundant currency had obtained since the war with Great Britain, and the Western country more especially was flooded with this worthless paper, issued mostly by banks, ostensibly solvent at first, and often by individuals, most of whom, especially the former, failed to redeem their issues.

In 1818, a reaction commenced; the notes of such banks as the Treasury Department had selected as depositories of the government funds, were current in the land offices. The rapid influx of immigration, and the demands for land, absorbed a large proportion of this class of notes, while the other floating paper depreciated, until it was no longer current.

All the territory north of the new State of Illinois, was attached to Michigan.

Great emigration took place to Michigan, in consequence of the sale of large quantities of public lands.

By various treaties, the Indian title in Indiana, Illinois, and the North-West, was still further extinguished.

The Walk-in-the-Water, the first steamboat in the upper lakes, 1819.] (Erie, Huron, and Michigan,) began her trips, going once as far as Mackinac.

The *Independence*, from Louisville, Kentucky, was the pioneer boat in the navigation of the more difficult channel of the Missouri river. This was in the month of May, 1819. She left St. Louis on the 13th, was at St. Charles on the 15th, and reached the town of Franklin, opposite Booneville, on the 26th of that month. The banks of the river were visited by crowds of people, as the boat came in sight of the towns.

It was the first boat that ever attempted to overcome the strong current of the Missouri, and find its way amidst the shifting sand-bars. Besides a large number of passengers, this boat carried up a cargo of flour, whisky, sugar, coffee, iron, castings, and other goods. The question, long agitated and much doubted, "can the Missouri be navigated by steamboats?" was fully solved.

A new era in Missouri annals had opened. Boats now ascend this river daily, and to the remotest settlements; and repeatedly have boats gone up to the mouth of the Yellow Stone, about

eighteen hundred miles above St. Louis. Even before 1844, the Assineboine went several hundred miles above the mouth of the Yellow Stone, into a gorge of the Rocky mountains.

The *Independence* returned to St. Louis, on the 5th of June, and took freight for Louisville, Kentucky.

On the 8th of June, 1819, the United States steamboat *Western Engineer*, under command of Major S. H. Long, went on an exploring expedition up the Missouri, having on board several gentlemen attached to the department of Topographical Engineers.

This corps were on a tour of observation to the Yellow Stone, or at least the Mandan villages. They left St. Louis on the 21st of June. The boat was a small one with a stern wheel, and an escape pipe so contrived as to emit a torrent of smoke and steam through the head of a serpent, with a red, forked tongue, projecting from the bow.

It was understood that this contrivance was intended to make an impression on the Indians, as the boat had the appearance of being carried by a monstrous serpent, vomiting fire and smoke, and lashing the water into foam with his tail.

Tradition says the aborigines were panic struck, and fled; imagining that the "pale faces" had sent a "maniteau" into their country to destroy them.

A military expedition left Bellefontaine and St. Louis, early in June, under the command of Colonel Atkinson, to establish a military post at Council Bluffs, then far in advance of the American settlements.

The expedition consisted of three steamboats, of heavy construction, the *Expedition*, the *Jefferson*, and the *Johnson*, and nine keel-boats. Several of this last description of boats were prepared to be propelled with sails and wheels.

Colonel James Johnson, who, it was understood, had the contract from the War Department, to transport supplies and munitions for the new post, was one of the expedition. Another boat called the "*Calhoun*," was connected with the enterprise.

It was understood at the time that liberal encouragement had been given by the War Department to aid these boats, that, incidentally the great question might be solved, whether the Missouri river could be navigated by steam.

The scientific corps under Major Long, returned from their tour of exploration up the Missouri to the Yellow Stone, to St. Louis, in the latter part of October.

According to a report made to the House of Representatives

by the committee on Military Affairs, the following winter, it was contemplated by the administration to establish a post at the Mandan villages; that the expense of the Yellow Stone expedition, "over and above what the troops would have cost had they remained in their former positions," was estimated at sixty-four thousand two hundred and twenty-six dollars. This, it is supposed, included the steamboat effort to the Council Bluffs, which proved a failure.

One boat reached the vicinity of Cote Sans Dessein; another lay by at Old Franklin, and a third ascended to the mouth of Grand river. In the end, the military stores were transported on keelboats, which returned to St. Louis in the spring of 1820.

The expenses were heavy. A member of the committee on Military Affairs, at the sessions of 1819–20, stated that the claims for detention of the boats, and the losses, exceeded a million of dollars. The Secretary of the War Department had projected the establishment of a military post at or below the mouth of the Yellow Stone, and a series of military roads to connect that post by St. Peters and the northern lakes, which Congress refused to sanction, by withholding the necessary appropriations.

On the 24th of September, Lewis Cass concluded at Saginaw, a treaty with the Chippewas, by which another large part of Michigan was ceded to the United States.

On the 20th of August, Benjamin Parke, for the United States, bought at Fort Harrison, of the Kickapoos of Vermillion river, all their lands upon the Wabash; while on the 30th of July, at Edwardsville, Illinois, Auguste Chouteau and Benjamin Stephenson, bought of the main body of the same tribe, the claims upon the same waters, together with other lands reaching west, to the mouth of Illinois river.

In this year the United States appropriated ten thousand dollars annually, toward the civilization of the Indians, but no part was at first expended, as the best modes of effecting the object were not apparent.

During 1819, also, a report was made to Congress upon the Missouri fur trade, exhibiting its condition at that time, and tracing its history. It may be found in the 6th volume of the American State Papers, p. 201.

The second United States bank was chartered in 1816. On the 28th of January, 1817, this bank opened a branch at Cincinnati; and on the 13th of October following, another branch at Chillicothe, which did not commence banking, however, until the next spring.

These branches Ohio claimed the right to tax, and passed a law by which, should they continue to transact business after the 15th of September, 1819, they were to be taxed fifty thousand dollars each, and the State Auditor was authorized to issue his warrant for the collection of such tax.

This law was passed with great deliberation, apparently, and by a full vote. The branches not ceasing their business, the authorities of the State prepared to collect their dues; this, however, the bank intended to prevent, and for the purpose of prevention, filed a bill in Chancery, in the United States Circuit Court, asking an injunction upon Ralph Osborn, Auditor of State, to prevent his proceeding in the act of collection. Osborn, by legal advice, refused to appear upon the 4th of September, the day named in the writ, and in his absence, the court allowed the injunction, though it required bonds of the bank, at the same time, to the extent of one hundred thousand dollars—which bonds were given.

On Tuesday, the 14th of September, as the day for collection drew nigh, the bank sent an agent to Columbus, who served upon the Auditor a copy of the petition for injunction, and a subpœna to appear before the court upon the first Monday in the following January, but who had no copy of the writ of injunction which had been allowed. The petition and subpœna Osborn enclosed to the Secretary of State, who was then at Chillicothe, together with his warrant for levying the tax, requesting the Secretary to take legal advice, and if the papers did not amount to an injunction, to have the warrant executed; but if they did, to retain it.

The lawyers advised that the papers were not equivalent to an injunction, and thereupon the State writ for collection was given to John L. Harper, with directions to enter the banking house, and demand payment of the tax; and upon refusal, to enter the vault and levy the amount required. He was told to offer no violence, and if opposed by force, to go at once before a proper magistrate, and depose to that fact.

Harper, taking with him T. Orr and J. M'Collister, on Friday, September 17th, went to the bank, and first securing access to the vault, demanded the tax. The payment was refused, and notice given of the injunction which had been granted; but the officer, disregarding this notice, entered the vault, and seized in gold, silver, and notes, ninety-eight thousand dollars, which, on the 20th, he paid over to the State Treasurer, H. M. Curry.

The officers concerned in this collection were arrested and imprisoned by the United States Circuit Court, for a contempt of the

injunction granted, and the money taken was returned to the bank. The decision of the Circuit Court was in February, 1824, tried before the Supreme Court, and its decree affirmed, whereupon the State submitted. Meantime, however, in December, 1820, and January, 1821, the Legislature of Ohio had passed the following resolutions:

"That, in respect to the powers of the governments of the several States that compose the American Union, and the powers of the Federal Government, this General Assembly do recognize and approve the doctrines asserted by the Legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia, in their resolutions of November and December, 1798, and January, 1800, and do consider that their principles have been recognized and adopted by a majority of the American people.

"That this General Assembly do assert, and will maintain, by all legal and constitutional means, the right of the State to tax the business and property of any private corporation of trade, incorporated by the Congress of the United States, and located to transact its corporate business within any State.

"That the Bank of the United States is a private corporation of trade, the capital and business of which may be legally taxed in any State where they may be found.

"That this General Assembly do protest against the doctrine that the political rights of the separate States that compose the American Union, and their powers as sovereign States, may be settled and determined in the Supreme Court of the United States, so as to conclude and bind them in cases contrived between individuals, and where they are, no one of them, parties direct."

In accordance with these resolves, the bank was, for a time, deprived of the aid of the State laws in the collection of its debts, and the protection of its rights; and an attempt was made, though in vain, to effect a change in the Federal Constitution, which would take the case out of the United States tribunals.

It will be remembered that the vast country known as Louisiana, and transferred by France to the United States in 1803, was divided into the Territory of Orleans, and District of Louisiana. In March, 1805, the *District* of Louisiana became the *Territory* of Louisiana, under its own territorial government. In June, 1812, this became the Territory of Missouri, having then, for the first time, a General Assembly. Thus it continued until 1819, when application was made for admission into the Union.

A bill was accordingly prepared in Congress during the session

of 1818–19, in the accustomed form, authorizing the people to elect delegates in the several counties, to constitute a convention for the purpose of forming a constitution. While under progress, an amendment in the form of a *proviso*, was introduced by Mr. Talmadge, of New York, in the following words:

"That the further introduction of slavery, or involuntary servitude, be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been fully convicted; and that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free at the age of twenty years."

This proviso, after a brief discussion, passed the House of Representatives, on the 15th of February, 1819. This unexpected movement brought up what has since been called the "Missouri Question;" caused a protracted discussion, and raised one of those political storms, which threatened to endanger, if not dissolve the National Union. It not only agitated Congress, but the Union from one extreme to the other, for eighteen months. Amongst the people in this territory, the excitement was intense; the absorbing idea that prevailed was, that the Congress of the United States, a body limited in constitutional power, was about to deprive the people of Missouri of their just rights, in forming a constitution in accordance with the treaty of cession, and as they might judge the best calculated to promote their interests.

At that period not one-fourth of the citizens owned or held slaves; many were opposed to slavery as a measure of State policy, but with few exceptions, all were *led to believe* that Congress was assuming an unconstitutional power to oppress them. With the people of Missouri, it became an absorbing question of political rights.

The discussions in Congress continued during the session, and the bill was lost with other unfinished business.

On the opening of the next Congress, Mr. Scott, delegate from Missouri, and chairman of the committee on the "Memorial from Missouri," reported a bill "to authorize the people of that territory to form a Constitution and State Government, on an equal footing with the original States." The bill was twice read and referred to the committee of the whole House. This was on the 9th of December, 1819. On the 14th, Mr. Taylor, of New York, offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee "to inquire into the expediency of prohibiting by law, the introduction of slaves into the territories of the United States, west of the Mississippi."

PERIOD VIII.

1820—1856.

The great question of "slavery or no slavery in Missouri," having been made the order of the day for the second Monday in January, 1820, it was then accordingly taken up, and discussed with a warmth that had rarely been equaled in Congress. The absorbing interests attached to this question, not only as regards Missouri and the Western States, but with respect to the whole Union, has rendered it of so much importance, that it has become more or less interwoven with the whole subsequent political history of our country, and a full knowledge of it is therefore essential to a clear understanding of much that is to follow.

The discussion, having opened as stated, continued during the session. Various amendments to the resolutions as offered, were proposed in both Houses, but lost.

Application had been made by the people of Maine, with the consent of Massachusetts, to form a State Government and be admitted into the Union. This proposition, for a period, became coupled with the Missouri Question.

In the Senate, on the 3d of February, a senator from Illinois, offered an amendment to the Missouri branch of the bill, in the following words:

"That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby forever prohibited: *Provided, always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid."

This amendment was adopted in the Senate on the 17th of February, and subsequently became the basis of the "Missouri Compromise." On ordering the bill to a third reading in the Senate, the vote was in the affirmative.

On the 3d of March, the bill as amended and passed by the Senate, was sent to the House. Though the Journal of the House is silent on that subject, it is understood as a historical fact, that at this crisis, when despair sat on the countenances of the friends of Missouri, Mr. Clay, who was Speaker of the House, exercised the office of peace-maker, and by his popularity and influence with both parties, not in an official capacity, but as an individual, healed the waters of strife, and induced a majority of the members to accept the compromise of the Senate.

The clause restricting slavery within the State of Missouri, was stricken out by a small majority. On the final vote, for inserting the substitute from the Senate, it was decided under the previous question, in favor. So the House concurred in the amendments of the Senate to the bill, on the evening of the 3d of March.

The Act provided for the representation of each county in the Convention; in the aggregate, forty-one members.

The boundaries prescribed for Missouri State are here given:

"Beginning in the middle of the Mississippi river, on the parallel of thirty-six degrees of north latitude; thence west along that parallel of latitude, to the St. Francois river; thence up, and following the course of that river, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to the parallel of latitude of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes; thence west along the same, to a point where said parallel is intersected by a meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas river, where the same empties into the Missouri river; thence, from the point aforesaid, north, along the said meridian line to the intersection to the parallel of latitude which passes through the *rapids of the river Des Moines, making the said line to correspond with the Indian boundary line;* thence east, from the point of intersection last aforesaid, along the said parallel of latitude, to the middle of the channel of the main fork of the said river Des Moines, to the mouth of the same, where it empties into the Mississippi river; thence, due east, to the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi river; thence down and following the course of the Mississippi river, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to the place of beginning."

In this work the boundary has been given in full, to explain the ground of a dispute, which at one period threatened serious collision between the territory, and subsequently the State of Iowa, and the State of Missouri, relative to boundaries and jurisdiction. The words in italics gave rise to the difference, and involved the ques-

tions: First, what was meant by the "rapids of the river Des Moines;" Secondly, what Indian boundary line was intended?

Missouri contended for certain rapids, or ripples in the river Des Moines, some distance up, which threw the line some ten or fifteen miles further north. Iowa contended that the rapids in the Mississippi, called by the French explorers, *La rapides la riviere Des Moines*, was the point meant.

After several years of contested jurisdiction, during which a sheriff of Missouri was imprisoned in Iowa, and military force was appealed to, both States consented to refer the question of boundary and jurisdiction to the Supreme Court of the United States. After a labored investigation, the court decided in favor of the old boundary line, as it was called, and the rapids of the Des Moines in the French sense of the term.

The election for members of the convention was held on the first Monday, and two succeeding days of May, 1820. The only discussion on slavery was, whether the emancipation of slaves should be left open for legislative action at any future time, or restricted in the constitution. The objection urged against this policy was, that slaves were, in a legal sense, property; that property could not be taken from its owner by statute law, except for public purposes, and then only for compensation paid; that were the Legislature at any time to pass a law to emancipate slaves, the courts could nullify the act; and that when the people desired to change the policy of the State, they could reorganize the government by a new constitution.

The convention met at St. Louis, on the 12th day of June. Their labors were finished by signing the constitution on the 19th day of July, 1820. The first General Assembly were required to meet on the third Monday in September, at St. Louis. An election for a governor, lieutenant-governor, a representative in Congress for the residue of the sixteenth Congress, a representative for the seventeenth Congress, senators and representatives to the General Assembly, sheriffs, and coroners, was held on the fourth Monday in August. The apportionment in the constitution for the first General Assembly, provided fourteen senators, and forty-three representatives.

Alexander M'Nair was elected governor, and William H. Ashley, lieutenant-governor, and John Scott, representative to Congress. No provision was made to refer the adoption of the constitution to the people, and it took effect from the authority of the convention.

There were several features in the constitution quite objectionable to the people. These were the officer of chancellor, with a salary of two thousand dollars per annum; and the salaries of the governor and the judges of the supreme and circuit courts being fixed at not less than two thousand dollars per annum for each officer.

The mode provided for amending the constitution was by a vote of two-thirds of each House of the General Assembly proposing amendments; these to be published in all the newspapers in the State three times, at least twelve months before the next general election; and if, at the first session of the next General Assembly after such general election, two-thirds of each House, by yeas and nays, ratify such proposed amendments, after three separate readings, on three several days, the amendments become parts of the constitution.

At a special session of the General Assembly, in 1821, amendments were proposed to remove the objectionable features, and passed by the constitutional majority. The next General Assembly at its first session ratified them.

At the first session of the General Assembly in 1820, Thomas H. Benton and David Barton were elected senators, to represent the new State in the Congress of the United States. The senators and representative were at Washington city at the opening of the session, when, on presenting the constitution, and claiming admittance as a State into the Union, they met a repulse. In article third, defining the legislative power of the General Assembly, was the following injunction:

"It shall be their duty, as soon as may be, to pass such laws as may be necessary, to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to, and settling in this State, under any pretext whatsoever."

To this clause objections were made in Congress, the State was refused admittance into the Union, and another discussion followed. The objection was, that "free negroes and mulattoes" were citizens of some of the States, and the clause infringed on the rights of such as were guaranteed in the constitution of the United States.

The words of the constitution are: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." The difficulty was increased by remonstrances from the legislatures of Vermont and New York, against the "Mis-

souri Compromise" of the preceding session, and the reception of the new State without the restriction of slavery.

In the House of Representatives, the resolution previously introduced to admit that State, was rejected.

On the 10th of February, 1821, the select committee to whom the constitution was referred, made an elaborate report, and recommended the reception of the State. This was also disagreed to. On a subsequent occasion the question came up somewhat modified, and was lost in the House. This vote was afterward reconsidered.

During the session the whole subject was discussed; the rights of the South; the balance of power; the rights of the people of Missouri, and the mooted question, whether "free negroes" were, constitutionally, citizens in all the States, were agitated questions at various periods of the session. A resolution with various restrictions, to admit Missouri, finally passed the House, but in such a form as it would not be likely to receive the support of the Senate.

At this crisis, (February 22d,) Clay proposed a joint committee of the House and Senate, which was carried. He then reported from the joint committee on the subject, the formula that became incorporated in the public act, to be found in the Laws of Congress for that session, and in the "Territorial Laws of Missouri."

The substance is as follows: On condition that the Legislature of Missouri, by a solemn act, shall declare that the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the constitution, shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law by which any citizen of either of the States of the Union, shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges to which such citizen is entitled under the Constitution of the United States; and shall transmit to the President of the United States, on or before the fourth Monday in November, 1821, an authentic copy of said act;—upon the receipt thereof, the president, by proclamation, shall announce the fact, whereupon, without any further proceeding on the part of Congress, the admission of that State into the Union shall be considered as complete.

To carry this proviso out, it became necessary for the governor to convene the legislature in a special session, which was held in the town of St. Charles, in the month of June, and the Solemn Public Act was passed; guarded by explanations, so as not to appear to affect constitutional rights. The mooted question whether "free negroes and mulattoes" are "citizens," in the

sense of the Constitution of the United States, remains as it was before the action of Congress and the Legislature of Missouri.

In the month of August, the president having received an authentic copy of the "Solemn Public Act," made proclamation that the reception of Missouri was complete. During the preceding session of Congress, the Senators and Representatives of this State had no seat in Congress, and the votes for president were not counted.

As the admission of Missouri to become a sovereign State, was a subject which excited more than ordinary interest, the account here given is somewhat elaborated; especially that the reader may learn that there were *two questions* and *two compromises*, and hereafter not confound the events nor their dates, as many have done heretofore.

In November, of the previous year, Governor Cass had written to the War Department, proposing a tour along the Southern shore of Lake Superior, and toward the heads of the Mississippi; the purposes being to ascertain the state of the fur trade, to examine the copper region, and especially to form acquaintance and connections with the various Indian tribes. In the following January, the Secretary of War wrote, approving the plan; and in May, the expedition started. A full account of it by Mr. Schoolcraft,* is easily accessible, and we need only say that it was attended with as much success as could have been hoped for.

During this year, and from this time forward, treaties were made with the Western and North-Western tribes extinguishing by degrees their title throughout a great part of the original north-western territory:—of these treaties we shall not, hereafter, speak particularly, excepting as far as they stand connected with the Black Hawk war of 1832.

"In the ordinance of Congress authorizing the formation of a State Constitution for Indiana, four sections, containing two thousand five hundred and sixty acres of land were donated for the permanent seat of government. Commissioners on the part of the State were appointed in 1820, to make the selection, and in 1821 the town of Indianapolis was laid out."†

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* Schoolcraft, vol. i. published at Albany, in 1821. † Indiana Gazetteer.

Upon the 31st of January, the Ohio Assembly passed a law
1822.] "authorizing an examination into the practicability of connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio river, by a canal."

This act grew out of events, a sketch of which it may be worth while to present to the reader of these pages.

One of the earliest of modern navigable canals was made in Lombardy, in 1271; it connected Milan with the Tesino. About the same time, or perhaps earlier, similar works were commenced in Holland. It was not, however, till 1755, that any enterprise of the kind was undertaken in England; this was followed, three years later, by the Duke of Bridgewater's first canal, constructed by Brindley.

In 1765, an act of Parliament authorized the great work by which Brindley and his patron proposed to unite Hull and Liverpool—the Trent and the Mersey. This great undertaking was completed in 1777. The idea thus carried into effect in Great Britain was soon borne across the Atlantic.

The great New York canal was suggested by Governeur Morris, in 1777; but, as early as 1774, Washington said he had thought of a system of improvements by which to connect the Atlantic with the Ohio; which system, ten years later, he tried most perseveringly to induce Virginia to act upon with energy.

In a letter to Governor Harrison, written October 10th, 1784, he also suggests that an examination be made as to the facilities for opening a communication, through the Cuyahoga, and Muskingum or Scioto, between Lake Erie and the Ohio. Such a communication had been previously mentioned by Jefferson, in March, 1784; he even proposed a canal to connect the Cuyahoga and Big Beaver.

Three years later, Washington attempted to interest the federal government in his views, and exerted himself, by all the means in his power, to learn the exact state of the country about the sources of the Muskingum and Cuyahoga. After he was called to the presidency, his mind was employed on other subjects; but the whites, who had meantime began to people the West, used the course which he had suggested, (as the Indians had done before them,) to carry goods from the lakes to the settlements on the Ohio; so that it was soon known definitely, that upon the summit level were ponds, through which, in a wet season, a complete water connection was formed between the Cuyahoga and Muskingum.

From this time the public mind underwent various changes; more and more persons becoming convinced that a canal between

the heads of two rivers, was far less desirable, in every point of view, than a complete canal communication from place to place, following the valleys of the rivers, and drawing water from them.

In 1815, Dr. Drake, of Cincinnati, proposed a canal from some point on the Great Miami, to the city in which he resided; and in January, 1818, Mr., afterward Governor Brown, writes thus: "Experience, the best guide, has tested the infinite superiority of this mode of commercial intercourse over the best roads, or any navigation of the beds of small rivers. In comparing it with the latter, I believe you will find the concurrent testimony of the most skillful and experienced engineers of France and England, against the river, and in favor of the canal, for very numerous reasons."

Meanwhile, along the Atlantic, various experiments had been tried, both in regard to improving rivers and digging canals. In October, 1784, Virginia, acting under the instigation of Washington, passed a law "for clearing and improving the navigation of James river." In March, 1792, New York established two companies for "Inland Lock Navigation;" the one to connect the Hudson with Lake Champlain, the other to unite it with Lake Ontario, whence another canal was to rise round the Great Falls to Erie.

These enterprises, and various others, were presented to Congress by Mr. Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in an elaborate report, made April 4th, 1808. Subsequent to this report, in April, 1811, the General Assembly of New York passed a law for the great Erie canal, and at the head of the commissioners was Governeur Morris, who had proposed the plan thirty-four years previous.

To her aid in this vast work, New York asked the power of the federal government, and Ohio passed resolutions in favor of the aid being given. No great help, however, was given; and New York, with the strength imparted by the energy of Clinton, carried through her vast work; and when Ohio began to speak of similar efforts, through the same voice that had encouraged her during her labors, the Empire State spoke encouragement to her younger sister.

When, therefore, Governor Brown, in his inaugural address of December 14th, 1818, referred to the necessity of providing cheaper ways to market for the farmers of Ohio, he spoke to a people not unprepared to respond favorably. In accordance with the governor's suggestion, Mr. Sill, on the 7th of January, 1819, moved that a committee be appointed to report on the expediency of a canal from the lake to the Ohio. This was followed, on the next day, by

a further communication from Governor Brown, and the subject was discussed through the winter.

In the following December, the executive again pressed the matter, and in January, 1820, made a full statement of facts relating to routes, so far as they could be ascertained. Further information was communicated in February, and on the 20th of that month, an act passed, appointing commissioners to determine the course of the proposed canal, provided Congress would aid in its construction, and seeking aid from Congress.

That aid not having been given, nothing was done during 1820 or 1821, except to excite and extend an interest in the subject, but upon the 3d of January, 1822, Micajah T. Williams, chairman of a committee to consider that part of the governor's message relating to internal improvements, offered an elaborate report upon the subject; and brought in the bill already referred to as having been passed upon the 31st of the last mentioned month.

The examination authorized by that law was at once commenced, Mr. James Geddes being the engineer.

Upon the same day, (December 6th, 1821,) on which Mr. Williams moved for a committee on canals, Caleb Atwater moved for one upon schools; and on the same day that the law above referred to was passed, one was also passed authorizing the appointment of commissioners to report to the next legislature a plan for establishing a complete system of common schools. To the history of that subject the reader's attention is next invited.

The ordinance of 1787 provided, that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." In the previous ordinance of 1785, regulating the sale of lands in the west, section No. 16 of every township was reserved "for the maintenance of public schools within the said township."

And the Constitution of Ohio, using the words of the ordinance of 1787, says, that "schools and the means of instruction shall forever be encouraged by legislative provision." In accordance with the feelings shown in these several clauses the Governors of Ohio always mentioned the subject of education with great respect in their messages; but nothing was done to make it general.

It was supposed, that people would not willingly be taxed to educate the children of their poor neighbors; not so much because they failed to perceive the necessity that exists for all to be educated, in order that the commonwealth may be safe and prosperous;

but because a vast number, that lived in Ohio, still doubted whether Ohio would be their ultimate abiding place.

They came to the West to make money rather than to find a home, and did not care to help educate those whose want of education they might never feel.

Such was the state of things until about the year 1816, at which time several persons in Cincinnati, who knew the benefits of a free-school system, united, and commenced a correspondence with different portions of the State.

Their ideas being warmly responded to, by the dwellers in the Ohio Company's purchase, and the Western Reserve more particularly, committees of correspondence were appointed in the different sections, and various means were resorted to, to call the attention of the public to the subject; among the most efficient of which was the publication of an *Education Almanac* at Cincinnati.

This work was edited by Nathan Guilford, a lawyer of that place, who had from the first taken a deep interest in the matter. For several years this gentleman and his associates labored silently and ceaselessly to diffuse their sentiments, one attempt only being made to bring the subject into the legislature: this was in December, 1819, when Ephraim Cutler, of Washington county, brought in a bill for establishing common schools, which was lost in the Senate.

At length, in 1821, it having been clearly ascertained that a strong feeling existed in favor of a common school system through the eastern and north-eastern parts of the State, and it being also known that the western men, who were then about to bring forward their canal schemes, wished to secure the assistance of their less immediately benefited fellow-citizens, it was thought to be a favorable time to bring the free-school proposition forward; which, as before mentioned, was done by Mr. Atwater.

On the 3d of January, 1823, Mr. Worthington, on behalf of the 1823.] canal commissioners, presented a report upon the best route for a canal through the State, and a further examination was agreed upon; which was made during the year.

The friends of the common school system continued their efforts, and although they did not succeed in procuring an assembly favorable to their views, they diffused information and brought out inquiry.

Michigan during this year was invested with a new form of territorial government; Congress having authorized the appointment

of a Legislative Council of nine members, to be chosen by the president from eighteen candidates elected by the people.

The richest mines of lead, were discovered on the Upper Mississippi, at Galena, on the eastern side, and at Dubuque, on the west. They have yielded from eighty to ninety per cent. of pure lead.

In 1786, Julien Dubuque, an enterprising Canadian, visited this region, explored its mineral wealth, returned two years after, and, at a council held with the Indians in 1788, obtained from them a grant of a large tract of land, amounting to one hundred and forty thousand acres, beginning on the west side of the Mississippi.

Here he resided and obtained great wealth in mining and trading with the Indians, and died in 1810. His grave is about one mile below the city of Dubuque, in the State of Iowa.

The mines of the Upper Mississippi, are between Rock and Wisconsin rivers on the east, and about the same parallel on the west side of that river.

For many years the Indians and some of the French *couriers du bois*, had been accustomed to dig lead in the mineral region about Galena. But they never penetrated much below the surface, though they obtained considerable quantities of mineral.

In 1823, the late Colonel James Johnson, of Kentucky, obtained a lease from the United States government, to prosecute the business of mining and smelting, which he did with a strong force and much enterprise. This movement attracted the attention of enterprising men in Illinois, Missouri, and other States.

Some went on in 1826, more following in 1827, and in 1828, the country was almost literally filled with miners, smelters, merchants, speculators, gamblers, and every description of character. Intelligence, enterprise, and virtue, were thrown in the midst of dissipation, gambling, and every species of vice.

Such was the crowd of adventurers in 1829, to this hitherto almost unknown and desolate region, that the lead business was greatly overdone, and the market for a while nearly destroyed. Fortunes were made almost upon a turn of a spade, and lost with equal facility.

The business is still prosecuted to a great extent. Exhaustless quantities of mineral exist here, over a tract of country two hundred miles in extent.

From 1821, to September, 1823, the amount of lead made in the vicinity of Galena, Illinois, was three hundred and thirty-five thou-

sand one hundred and thirty pounds. During the next succeeding ten years, the aggregate was about seventy millions of pounds.

The average number of miners during the year 1825, was one hundred; in 1826, four hundred; and in 1827, one thousand six hundred. Many citizens of Illinois, from the counties of St. Clair, Madison, &c., went up the river with supplies of provision in the spring, to prosecute mining, and returned downward and homeward at the approach of winter. From this trifling incident, a mischievous wag from "Yankeedom," ycleped the people of Illinois, "Suckers," from these migratory miners.

In 1811, the Hudson's Bay Company, made a grant to Lord Selkirk, a Scotch nobleman, and influential member of the company, of a large tract of land, including Red river up to Red Fork. This nobleman, having extinguished the Indian title, at once set to work vigorously to establish a colony, in the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in 1812, settlers were procured from the highlands of Scotland, from Switzerland, England, and other parts of Europe, and two settlements were formed; one at Pembina, about two miles below the Pembina river; the other at Fort Douglass, about sixty miles below Pembina, near the confluence of the Assiniboin and Red rivers.

At this period the rivalry between the North-West (Fur) Company, which was started by John Jacob Astor, of New York, in 1809, and the Hudson's Bay Company, was very great, and the new settlers had among other difficulties, many strifes with the agents of the rival company. In 1815, they were even dispersed. But in 1816, they returned, and Lord Selkirk, acted so vigorously in maintaining the commercial and territorial rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, that he succeeded in reducing the trading posts of the other, and in 1821, the two were conjoined, and thus an end put to all further strife.

The settlements which he had founded continued in existence, and Pembina proving afterward to be below the 49th degree of latitude, it fell within the boundary of the United States. In 1823, Major Long was sent upon an expedition to the source of St. Peter's river, Lake Winnepeck, Lake of the Woods, &c., for the purpose of topographically exploring those regions; and the following account of the settlement of Pembina, is taken from Mr. Keating's account of that expedition:

"Pembina constituted the upper settlement made on the tract of land granted to the late Lord Selkirk, by the Hudson's Bay

Company. It may be well to observe, that by virtue of a charter from Charles the Second, granted in 1670, to Prince Rupert and others, constituting the 'honorable Hudson's Bay Company,' the whole of the British dominions lying contiguous to Hudson's Bay or its tributaries, has been claimed by that company, not only as regards the monopoly of the fur trade, but also as respects the right to the soil, and to the jurisdiction of the country. About the year 1813, Lord Selkirk, who was one of the principal partners, obtained from the company a grant of a considerable tract of land, including both banks of Red river, up to the Red or Grand Fork. To this he extinguished the Indian title, by the payment of a certain amount, and the promise of an annuity to the Indians. He then opened the lands for settlement, inviting a number of British subjects to go and reside upon them, and with a view to strengthen his infant colony, he engaged recruits from Switzerland and other countries, and especially increased it by a number of soldiers belonging to the de Meuron and de Watteville regiments, two foreign corps that were in the pay of England during the late war, and that were disbanded in Canada, in the year 1815. Two principal settlements were formed, one at Fort Douglas, which is at the confluence of the Assiniboin and Red rivers, and the other one hundred and twenty miles by water above that, and near the mouth of a small stream, named by the Chippewas, Anepeminan sipi, so called from a small red berry, termed by them anepeminan, which name has been shortened and corrupted into Pembina, (Viburnum oxycoccos.)

"The Hudson's Bay Company had a fort here, until the spring of 1823, when observations, made by their own astronomers, led them to suspect that it was south of the boundary line, and they therefore abandoned it, removing all that could be sent down the river with advantage. The Catholic clergyman, who had been supported at this place, was at the same time removed to Fort Douglas; and a large and neat chapel built by the settlers for their accommodation, is now fast going to decay. The settlement consists of about three hundred and fifty souls, residing in sixty log houses or cabins; they do not appear to possess the qualifications for good settlers; few of them are farmers; most of them are half-breeds, who, having been educated by their Indian mothers, have imbibed the roving, unsettled, and indolent habits of the Indians. Accustomed from their early infancy to the arts of the fur trade, which may be considered as one of the worst schools for morals, they have acquired no small share of cunning and artifice. These form at least two-thirds of the male inhabitants. The rest consist

of Swiss and Scotch settlers; most of the former are old soldiers, as unfit for agricultural pursuits as the half-breeds themselves. The only good colonists are the Scotch, who have brought over with them, as usual, their steady habits, and their indefatigable perseverance. Although the soil about Pembina is very good, and will, when well cultivated, yield a plentiful return, yet, from the character of the population, as well as from the infant state of the colony, it does not at present yield sufficient produce to support the settlers, who, therefore, devote much of their time to hunting; this, which perhaps in the origin was the effect of an imperfect state of agriculture, soon acted as a cause; for experience shows, that men addicted to hunting never can make good farmers. At the time when we arrived at the colony, most of the settlers had gone from home, taking with them their families, horses, &c. They were then chasing the buffalo in the prairies, and had been absent forty-five days without being heard from. The settlement was in the greatest need of provisions; fortunately for us, who were likewise destitute, they arrived next day. Their return afforded us a view of what was really a novel and interesting spectacle; their march was a triumphant one, and presented a much greater concourse of men, women, and children, than we had expected to meet on those distant prairies. The procession consisted of one hundred and fifteen carts, each loaded with about eight hundred pounds of the finest buffalo meat; there were three hundred persons, including the women. The number of their horses, some of which were very good, was not under two hundred. Twenty hunters, mounted on their best steeds, rode in abreast; having heard of our arrival, they fired a salute as they passed our camp. These men receive here the name of *Gens libres*, or Freemen, to distinguish them from the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, who are called *Engagees*. Those that are partly of Indian extraction, are nick-named *Bois brule*, (Burnt wood,) from their dark complexion.

"A swift horse is held by them to be the most valuable property; they are good judges of horses, particularly of racers, with which they may chase the buffalo. Their horses are procured from our southern prairies, or from the internal provinces of New Spain, whence they are stolen by the Indians, and traded or re-stolen throughout the whole distance, until they get into the possession of these men. Their dress is singular, but not deficient in beauty; it is a mixture of the European and Indian habits. All of them have a blue capote with a hood, which they use only in bad weather; the capote is secured round their waist by a military sash; they

wear a shirt of calico or painted muslin, moccasins, and leather leggings fastened round the legs by garters, ornamented with beads, &c. The Bois brules often dispense with a hat; when they have one, it is generally variegated in the Indian manner, with feathers, gilt lace, and other tawdry ornaments.

"The character of the Bois brule countenance is peculiar. Their eyes are small, black, and piercing; their hair generally long, not unfrequently curled, and of the deepest black; their nose is short and turned up; their mouth wide; their teeth good; their complexion of a deep olive, which varies according to the quantity of Indian blood which they have in them. They are smart, active, excellent runners. One of them, we were told, often chased the buffalo on foot; we did not, however, see him do it. This man had a handsome, well-proportioned figure, of which Mr. Seymour took a sketch. He was very strong, and was known to have three times discharged, from his bow, an arrow which, after perforating one buffalo, had killed a second; an achievement which is sometimes performed by Indians, though it is rare, as it requires great muscular strength. Their countenance is full of expression, which partakes of cunning and malice. When angry, it assumes all the force of the Indian features, and denotes perhaps more of the demoniac spirit than is generally met with, even in the countenance of the aborigines.

"The great mixture of nations, which consist of English, Scotch, French, Italians, Germans, Swiss, united with Indians of different tribes, viz: Chippewas, Crees, Dacotahs, &c., has been unfavorable to the state of their morals; for, as is generally the case, they have been more prone to imitate the vices than the virtues of each stock; we can therefore ascribe to this combination of heterogeneous ingredients, but a very low rank in the scale of civilization. They are but little superior to the Indians themselves. Their cabins are built, however, with a little more art; they cultivate small fields of wheat, maize, barley, potatoes, turnips, tobacco, &c. A few of the more respectable inhabitants keep cows, and attend to agriculture, but we saw neither a plough nor a yoke of oxen in use, in the whole of the upper settlement. Considering the high latitude of Pembina, the above-mentioned plants thrive well. Maize yields tolerable crops; so does tobacco, which even yields seed. The wheat, which is in the greatest repute here, is the bearded wheat. The price of agricultural produce is apparently very high."

The same writer gives a spirited account of the manner of determining the forty-ninth degree of latitude, which had been the main object of the party in visiting the place. It was at once found that

the settlement stood close upon that line, and on the 8th of August, the precise boundary line was found, and a flag was raised upon the staff at the point; when, after the firing of a salute, Major Long made proclamation that, "by virtue of the authority vested in him by the president of the United States, the country situated upon Red river, above that point, was declared to be within the territory of the United States."

The inhabitants, who had been all collected together for the purpose, heard the declaration with satisfaction. "While fixing the posts," says Mr. Keating, "the colonists requested that they might be shown how the line would run; when this was done, the first observation they made was, that all the buffalo would be on our side of the line; this remark shows the great interest they take in this animal, to which all their thoughts recur."

The people of Pembina have, however, improved greatly in enterprise and refinement; they have made improvements in the arts of agriculture, and have become traders to a very considerable extent.

Their chief article of trade is still buffalo robes and buffalo tongues. These they formerly brought to the States by a tedious route overland, but since 1849 and 1850, the cities of St. Paul's and St. Anthony having sprung into magnitude and importance, the Pembinaens chiefly carry their trade up the Red river, then by a short overland route to the St. Peter's river, and down that river to St. Paul's and St. Anthony, and so often do they make their appearance in these cities, that they may be reckoned among their regular traders.

By the census of 1849, there were in the settlement two hundred and ninety-five males, and three hundred and forty-two females, making a total of six hundred and thirty-seven persons. The population at this time (1856) is probably two thousand.

A writer in an old number of the "Dubuque Herald," gives the following account of the climate of Pembina:

"The cold is sometimes excessive in the settlement. Mercury freezes once or twice every year, and sometimes the spirit thermometer indicates a temperature as low as fifty-two degrees below zero. When such a low temperature occurs, there is a pervading haze or smoky appearance in the atmosphere, resembling a general diffused yellow smoke, and the sun looks red as in a sultry evening. As the sun rises, so does the thermometer, and when the mercury thaws out and stands at ten or fifteen below, a breeze sets in, and pleasant weather follows—that is, as pleasant as can be, while the mercury keeps below zero.

"For weeks, sometimes, the wind will blow from the north—temperature say from five to ten below—suddenly it shifts into the south, and for six hours the thermometer will continue to fall, a phenomena which meteorologists, perhaps, can account for. Another: when, in summer, the wind blows a length of time from the north, it drives the water back, and Red river will have its banks full in the dryest seasons. The same thing occurs when the wind blows from the same direction in winter, although the sea and river are frozen unbrokenly ten feet thick to the north pole."

In 1824, the friends of canals, and those of free common schools, 1824.] in Ohio, finding a strong opposition still existing to the great plans of improvement offered to the people, during this year strained every nerve to secure an Assembly in which, by union, both measures might be carried. Information was diffused, and interest excited by every means that could be suggested, and the autumn elections were in consequence such as to insure the success of the two bills which were to lay the foundation of so much physical and intellectual good to Ohio.

The subject of civilizing the Indians was taken up as early as July, 1789, and was kept constantly in view by the United States government from that time forward; in 1819, ten thousand dollars annually were appropriated by Congress to that purpose, and great pains were taken to see that they were wisely expended. In March of this year, (1824,) a report was made by Mr. M'Lean, of Ohio, upon the proposition to stop the appropriation above named; against this proposition he reported decidedly, and gave a favorable view of what had been done, and what might be hoped for.

African slavery, as may be seen on page 88 in this work, was introduced into Illinois as early as 1720.

As slavery obtained throughout all the colonies, the conquest of New France by England did not affect the institution.

The surrender of the country to Clark, in 1778, brought the subject under the jurisdiction of Virginia, and in its transfer to the Continental Congress, in 1784, the same relationship of property was secured.

The ordinance of 1787 was prospective, and has been so decided by the courts. The question whether the descendants of those who were slaves in 1787, could be held in servitude, on the ground of a "vested right," remained opened until 1845, when, by a decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois, it was declared they were free.

The operation of the ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery in the North-Western Territory, was a subject of complaint by a very few interested persons, who, by memorials to Congress, made efforts to obtain a removal of the restriction for a limited period. The first petition was from four persons in Kaskaskia, in 1796, asking that slavery might be tolerated there.

In 1804, a convention was held on the subject at Vincennes, to deliberate on "*territorial interests*," of which Governor Harrison was president. One object was to obtain a modification of the organic law. A memorial was sent to Congress, which was referred to a committee of the House of Representatives, who recommended that the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787 be suspended, in a qualified manner, for ten years, so as to permit the introduction of slaves, (born in the United States,) into the territory of Indiana, which then included Illinois. This resolution was lost.

At the session of the Territorial legislature of 1806–7, a series of resolutions were adopted, and reported to Congress. One strong resolution was reported by the committee to which they were referred, in favor of a suspension of the sixth article of the ordinance for ten years, and was lost in the House.

This movement produced a political reaction in the territory. The opponents of the measure brought out as a candidate for Congress, Jonathan Jennings, and elected him over the opposite candidate, and continued him by successive re-elections, until the State government was formed.

To avoid the restriction in the organic law, the Territory of Indiana passed an act, (September 17, 1807,) entitled "*An act concerning the introduction of negroes and mulattoes into this Territory.*" It legalized the introduction of that class of persons, (who were slaves in the States or territories,) into that territory, by requiring the owner or possessor to enter into indentures with his slave, to serve for a stipulated period as an indentured servant, and then become free.

A record of this must be made in the court of common pleas, within thirty days after the introduction of the slave or slaves. Children under fifteen years of age, were required to serve their former owner or possessor—males, until thirty-five years of age, and females, until thirty-two years of age. This class was termed "indentured servants."

Many slaveholders from Virginia, Kentucky, and other States, who desired to relieve themselves from the ownership of slaves, migrated and availed themselves of this law. This form of servi-

tude has been removed by judicial decisions in Indiana, and by the new constitution in Illinois.

For several years after the war, persons migrated to Illinois, with the view of emancipating their slaves. Among these was Edward Coles, a native of Virginia, who had been educated at William and Mary College, under the tuition of Bishop Madison, where he received the conviction of the wrong and impolicy of negro slavery; and he then formed the resolution, that should he come in possession of this species of property, he would immediately emancipate them. Mr. Coles became Private Secretary for President Madison, and remained six years an inmate of his family. He was then sent on a special mission to Russia, as the bearer of dispatches to the American minister, the late J. Q. Adams, during which time he made the tour of Europe. On his return, he effected a sale of his plantation, and removed his slaves to Illinois; in 1819, purchased one hundred and sixty acres of land for each family, and superintended their settlement. Soon after, he was appointed by President Monroe, register of the land office at Edwardsville. He was elected governor of the State in 1822, and, as it turned out, at a most important crisis.

"The election took place not long after the settlement of the great Missouri question. The Illinois Senators in Congress had voted for the admission of Missouri into the Union as a slave State, without restriction, whilst Mr. Cook, the only representative in the lower House, voted against it. This helped to keep alive some questions for, or against, the introduction of slavery.

"About this time also, a tide of immigration was pouring into Missouri, through Illinois, from Kentucky and Virginia. In the fall of the year, every great road was crowded, and full of them, all bound for Missouri, with money, and long trains of teams and black and mulatto slaves. Some of these were the most wealthy and best educated people from the Slave States. Many of the Illinois people who had land and farms to sell, looked upon the good fortune of Missouri with envy; whilst the lordly immigrant, as he passed along with his money and droves of servants, took a malicious pleasure in increasing it, by pretending to regret the short-sighted policy of Illinois, which excluded him from purchasing land and making settlement there. In this mode, a desire to make Illinois a Slave State became quite prevalent. Notwithstanding the defeat of the slavery party at this election, they were not annihilated; they had only been beaten for governor by a division in their own ranks, whilst they had elected a large majority in

each House of the Assembly, and were now determined to make a vigorous effort to carry their measures at the session of the legislature to be held in 1822–23.

"Governor Coles, in his first message, recommended the emancipation of the French slaves. This served as the spark to kindle into activity all the elements in favor of slavery." *

Henceforth the question assumed an alarming attitude in politics.

The old constitution provided for alterations only in one mode. A vote of two-thirds of the General Assembly could authorize the people to vote for or against a convention, at the next election. If a majority of votes was in favor, the subsequent legislature was required to order an election for members to the convention, and appoint the time of meeting, the apportionment to be in ratio to the members in both Houses of the General Assembly.

At that period, the progress of the population northward, had rendered this apportionment peculiarly unequal, and the strong hold of the advocates of slavery was in the counties near the Ohio river; and in the old French settlements.

It was demonstrated, that on a contingency, one-fourth of the votes of the people could elect a majority in a convention, and that majority might probably be in favor of opening the State for slavery. Hence it became a paramount object of the opponents of the measure, to defeat the convention.

After several efforts, it was found that the constitutional majority in the legislature was lacking by one vote. A contested election, of a perplexing and complicated character, had come from Pike county, then including all the territory north and west of the Illinois river, and, at the early part of the session, was decided in favor of Mr. Hanson; but some members who were opposed to a convention, conscientiously gave their votes for the contestant, Mr. Shaw.

After a stormy session of about ten weeks, the convention party adopted the desperate alternative of a re-consideration, and turned out Hanson, and put in Shaw. This turned the scale, and the vote recommending the people to vote for or against a convention, was carried. A number of the members of both Houses entered their solemn protest against both the object and the measures to obtain it.

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* Ford's History of Illinois.

The resolution passed both Houses but a short time before the adjournment, February, 1823. Only one of the four papers in the State—the "Edwardsville Spectator," by Hooper Warren—at that time took a decided stand against slavery and a convention.

Elections were biennial, and the question could not be decided until the first Monday in August, 1824; the contest was spirited. The people who were opposed to the introduction of slavery, became aroused; public meetings were held; and societies organized for "the prevention of slavery in Illinois." The first move was made in the county of St. Clair, where the convention party were strong, and led by some of the strongest political men in the State.

A county society was organized, officers appointed, an address to the people of Illinois was published, and an invitation made to form societies in other counties. Fourteen similar societies were organized in as many counties, and a correspondence established in them through persons who could be trusted, in every county and election precinct. This system was in full operation before August, and a year remained to gather strength.

The opposite party relied on quiet and concealed operations. Many denied, and doubtless honestly, that the introduction of slavery was the object; and believed that there were objectionable features in the constitution, that should be removed. In the counties north of the road from St. Louis to Vincennes, very little was said by this party in favor of slavery, except to ward off the charges made by their opponents.

The members of the preceding legislature, who had protested against the convention question, contributed each fifty dollars from their wages, to meet expenses in printing and circulating papers. The governor was in the opposition, and at once resolved to expend his four years' salary in the contest, and nobly did he redeem the pledge.

The summer and autumn wore away, and the convention party had no regular organization. The time appointed for rallying the leaders and acting in concert, was in December, at the session of the Supreme Court in Vandalia. The paper at that place, that performed the public printing, was their strong garrison, so far as newspaper armor was concerned. On the morning of their meeting, this citidal *surrendered to their opponents*, hoisted the anti-convention flag, and prepared to pour grape-shot into their ranks, in the form of newspaper bullets.

Governor Coles had purchased an interest in the press; David

Blackwell, of Belleville, had been appointed Secretary of State, to fill a vacancy, and conducted the paper as editor. From that time until August, the contest was carried on vigorously by both parties and finally decided against a convention, by about eighteen hundred majority. The number of votes given in the State, was nearly twelve thousand.

During the contest it was anticipated that an indirect influence out of the State, would be exerted to gain the question. All such extraneous influence the opponents resisted. Of the members of Congress, Governor Edwards and Daniel P. Cook, were strong in the opposition, and each wielded a vigorous pen in the cause.

In six months after, the question was settled; a politician who was in favor of the introduction of slavery in the State, was a RARA AVIS.

In this year, the Miami University of Oxford, Ohio, was first organized as a college. The following sketch of the institution and its history, from the pen of James M'Bride, Esq., President of the Board of Trustees of the same, (to which are added some remarks respecting the female seminaries of Oxford,) will be found interesting.

"The Miami University is situated in the town of Oxford, Butler county, State of Ohio, thirty-three miles distant from Cincinnati. The college derives its permanent endowment from a township of land, six miles square, situated in the north-west corner of Butler county, being located in lieu of a township of land, which had been originally granted by the Congress of the United States, for the endowment of an academy and other seminaries of learning, in Symmes' purchase, between the Miami rivers.

"John Cleves Symmes, of the State of New Jersey, presented his petition to Congress, dated the 29th day of August, 1787, proposing to become the purchaser of one million of acres of land, lying between the Great and Little Miami rivers, and that one township should be assigned in the tract for the benefit of an academy. In pursuance of which, an agreement was made with Symmes and his associates for the sale of one million of acres. The price of the land was to be two-thirds of a dollar per acre, part payable in installments. The latter, not having been punctually met, Congress passed a law, dated the 5th day of May, 1792, authorizing the conveyance to John Cleves Symmes and his associates, of such number of acres of land as the payments then made would pay for.

"On settlement at the treasury, it appeared that Symmes

and his associates had paid in one hundred and sixty-five thousand six hundred and ninety-three dollars and forty-two cents, by which they were entitled to two hundred and forty-eight thousand five hundred and forty acres of land. On which settlement being completed, George Washington, the then President of the United States, issued a patent to John Cleves Symmes and his associates, dated the thirteenth day of September, 1794, for three hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and eighty-two acres of land, reserving out of this tract, however, one complete township of six miles square, for the endowment and support of an academy and other public schools and seminaries of learning, and such other reservations as were stipulated in the contract, so that only two hundred and forty-eight thousand five hundred and forty acres were the property of the grantees—the residue consisted of the various reservations and grants for public purposes specified in the agreement and law.

"So soon as Symmes completed his contract with the government, he commenced selling lands indiscriminately of his purchase, so that soon after the patent issued there was not an entire township within its bounds unsold, which he could tender or appropriate for a college. The people who had settled in the purchase, fearing that they would lose the benefit of the donation for an institution of learning, petitioned the legislature of the territory, and the latter memorialized Congress on the subject. The convention who formed the first constitution of the State of Ohio, also, represented the matter to Congress, and insisted that a township of land should be secured according to the original intention.

"In consequence of these applications, Congress, by law, in 1803, granted a township of land, to be located west of the Great Miami river, under the direction of the legislature of the State, in lieu of the township originally intended to be reserved in Symmes' purchase; on which, the legislature of the State of Ohio, in 1803, passed a law, and appointed commissioners to locate a college township, in pursuance of which, the present township of Oxford was selected on the 1st of September, 1803.

"The Miami University was established by act of incorporation, passed by the legislature of Ohio, in February, 1809, and by an amendatory act, passed in February, 1810, the trustees of the institution were directed to lay out the town of Oxford, and the site of the University was established at that place, on the lands set apart for its endowment.

"These lands are leased for ninety-nine years, renewable forever,

subject to the annual payment of a quit rent of six per cent. on the purchase money. It required a number of years before all the lands were disposed of and suitable buildings erected, to accommodate the college. So soon as this was accomplished, a faculty was organized, and the college was opened on the first Monday of November, 1824, under the superintendence of the Rev. Robert H. Bishop, a native of Scotland, and a clergyman of the Presbyterian denomination, as president. He continued to preside over the institution until the year 1841. The first commencement, when degrees were conferred, was held in September, 1826, when the degree of A. B. was conferred on twelve young gentlemen.

"Since that time, the whole number who have graduated in the college, up to the year 1856, inclusive, is five hundred and seventy-nine.

"The town of Oxford is situated on an elevated and commanding prominence, from which the ground descends gently in all directions. It is laid out one mile square, in the eastern part of which is reserved a plat of ground on which are erected the college buildings.

"The number of teachers in Miami University, are six professors, a Principal of the Preparatory Department, and a Principal of the Normal and Model school. According to the catalogue published for the last year, the number of students in the institution was two hundred and fifty-one.

"The permanent revenue for the support of the University, arising from the rents of the college lands, is about five thousand five hundred dollars per annum, in addition to which, is the receipts arising from tuition fees; this will, however, vary according to the number of students in attendance.

"The college library contains about eight thousand volumes of books, generally well selected and valuable. There is, in the college, a well arranged and valuable cabinet of specimens, which affords the means of a very complete exhibition of the subjects of Geology and Mineralogy. And the apparatus belonging to the college, affords the means for a satisfactory illustration of the most important doctrines of the various departments of Mathematics, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry. 'The Theological Seminary of the Associate Reformed Synod of the West,' is likewise located at Oxford.

"Besides the University and Theological Seminary, there are three other seminaries, for the education of females, at Oxford. In 1849, 'The Oxford Female Institute' was established under the

direction of the Rev. John W. Scott, D. D. The number of pupils in attendance from the time of its opening up to the present time, according to the published catalogues, has been from one hundred and thirty-nine to one hundred and seventy-two.

"An institution called 'The Western Female Seminary,' (on the plan of the Mount Hollyoke Seminary,) was dedicated in September, 1855. It opened with one hundred and fifty pupils.

"'The Oxford Female College' is erected on a tract of twenty-five acres of land, near the north-east corner of the town of Oxford. The building is extensive and elegant, and said to be admirably adapted for the purpose for which it is intended."

Upon the 4th of February, 1825, a law was passed by Ohio, author-
1825.] izing the making of two canals, one from the Ohio to Lake Erie, by the valleys of the Scioto and Muskingum; the other from Cincinnati to Dayton; and a canal fund was created; the vote in the House in favor of the law was fifty-eight to thirteen; in the Senate, thirty-four to two.

Upon the day following, the law to provide for a system of common schools was also passed by large majorities.

These two laws were carried by the union of the friends of each, and by the unremitting efforts of a few public spirited men.

General Clark and Governor Cass, having been appointed commissioners, to mediate at Prairie du Chien, between the Sioux, Sac, Fox, Chippewa, Menomonie and Winnebago tribes of Indians, and to establish boundaries between them, returns were received from those gentlemen this year. They had been successful in their undertaking and had concluded treaties with those tribes, by which their long and bloody wars were terminated, and boundaries assigned to them, as the surest guarantee against future hostilities.

In 1826, the first steamboat was seen on the waters of Lake Michi-
1826.] gan, a pleasure trip having been made that year to Green Bay; and, although during the following years similar trips were made to that place, it was not until 1832 that a boat visited Chicago. In 1833, the trade upon the upper lakes was carried on by eleven steamboats, costing about three hundred and sixty thousand dollars, and two trips were made to Chicago and one to Green Bay. In 1824, there were eighteen boats, costing six hundred thousand dollars, and three trips were made to Chicago and one to Green Bay. The commerce west of Detroit, at that time, and for many years

afterward, being almost entirely confined to the Indian trade and to supplying the United States military posts, some small schooners were also employed. The trade rapidly increased with the population, until, in 1840, there were upon the upper lakes, forty-eight steamers of from one hundred and fifty to seven hundred and fifty tons burden, and costing two millions of dollars, the business west of Detroit producing to the owners about two hundred and one thousand dollars. In 1841, the trade had so augmented as to employ six of the largest boats in running from Buffalo to Chicago, and one to Green Bay, and during that year, the sailing vessels had increased to about two hundred and fifty, of from thirty to three hundred and fifty tons, costing about one million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. In 1845, there were upon the upper lakes, sixty vessels, including propellers, moved by steam, measuring twenty-three thousand tons, and three hundred and twenty sailing vessels, costing four millions six hundred thousand dollars, some of them measuring one thousand two hundred tons. The increase in that year was forty-seven vessels, carrying nine thousand seven hundred tons, and costing six hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and since the last fall, sixteen steamers and fourteen sailing vessels of the largest class have been put under construction. In 1845, there were upon Lake Ontario, fifteen steamboats and propellers, and about one hundred sailing vessels, having a burden of eighteen thousand tons, and costing one million five hundred thousand dollars, many of which, by using the Welland canal, carry on business with Chicago and other places on the western lakes. Since the close of the last season many additional vessels have been built on this lake.

The commerce of the port of Buffalo alone, during the year 1845, amounted to thirty-three millions of dollars in value; and that of all the other places on the lakes exceeding that amount, would make an aggregate of full seventy millions of dollars, while even this would be greatly augmented if we could add the value of the commerce of the upper lakes, which, by the way of the Welland canal, goes direct to the Canadian ports. The steamboats alone leaving Buffalo for the West, in the year 1845, carried from that place ninety-seven thousand seven hundred and thirty-six passengers, of whom twenty thousand six hundred and thirty-six were landed at Detroit, one thousand six hundred and seventy at Mackinac, twelve thousand seven hundred and seventy-five at Milwaukie, two thousand seven hundred and ninety at Southport, two thousand seven hundred and fifty at Racine, and twenty thousand two

hundred and forty-four at Chicago. If to this aggregate we were to add the numbers arriving at Buffalo from the west, and the numbers leaving there in sailing vessels, the multitudes going between other places on those lakes, and some fifty thousand who were passengers in the vessels on Lake Ontario, we would have a grand total of at least two hundred and fifty thousand passengers on the lakes during the last year, whose lives were subjected to all the risks attending the navigation of those waters, exclusive of the officers and crews of all the vessels engaged in that navigation. From 1840 to 1845, upwards of four hundred lives, and property worth more than a million of dollars have been lost on the lakes.

Since that period, the trade upon the lakes has increased so much, and has become so very extensive, that it has been difficult to keep correct accounts; but from the report of the loss of human life as well as property, it seems that this has increased in an even greater ratio.

In 1804, General Harrison purchased from the Sacs and Foxes, at 1832.] St. Louis, an immense extent of country, bounded as follows, viz:

Beginning at a point on the Missouri river, opposite the mouth of the Gasconade river; thence in a direct course so as to strike the river Jeffreon,* at the distance of thirty miles from its mouth, and down the said Jeffreon to the Mississippi; thence up the Mississippi, to the mouth of the Ouisconsin river, and up the same to a point, which shall be thirty-six miles in a direct line from the mouth of the said river; thence by a direct line, to the point where the Fox river, (a branch of the Illinois,) leaves the small lake called Sakaegan; thence down the Fox river to the Illinois river, and down the same to the Mississippi.

And in consideration of the friendship and protection of the United States, as likewise goods, to the value of two thousand two hundred and thirty-four dollars, then delivered, and a further annuity of one thousand dollars, to be paid to them annually, in goods, deliverable at St. Louis, or some convenient point on the Mississippi river, the said tribes ceded and relinquished forever to the United States, all the lands included within the above described boundary.

Of the yearly annuity, which, if required by the Indians, might be paid in compensation of useful artificers, to reside with or near

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*Believed to be the Des Moines.

them, and to work for them, six hundred dollars were to be for the Sacs, and four hundred for the Foxes.

The United States, in the treaty made, further agreed to protect the Indians, to prohibit the whites from intruding on their lands, to regulate the trade of the whites with them, in order to put a stop to the abuses and impositions to which they had been subject, and to put an end to the bloody war which had till then raged between these tribes, and those of the Great and Little Osages.

The Indians, for their part, agreed never to sell their lands, or any part of them, to any sovereign power but the United States, nor to *citizens* of any power whatever; and it was mutually stipulated that in case of robberies, thefts, or murders, the property taken, if discovered, should be mutually restored, or indemnification paid, and the respective culprits delivered up to the United States, and punished according to the laws of the latter.*

"This treaty was confirmed by a part of the tribe in the council at Portage Des Sioux, in September, 1815, and by another part in a treaty with the same commissioners, in May, 1816. The United States had, previous to 1830, caused some of these lands, situate on Rock river, to be surveyed and sold. These lands included the great town of the nation, near the mouth of the river. The purchasers from the government moved on their lands, built houses, made fences and fields, and thus took possession of the ancient metropolis of the Indian nation. The principal part of the Indians had long since moved from their town to the west of the Mississippi.

"But there was one old chief of the Sacs, called Mucata Muhicatah, or Black Hawk,† who always denied the validity of these treaties. Black Hawk was now an old man. He had been a warrior from his youth. He had led many a war party on the trail of an enemy, and had never been defeated. He had been in the service of England in the war of 1812, and aid-de-camp to the great Tecumthe. He was distinguished for courage, and for clemency to the vanquished. He was an Indian patriot, a kind husband and father, and was noted for his integrity in all his dealings with his tribe and with the Indian traders. He was firmly attached to the British, and cordially hated the Americans. At the close of the war of 1812, he had never joined in making peace with the United States, but he and his band still kept up their connection with Canada, and were ever ready for a war with our people. In his per-

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* See page 920. † See page 921.

sonal deportment he was grave and melancholy, with a disposition to cherish and brood over the wrongs he supposed he had received from the Americans. He was thirsting for revenge upon his enemies, and at the same time his piety constrained him to devote a day in the year to visit the grave of a favorite daughter buried on the Mississippi river, not far from Oquaka. Here he came on his yearly visits, and spent a day by the grave, lamenting and bewailing the death of one who had been the pride of his family, and of his Indian home. With these feelings was mingled the certain and melancholy prospect of the extinction of his tribe, and the transfer of his country to the possession of a hated enemy; whilst he and his people were to be driven, as he supposed, into a strange country, far from the graves of his fathers and his children.

"Black Hawk's own account of the treaty of 1804, is as follows: He says that some Indians of the tribe were arrested and imprisoned in St. Louis for murder; that some of the chiefs were sent down to provide for their defense; that whilst there, and without the consent of the nation, they were induced to sell the Indian country; that when they came home, it appeared that they had been drunk most of the time they were absent, and could give no account of what they had done, except that they had sold some land to the white people, and had come home loaded with presents and Indian finery. This was all that the nation ever heard or knew about the treaty of 1804.

"Under the belief that the treaty was void, he resisted the order of the government for the removal of his band west of the Mississippi. He was industriously engaged in securing followers, and gained many accessions to his party. Like Tecumthe, he, too, had his Prophet, whose influence over the superstitious savages was not without effect.

"In 1830, an arrangement was made by the Americans, who had purchased the land above the mouth of Rock river, and the Indians that remained—Black Hawk himself being at their head—to live as neighbors; the latter cultivating their old fields. In the spring, after planting, the Indians left according to their custom, for their summer hunt, and returned in time to gather their corn. They alleged, that during their absence, some depredations had been committed on their property, and Black Hawk was highly incensed. In the fall he left with his band for the winter hunt, and in the spring of 1831, he recrossed the river, with his women and children, and three hundred warriors of the British band, together with some allies from the Pottawattamie and Kickapoo nations, to

establish himself upon his ancient hunting grounds, and in the principal village of his nation. He ordered the white settlers away, threw down their fences, unroofed their houses, cut up their grain, drove off and killed their cattle, and threatened the people with death if they remained. The settlers made their complaints to Governor Reynolds. These acts of the Indians were considered by the governor to be an invasion of the State. He immediately addressed letters to General Gaines, of the United States army, and to General Clark, the superintendent of Indian affairs, calling upon them to use the influence of the government to procure the peaceful removal of the Indians, if possible; at all events to defend and protect the American citizens who had purchased those lands from the United States, and were now about to be ejected by the Indians. General Gaines repaired to Rock Island, with a few companies of regular soldiers, and soon ascertained that the Indians were bent upon war. He immediately called upon Governor Reynolds for seven hundred mounted volunteers. The governor obeyed the requisition. A call was made upon some of the northern and central counties, in obedience to which fifteen hundred volunteers rushed to his standard, at Beardstown, and about the 10th of June were organized, and ready to be marched to the seat of war.

"The army proceeded in four days to the Mississippi, at a place now called Rockport, about eight miles below the mouth of Rock river, where it met General Gaines in a steamboat, with a supply of provisions. Here it encamped for one night and here the two generals concerted a plan of operations. General Gaines had been in the vicinity of the Indian town for about a month, during which time it might be supposed that he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with the localities and topography of the country. The next morning the volunteers marched forward, with an old regular soldier for a guide. The steamboat with General Gaines ascended the river. A battle was expected to be fought that day on Vandruff's Island, opposite the Indian town. The plan was for the volunteers to cross the slough on to this island, give battle to the enemy if found there, and then to ford the main river into the town, where they were to be met by the regular force coming down from the fort. General Gaines had ordered the artillery of the regular army to be stationed on a high bluff which looked down upon the contemplated battle-field a half mile distant, from whence, in case of battle with the Indians in the tangled thickets of the island, their shot were likely to kill more of their friends than their enemies. It would have been impossible for the artillerists to dis-

tinguish one from the other. And when the army arrived at the main river, they found it a bold, deep stream, not fordable for a half mile or more above by horses, and no means of transportation was then ready to ferry them over. Here they were in sight of the Indian town, with a narrow but deep river running between, and here the principal part of them remained until scows could be brought to ferry them across.

"When the volunteers reached the town, they found no enemy there. The Indians had quietly departed the same morning in their canoes, for the western side of the Mississippi. Whilst in camp twelve miles below, the evening before, a canoe load of Indians came down with a white flag, to tell the general that they were peaceable Indians, that they expected a great battle to come off next day, that they desired to remain neutral, and wanted to retire with their families to some place of safety, and they asked to know where that was to be. General Gaines answered them very abruptly, and told them to be off and go to the other side of the Mississippi. That night they returned to their town, and the next morning early the whole band of hostile Indians recrossed the river, and thus entitled themselves to protection.

"The enemy having escaped, the volunteers were determined to be avenged upon something. The rain descended in torrents, and the Indian wigwams would have furnished a comfortable shelter; but, notwithstanding the rain, the whole town was soon wrapped in flames, and thus perished an ancient village, which had once been the delightful home of six or seven thousand Indians.

"The volunteers marched to Rock Island next morning, and here they encamped for several days, precisely where the town of Rock Island is now situated.

"General Gaines threatened to pursue the Indians across the river, which brought Black Hawk, and the chiefs and braves of the hostile band, to the fort to sue for peace. A treaty was here formed with them, by which they agreed to remain forever after on west side of the river, and never to recross it without the permission of the president, or the governor of the State. And thus these Indians at last ratified the treaty of 1804, by which their lands were sold to the white people, and they agreed to live in peace with the government.

"But notwithstanding this treaty, early in the spring of 1832, Black Hawk and the disaffected Indians prepared to reassert their right to the disputed territory.

"The united Sacs and Fox nations were divided into two parties.

Black Hawk commanded the warlike band, and Keokuk, another chief, headed the band which was in favor of peace. Keokuk, a sagacious leader of his people, was gifted with a wild and stirring eloquence, rare to be found even among Indians, by means of which he retained the greater part of his nation in amity with the white people. But nearly all the bold, turbulent spirits, who delighted in mischief, arranged themselves under the banners of his rival. Black Hawk had with him the chivalry of his nation, with which he recrossed the Mississippi in the spring of 1832. He directed his march to the Rock river country, and this time aimed, by marching up the river into the countries of the Pottawattamies and Winnebagoes, to make them his allies. Governor Reynolds, upon being informed of the facts, made another call for volunteers. In a few days eighteen hundred men rallied under his banner at Beardstown.

"The army proceeded by way of Oquaka, on the Mississippi, to the mouth of Rock river, and here it was agreed between General Whiteside and General Atkinson, of the regulars, that the volunteers should march up Rock river, about fifty miles, to the Prophet's town, and there encamp to feed and rest their horses, and await the arrival of the regular troops in keel boats with provisions. But when he arrived at the Prophet's town, instead of remaining there, his men set fire to the village, which was entirely consumed, and the brigade marched on in the direction of Dixon, forty miles higher up the river. When the volunteers had arrived within a short distance of Dixon, orders were given to leave the baggage wagons behind, so as to reach there by a forced march. And for the relief of the horses, the men left large quantities of provisions behind with the wagons.

"At Dixon, General Whiteside came to a halt, to await a junction with General Atkinson, with provisions and the regular forces; and from here parties were sent out to reconnoiter the enemy, and ascertain his position. The army here found upon its arrival two battalions of mounted volunteers, consisting of two hundred and seventy-five men, from the counties of M'Lean, Tazewell, Peoria, and Fulton. The officers of this force begged to be put forward upon some dangerous service, in which they could distinguish themselves. To gratify them they were ordered up Rock river to spy out the Indians.

The party, under Major Stillman, began their march on the 12th of May, and pursuing their way on the south-east side, they came to 'Old Man's' creek, since called 'Stillman's Run,' a small stream which

rises in White Rock Grove, in Ogle county, and falls into the river near Bloomingville. Here they encamped just before night; and in a short time a party of Indians on horseback were discovered on a rising ground, about one mile distant from the encampment. A party of Stillman's men mounted their horses without orders or commander, and were soon followed by others, stringing along for a quarter of a mile, to pursue the Indians and attack them. The Indians retreated, after displaying a red flag, the emblem of defiance and war, but were overtaken, and three of them slain. Black Hawk was near by with his main force, and being prompt to repel an assault, soon rallied his men, amounting then to several hundred warriors, and moved down upon Major Stillman's camp, driving the disorderly rabble, the recent pursuers, before him. These valorous gentlemen, lately so hot in pursuit, when the enemy were few, were no less hasty in their retreat, when coming in contact with superior numbers. They came with their horses in a full run, and in this manner broke through the camp of Major Stillman, spreading dismay and terror among the rest of his men, who immediately began to join in the flight, so that no effort to rally them could possibly have succeeded. Major Stillman, now that it was too late to remedy the evils of insubordination and disorder in his command, did all that was practicable, by ordering his men to fall back in order, and form on higher ground; but as the prairie rose behind them for more than a mile, the ground for a rally was never discovered; and besides this, when the men once got their backs to the enemy, they commenced a retreat, without one thought of making a further stand. A retreat of undisciplined militia from the attack of a superior force, is apt to be a disorderly and inglorious flight, and so it was here; each man sought his own individual safety, and in the twinkling of an eye, the whole detachment was in utter confusion. They were pursued in their flight by thirty or forty Indians, for ten or twelve miles, the fugitives in the rear keeping up a flying fire as they ran, until the Indians ceased pursuing.

"Major Stillman and his men were for a long time afterward the subject of thoughtless merriment and ridicule, which were as undeserved as their battle, if so it may be called, had been unfortunate. The party was raw militia; it had been but a few days in the field; the men were wholly without discipline, and, as yet, without confidence in each other, or in their officers.

"This confidence they had not been long enough together to acquire. Any other body of men, under the same circumstances,

would have acted no better. They were as good material for an army, if properly drilled and disciplined, as could be found elsewhere.

"In the night, after the arrival at Dixon, the trumpet sounded a signal for the officers to assemble at the tent of General Whiteside. A council of war was held, in which it was agreed to march early the next morning to the fatal field of that evening's disaster. When the volunteers arrived there, the Indians were gone. They had scattered out all over the country, some of them further up Rock river, and others toward the nearest settlements of white people.

"A party of about seventy Indians made a descent upon the small settlement of Indian creek, a tributary of Fox river, and there, within fifteen miles of Ottawa, they massacred fifteen persons, men, women, and children, and took two young women prisoners—the one about seventeen, and the others about fifteen years old.

"This party of Indians immediately retreated into the Winnebago country, up Rock river, carrying the scalps of their slain, and their prisoners with them.

"The young women prisoners were hurried by forced marches beyond the reach of pursuit. After a long and fatiguing journey, with their Indian conductors, through a wilderness country, with but little to eat, and being subjected to a variety of fortune, they were at last purchased by the chiefs of the Winnebagoes, employed by Mr. Gratiot for the purpose, with two thousand dollars, in horses, wampum, and trinkets, and were safely returned to their friends.

"The army now amounted to twenty-four hundred, and had the men been willing to serve longer, the war could have been ended in less than a month, by the capture or destruction of all Black Hawk's forces. But the volunteers were anxious to be discharged. Their term of service had nearly expired. Many of them had left their business in such a condition as to require their presence at home; and besides this, there was much dissatisfaction with the commanding general. To require further service from unwilling men was worse than useless, for a militia force will never do any good unless their hearts prompt them to a cheerful alacrity in performing their duty. The militia can never be forced to fight against their will. Their hearts as well as their bodies must be in the service; and to do any good, they must feel the utmost confidence in their officers. They were first marched back to the battle-field

in pursuit of the Indians, and then by Pawpaw Grove and Indian creek, to Ottawa, where the whole, at their urgent request, were discharged by Governor Reynolds, on the 27th and 28th of May." *

Meanwhile, three thousand Illinois militia had been ordered out, who rendezvoused upon the 20th of June, near Peru; these marched forward to the Rock river, where they were joined by the United States troops, the whole being under command of General Atkinson.

Six hundred mounted men were also ordered out, while General Scott, with nine companies of artillery, hastened from the seaboard by the way of the lakes to Chicago, moving with such celerity, that some of his troops, it was said, actually went eighteen hundred miles in eighteen days; passing in that time from Fort Monroe, on the Chesapeake, to Chicago. Long before the artillerists *could* reach the scene of action, however, the western troops had commenced the conflict in earnest, and before they *did* reach the field, had closed it.

On the 24th of June, Black Hawk and his two hundred warriors were repulsed by Major Demint, with but one hundred and fifty militia; this skirmish took place between Rock river and Galena. The army then continued to move up Rock river, near the heads of which it was understood that the main party of the hostile Indians was collected; and as provisions were scarce, and hard to convey in such a country, a detachment was sent forward to Fort Winnebago, at the portage between the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, to procure supplies.

This detachment hearing of Black Hawk's army, pursued and overtook them on the 21st of July, near the Wisconsin river, and in the neighborhood of the Blue Mounds. General Henry, who commanded the party, formed with his troops three sides of a hollow square, and in that order received the attack of the Indians; two attempts to break the ranks were made by the natives in vain; and then a general charge was made by the whole body of Americans, and with such success that, it is said, fifty-two of the red men were left dead upon the field, while but one American was killed and eight wounded.

Before this action, Henry had sent word of his motions to the main army, by whom he was immediately rejoined, and on the 28th of July, the whole crossed the Wisconsin in pursuit of Black

* Ford's History of Illinois.

Hawk, who was retiring toward the Mississippi. Upon the bank of that river, nearly opposite the Upper Ioway, the Indians were overtaken and again defeated, on the 2d of August, with a loss of one hundred and fifty men, while of the whites but eighteen fell. This battle entirely broke the power of Black Hawk; he fled, but was seized by the Winnebagoes, and upon the 27th, was delivered to the officers of the United States, at Prairie du Chien.

General Scott, during the months of July and August, was contending with a worse than Indian foe. The Asiatic cholera had just reached Canada; passing up the St. Lawrence to Detroit, it overtook the western-bound armament, and thenceforth the camp became an hospital. On the 8th of July, his thinned ranks landed at Fort Dearborn or Chicago, but it was late in August before they reached the Mississippi. The number of that band who died from the cholera, must have been at least seven times as great as that of all who fell in battle. There were several other skirmishes of the troops with the Indians, and a number of individuals murdered; making in all, about seventy-five persons killed in these actions, or murdered on the frontiers.

In September, the Indian troubles were closed by a treaty, which relinquished to the white men thirty millions of acres of land, for which stipulated annuities were to be paid; constituting now the eastern portion of the State of Iowa, to which the only real claim of the Sauks and Foxes, was their depredations on the unoffending Ioways, about one hundred and thirty years since. To Keokuk and his party, a reservation of forty miles square was given, in consideration of his fidelity; while Black Hawk and his family, were sent as hostages to Fort Monroe in the Chesapeake, where they remained till June, 1833. The chief afterward returned to his native wilds, where he died in 1840.

Black Hawk cannot rank with Pontiac or Tecumthe; he seemingly fought more for revenge, and showed less intellectual power; but he was a fearless man.

The same disease which decimated General Scott's troops, during the autumn of this year, and the summers of 1833 and 1834, spread terror through the whole West, though during the latter year it was comparatively mild. Three facts in relation to it were remarkable; the first is, that other diseases diminished while it prevailed;—the second, that many points which were spared in 1832, (as Lexington, Kentucky,) were devastated in 1833;—the third, that its appearance and progress presented none of the evidences of contagion.

A visitation less fatal than the cholera, but for the time most disastrous, had come upon the valley of the Ohio in the preceding February. A winter of excessive cold was suddenly closed, by long continued and very heavy rains, which, unable to penetrate the frozen ground, soon raised every stream emptying into Ohio to an unusual height. The main trunk, unable to discharge the water which poured into it, overflowed its banks, and laid the whole valley, in many places several miles in width, under water.

The towns and villages along the river banks, were flooded in some instances so deeply, as to force the inhabitants to take refuge on the neighboring hills;—and the value of the property injured and destroyed must have been very great, though its amount could not, of course, be ascertained. The water continued to rise from the 7th to the 19th of February, when it had attained the height of sixty-three feet above low water mark at Cincinnati.

In April, 1834, a census had shown that Michigan possessed a 1837.] population sufficient to entitle her to admission into the Union. In May, 1835, a convention, held at Detroit, prepared a State constitution, and asked to it the assent of Congress. This Congress refused, but passed a conditional act, by which the applicant might become a State, should certain stipulations be assented to; this assent was to be signified through a convention, and one met for the purpose in September, 1836; this body declined acceding to the conditions.

Thereupon a second convention was chosen, which, in the following December, accepted the terms offered, and after some discussion in Congress in relation to the legality of this acceptance, Michigan was recognized as a sovereign State of the Union.

The question which caused the difficulty above referred to, and which at one time threatened civil war, was this: What is the true southern boundary of Michigan? The ordinance of 1787, provided for the formation in the North-West territory of three States, and also provided that Congress might form one or two others north of an east and west line drawn through the head, or southern extremity of Lake Michigan.

This, at the time Ohio had been admitted, was construed to mean that the two northern States, the offspring of the will of Congress, must not come south of the east and west line specified, but might by Congress be limited to a line north of that. In accordance with this view, Ohio, as already related, was made to extend northward so as to include the Maumee Bay.

This construction of the ordinance Michigan disputed, and when Ohio sent surveyors to mark out the boundary as defined by Congress, the territorial authorities of Michigan drove them away by an armed force, and placed a military party in the disputed district. At this time commissioners were sent by the President, who prevailed upon the parties so far to recede, as to allow the people of the district to acknowledge either jurisdiction until the question was settled by the proper authority; and thus matters stood until, when she asked for admission among the States, Michigan was told that she could be admitted only on condition she recognized the boundary as claimed by Ohio; this at length she did, as has been seen, and then became one of the federal sisterhood.

The subjection of Black Hawk and his hostile party, and the treaty that followed in 1832, opened the extensive tract of country along the Mississippi, to American settlements; and the following spring, companies from Illinois crossed the river, built their cabins, and made improvements for farming early in 1833.

The first settlement was in the vicinity of Burlington. Coeval with it, was the settlement near Fort Madison. From this period, the progress and extension of settlements were rapid, and the population increased with far greater rapidity than in the history of previous territories. For more than eighteen months the people were "a law unto themselves," being without the jurisdiction of any organized territory.

In 1834, Congress attached this territory to that of Michigan, for temporary jurisdiction, and two large counties, Dubuque and Des Moines, were organized. Their aggregate population in 1836, was ten thousand five hundred and thirty-one persons, and the same year Wisconsin was organized as a separate territory, and exercised jurisdiction over the "District of Iowa."

In 1838, the territorial legislature of Wisconsin was removed west of the Mississippi, to Burlington. During the session, official intelligence of the organization of the territory of Iowa, was received the last of June, and the legislature finding itself beyond its own jurisdiction, adjourned.

The territorial government took effect on the 4th of July, 1838. Robert Lucas, a former Governor of Ohio, was the governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, and James Clark, Secretary of the new territory.

During that year, the territory, which had been subdivided into sixteen counties, had a population of twenty-two thousand eight hundred and sixty persons.

In 1840, the General Assembly located the seat of government on the river that gives name to the State, and called it the "City of Iowa." Immigration continued to increase; and the census of 1840 presented a population of forty-three thousand and seventeen, while that of the Wisconsin territory was thirty thousand nine hundred and forty-five persons. In 1843, the territorial legislature of Iowa petitioned Congress for authority to adopt a State constitution, which was granted at the next session, and on the 7th of October, 1844, the Convention assembled and adopted a constitution, which was not approved by Congress.

Another Convention was held 1846, the limits restricted, and the amended constitution adopted, which was submitted to Congress in June, and the State received into the Union simultaneously with Florida.

Steamboat explosions and other disasters have of late years become
1838.] so numerous, that the limits of this work will not admit of a particular account of them. Yet the explosion of the steamer Moselle, in 1838, to the horrible exhibition consequent upon which the publisher was an eye-witness, and which, in "*Lloyd's Steamboat Disasters*," is justly called "an event that is still believed to be almost without a parallel in the annals of steamboat calamities," was so remarkable, that an account of it will, no doubt, be acceptable. The following is chiefly taken from the work referred to:

The Moselle was regarded as the very paragon of western steamboats; she was perfect in form and construction, elegant and superb in all her equipments, and enjoyed a reputation for speed which admitted of no rivalship. As an evidence that the latter was not undeserved, it need only be mentioned that her last trip from St. Louis to Cincinnati, seven hundred and fifty miles, was performed in two days and sixteen hours, the quickest trip, by several hours, that had ever been made between the two places.

On the afternoon of April 25th, 1838, between four and five o'clock, the Moselle left the landing at Cincinnati, bound for St. Louis, with an unusually large number of passengers, supposed to be not less than two hundred and eighty, or according to some accounts, three hundred. It was a pleasant afternoon, and all on board probably anticipated a delightful voyage. The Moselle proceeded about a mile up the river to take on some German emigrants. At this time, it was observed by an experienced engineer on board, that the steam had been raised to an unusual height, and when the boat stopped for the purpose just mentioned, it was

reported that one man, who was apprehensive of danger, went ashore, after protesting against the injudicious management of the steam apparatus. Yet the passengers generally were regardless of any danger that might exist, crowding the boat for the sake of her beauty and speed, and making *safety* a secondary consideration.

When the object for which the Moselle had landed was nearly accomplished, and the bow of the boat just turned in preparation to move from the shore, at that instant the explosion took place. The whole of the vessel forward of the wheels was blown to splinters; every timber, (as an eye-witness declares) "appeared to be twisted, as trees sometimes are, when struck by lightning." As soon as the accident occurred, the boat floated down the stream for about one hundred and fifty to two hundred yards, where she sunk, leaving the upper part of the cabin out of the water, and the baggage, together with many struggling human beings, floating on the surface of the river.

It was remarked that the force of the explosion was unprecedented in the history of steam; its effect was like that of a mine of gunpowder. All the boilers, four in number, burst simultaneously; the deck was blown into the air, and the human beings who crowded it were doomed to instant destruction. It was asserted that a man, believed to be a pilot, was carried, together with the pilot house, to the Kentucky shore, a distance of a quarter of a mile.

A fragment of a boiler was carried by the explosion high into the air, and descending perpendicularly about fifty yards from the boat, it crushed through a strong roof, and through the second floor of a building, lodging finally on the ground floor.

Captain Perrin, master of the Moselle, at the time of the accident, was standing on the deck, above the boiler, in conversation with another person. He was thrown to a considerable height on the steep embankment of the river and killed, while his companion was merely prostrated on the deck, and escaped without injury. Another person was blown a great distance into the air, and on descending he fell on a roof with such force, that he partially broke through it, and his body was lodged there. Some of the passengers who were in the after part of the boat, and who were uninjured by the explosion, jumped overboard. An eye-witness says that he saw sixty or seventy in the water at one time, of whom comparatively few reached the shore. There were afterward the mutilated remains of nineteen persons buried in one grave.

It happened, unfortunately, that the larger number of the passengers were collected on the upper deck, to which the balmy air

and delicious weather seemed to invite them, in order to expose them to more certain destruction. It was understood, too, that the captain of the ill-fated steamer had expressed his determination to outstrip an opposition boat which had just started; the people on shore were cheering the Moselle, in anticipation of her success in the race, and the passengers and crew on the upper deck responded to these acclamations, which were soon changed to sounds of mourning and distress.

Intelligence of the awful calamity spread rapidly through the city; thousands rushed to the spot, and the most benevolent aid was promptly extended to the sufferers, or rather to those who were within the reach of human assistance, for the majority had perished. The scene here was so sad and distressing, that no language can depict it with fidelity. Here lay twenty or thirty mangled and still bleeding corpses; while many persons were engaged in dragging others of the dead or wounded, from the wreck or the water. But, says an eye-witness, the survivors presented the most touching objects of distress, as their mental anguish seemed more insupportable than the most intense bodily suffering.

Death had torn asunder the most tender ties; but the rupture had been so sudden and violent, that none knew certainly who had been taken, or who had been spared. Fathers were distractedly inquiring for children, children for parents, husbands and wives for each other. One man had saved a son, but lost a wife and five children. A father, partially demented by grief, lay with a wounded child on one side, his dead daughter on the other, and his expiring wife at his feet. One gentleman sought his wife and children, who were as eagerly seeking him in the same crowd. They met, and were reunited.

A female deck passenger who had been saved, seemed inconsolable for the loss of her relatives. Her constant exclamations were, "Oh! my father! my mother! my sisters!" A little boy, about five years old, whose head was much bruised, appeared to be regardless of his wounds, and cried continually for a lost father; while another lad, a little older, was weeping for a whole family.

One venerable man wept for the loss of a wife and five children. Another was bereft of his whole family, consisting of nine persons.

A touching display of maternal affection was evinced by a woman, who on being brought to the shore, clasped her hands, and exclaimed, "Thank God, I am safe!" but instantly recollecting herself, she ejaculated in a voice of piercing agony, "Where is my

child?" The infant, which had been saved, was brought to her, and she fainted at the sight of it.

Many of the passengers who entered the boat at Cincinnati, had not registered their names, but the lowest estimated number of persons on board was two hundred and eighty; of these, eighty-one were known to be killed, fifty-five were missing, and thirteen badly wounded.

On the day after the accident, a public meeting was called at Cincinnati, at which the mayor presided, when the facts of this melancholy occurrence were discussed, and among other resolutions passed was one deprecating "the great and increasing carelessness in the navigation of steam vessels," and urging this subject upon the consideration of Congress.

The Moselle was built at Cincinnati, and she reflected great credit on the mechanical genius of that city, as she was truly a superior boat, and under more favorable auspices, might have been the pride of the waters for several years. She was new, having been begun the previous December, and finished in March, only a month before the time of her destruction.

Among the events of this year, deserving notice, was the liquida-
1843.] tion of the Illinois State Bank.

In 1816, as before mentioned, the bank of Shawanee town was chartered for twenty years, with a capital of three hundred thousand dollars, one-third of which was to be subscribed by the State. In 1821, this institution closed its doors, "and remained dormant," till 1835, when its charter was extended to 1857, and it resumed business. Two years later, in March, 1837, the capital was increased by adding one million four hundred thousand dollars, all subscribed by the State.

But the great crash which soon prostrated business throughout the United States, involved this, with other institutions of a like kind, in difficulties too great to be surmounted; and though the State, in 1841, offered to relieve the bank from a forfeiture of its charter, provided it would pay two hundred thousand dollars of the State debt, in 1843 it was found necessary to close its concerns once more.

The State banks were not more fortunate. The constitution of Illinois, like that of Indiana, provided that no other than a State bank and its branches should be allowed. In March, 1819, a State bank was accordingly chartered, with a nominal capital of four millions, but its stock was not sold.

In 1821, another State bank, with a capital of half a million, was chartered, to be managed by the legislature. This went into operation with but little or no real capital, so that its notes were soon at an enormous discount, and it failed. In February, 1835, a third State bank was formed, with a capital of a million and a half, which in 1837 was increased to three and a half millions of dollars. This institution survived till January, 1843, when the legislature was forced to close its doors—its bills being worth about fifty cents on the dollar.*

In June of this year there occurred a rise of the Missouri and 1844.] the middle section of the Mississippi rivers, which far exceeded all former floods of these rivers, ever known or spoken of either in history or even romantic tradition. Many plantations on the former river were rendered useless for years, by the heavy deposit of alluvion, and fences and property of great value were carried away.

On the Mississippi, the greatest damage was done on the American bottom, between the mouths of the Missouri and Kaskaskia rivers, where a large area of land of an average width of over six miles was submerged, so that steamboats were navigating over it for a number of days. The ancient town of Kaskaskia was submerged several feet, which calamity was a further drawback to the prosperity of the place. The more ancient hamlet of Cahokia was almost depopulated, and several settlements along the bank of the river were for the time broken up. The suffering and damage caused by the flood, were enormous.

On the 27th of June, 1844, Joseph Smith, the founder and leader of that remarkable system, called Mormonism, was killed by an armed mob at Carthage, Illinois. Smith was born in Vermont, about 1807, and reared in New York; his education was imperfect, and his family are said to have been superstitious. When about fifteen or sixteen years old he began to see visions, which continued through some seven years. At length, on the 22d of September, 1827, the "records" upon which Mormonism rests, were delivered to the prophet.

"These records," says Cowdrey, "were engraved on plates which had the appearance of gold. Each plate was not far from seven

*See on Illinois Banks, Brown's History, 428 to 441.

by eight inches in width and length, being not quite as thick as common tin. They were filled on both sides with engravings, in Egyptian characters, and bound together in a volume, as the leaves of a book, and fastened at the edge with three rings running through the whole.

"This volume was something near six inches in thickness, a part of which was sealed. The characters or letters upon the unsealed part, were small and beautifully engraved. The whole book exhibited many marks of antiquity in its construction, as well as much skill in the art of engraving.

"With the records was found a curious instrument, called by the ancients, Urim and Thummim, which consisted of two transparent stones, clear as crystal, set in two rims of a bow—this was in use in ancient times by persons called Seers—it was an instrument, by the use of which they received revelations of things distant, or of things past or future."

The story of his gold plates getting abroad, the holder was waylaid by robbers, and persecuted by fanatics, until he was forced to flee into Pennsylvania to his father-in-law:—there he began the work of translation. The issue of this work was, "The Book of Mormon." This book gives the history of Lehi and his posterity, from about 660 B. C. to 400 A. D.; these lived for the most part in America, Lehi and his sons having emigrated thither.

After the emigration, terrible wars took place between the Nephites or faithful, and the Lamanites or heathen, in which all the former were destroyed except Mormon, his son Moroni, and a few others. Mormon and his son abridged the records of their ancestors, and added their own, and thus the book was completed.

An account referred to in the note, gives us reason to think this book was not written by Smith, but by one Spalding, as a sort of romance, and that it was seen and stolen by Sidney Rigdon, afterward Smith's right-hand man, and by him made known to the prophet.

Rigdon, however, had at first no open connection with Smith, and was converted by a special mission sent into his neighborhood in October, 1830. From the time of Rigdon's conversion the progress of Mormonism was wonderfully rapid, he being a man of more than common capacity and cunning. Kirtland, Ohio, became the chief city for the time being, while large numbers went to Missouri in consequence of revelations to that effect.

In July, 1833, the number of Mormons in Jackson county, Mis-

souri, was over twelve hundred. Their increase having produced some anxiety among the neighboring settlers, a meeting was held in the month just named, from whence emanated resolutions forbidding all Mormons from thenceforth to settle in that county, and intimating that all who did not soon remove of their own will would be forced to do so.

Among the resolutions was one requiring the Mormon paper to be stopped, but as this was not at once complied with, the office of the paper was destroyed. Another large meeting of the citizens being held, the Mormons became alarmed, and contracted to remove. Before this contract, however, could be complied with, violent proceedings were again resorted to: houses were destroyed, men whipped, and at length some of both parties were killed. The result was a removal of the Mormons across the Missouri into Clay county.

These outrages being communicated to the Prophet, at Kirtland, he took steps to bring about a great gathering of his disciples, with which, marshaled as an army, in May, 1834, he started for Missouri, which in due time he reached, but with no other result than the transfer of a certain portion of his followers as permanent settlers to a region already too full of them.

At first the citizens of Clay county were friendly to the persecuted; but ere long trouble grew up, and the wanderers were once more forced to seek a new home, in order to prevent outrages. This home they found in Caldwell county, where, by permission of the neighbors and State legislature, they organized a county government, the country having been previously unsettled. Soon after this removal, numbers of Mormons flocking in, settlements were also formed in Davis and Carroll—the three towns of the new sect being Far West, in Caldwell; Adam-on-di-ah-mond, called Diahmond or Diahman, in Davis; and Dewit, in Carroll.

Thus far the Mormon writers and their enemies pretty well agree in their narratives of the Missouri troubles; but thenceforth all is contradiction and uncertainty.

The Mormons, or Latter-day Saints, held two views which they were fond of dwelling upon, and which were calculated to alarm and excite the people of the frontier. One was, that the West was to be their inheritance, and that the unconverted dwellers upon the lands about them were to be destroyed, and the saints to succeed to their property.

The destruction spoken of was to be, as Smith taught, by the

hand of God; but those who were threatened naturally enough concluded, that the Mormons might think themselves instruments in His hand, to work the change they foretold and desired. They believed also, with or without reason, that the saints, anticipating, like many other heirs, the income of their inheritance, helped themselves to what they needed of food and clothing; or, as the world called it, were arrant thieves.

The other offensive view was, the descent of the Indians from the Hebrews, taught by the Book of Mormon, and their ultimate restoration to their share in the inheritance of the faithful; from this view, the neighbors were easily led to infer a union of the saints and savages to desolate the frontier.

Looking with suspicion upon the new sect, and believing them to be already rogues and thieves, the inhabitants of Carroll and Davis counties were of course opposed to their possession of the chief political influence, such as they already possessed in Caldwell, and from the fear that they would acquire more, arose the first open quarrel. This took place in August, 1838, at an election in Davis county, where their right of suffrage was disputed.

The affray which ensued being exaggerated, and some severe cuts and bruises being converted into mortal wounds by the voice of rumor, a number of the Mormons of Caldwell county went to Diahmond, and after learning the facts, by force or persuasion induced a magistrate of Davis, known to be a leading opponent of theirs, to sign a promise not to molest them any more by word or deed. For this, Joe Smith and Lyman Wight were arrested and held to trial.

By this time the prejudices and fears of both parties were fully aroused; each anticipated violence from the other, and to prevent it each proceeded to violence. The Mormons of Caldwell, legally organized, turned out to preserve the peace; and the Anti-Mormons of Davis, Carroll, and Livingston, acting upon the sacred principle of self-defense, armed and embodied themselves for the same commendable purpose.

Unhappily, in this case, as in many similar ones, the preservation of peace was ill-confided to men moved by mingled fear and hatred; and instead of it, the opposing forces produced plunderings, burnings, and bloodshed, which did not terminate until Gov. Boggs, on the 27th of October, authorized General Clark, with the full military power of the State, to exterminate or drive from Missouri, if he thought necessary, the unhappy followers of Joe

Smith. Against the army, thirty-five hundred strong, thus brought to annihilate them, and which was evidently not a mob, the fourteen hundred Mormons made no resistance; three hundred fled, and the remainder surrendered.

The leaders were examined and held to trial, bail being refused, while the mass of the unhappy people were stripped of their property to pay the expenses of the war, and driven, men, women, and children—in mid-winter, from the State—naked and starving. Multitudes of them were forced to encamp without tents, and with scarce any clothes or food, on the bank of the Mississippi, which was too full of ice for them to cross. The people of Illinois, however, received the fugitives, when they reached the eastern shore, with open arms, and the saints entered upon a new, and yet more surprising series of adventures, than those they had already passed through.

The Mormons found their way from Missouri into the neighboring State, through the course of the year 1839, and missionaries were sent abroad to paint their sufferings, and ask relief for those who were thus persecuted because of their religious views; although their *religious* views appear to have had little or nothing to do with the opposition experienced by them in Missouri. After wandering for a time in uncertainty, the saints fixed upon the site of Commerce, a village on the east bank of the Mississippi, as the spot upon which to rest; and there, in the spring of 1840, began the city of Nauvoo, to which place, by means of new arrivals, accessions by hundreds were added monthly.

As political strife was very violent about this time, with its ordinary concomitant of corruption, it is not to be wondered at, that the politicians of each party were but too eager to curry favor with these people, whose votes were valuable, and whose advent was therefore at once seized upon, by the respective leaders, as a means of party aggrandizement. The following extract, taken from "Ford's Illinois," will show how the Mormons managed to reap the advantages of this spirit of political servility:

"At the legislature of Illinois, session 1840–41, it became a matter of great interest with both parties, to conciliate these people. They were already numerous, and were fast increasing by emigration from all parts. It was evident that they were to possess much power in elections. They had already signified their intention of joining neither party further than they could be assisted in matters of immediate interest by that party; and in readiness to vote en masse for such persons as were willing to do them most service.

The leaders of both parties believed that the Mormons would soon hold the balance of power, and exerted themselves, on both sides, by professions of kindness and devotion to their interest, to win their support.

"In this state of the case, Dr. Bennet presented himself at the seat of government, as the agent of the Mormons. He was a man of some talent, and *then* had the confidence of the Mormons, and particularly of their leaders. He came as the agent of that people to solicit a city charter, a charter for a military legion, and for various other purposes.

"This person addressed himself to the senator from Hancock county, (in which Nauvoo is located,) and to Douglass, the Secretary of State, who both entered heartily into his views and projects. Bennet managed matters well for his constituents. He flattered both sides with the hope of Mormon favor, and both sides expected to receive their votes.

"A city charter, drawn up to suit the Mormons, was presented to the senate, and referred to the judiciary committee, of which one Snyder was chairman, who reported it back, recommending its passage. The vote was taken, the ayes and noes were *not* called for, no one opposed it, but all were busy and active in hurrying it through. In like manner it passed the house of representatives, where it was never read, except by its title; the ayes and noes were not called for, and the same universal zeal in its favor was manifested here, which had been so conspicuously displayed in the senate.

"This city charter, and other charters passed in the same way by this legislature, incorporated Nauvoo, provided for the election of a mayor, four aldermen, and nine councilors; gave them power to pass all ordinances necessary for the peace, benefit, good order, regulation, and convenience of the city, and for the protection of property from fire, which were not *repugnant to the constitution of the United States, or this State.*

"This seemed to give them power to pass ordinances in violation of the *laws* of the State, and to erect a system of government for themselves. This charter also established a Mayor's Court, with exclusive jurisdiction of all cases arising under the city ordinances, subject to an appeal to the municipal court. It established a municipal court, to be composed of the mayor, as chief justice, and the four aldermen as his associates; which court was to have jurisdiction of appeals from the mayor, or aldermen, subject to an appeal again to the circuit court of the county. The municipal court was

also clothed with power to issue writs of habeas corpus, in all cases arising under the ordinances of the city.

"This charter also incorporated the militia of Nauvoo into a military legion, to be called the "Nauvoo Legion." It was made entirely independent of the military organization of the State, and not subject to the command of any officer of the State militia, except the governor himself, as commander-in-chief. It was to be furnished with its due proportion of the State arms; and might enroll in its ranks any of the citizens of Hancock county, who preferred to join it, whether they lived in the city or elsewhere.

"The charter also established a court martial for the legion, to be composed of the commissioned officers, who were to make and execute all ordinances necessary for the benefit, government, and regulation of the legion; but in so doing, they were not bound to regard the laws of the State, though they could do nothing repugnant to the constitution; and finally, the legion was to be at the disposal of the mayor, in executing the laws and ordinances of the city. Another charter incorporated a great tavern, to be called the Nauvoo House, in which the prophet, Joe Smith, and his heirs, were to have a suite of rooms forever.

"Thus it was proposed to establish for the Mormons a government within a government; a legislature with power to pass ordinances at war with the laws of the State; courts to execute them, with but little dependence upon the constitutional judiciary; and a military force at their own command, to be governed by its own by-laws and ordinances, and subject to no State authority but that of the governor.

"It must be acknowledged that these charters were unheard-of, and anti-republican in many particulars; and capable of infinite abuse by a people disposed to abuse them. The powers conferred were expressed in language at once ambiguous and undefined; as if on purpose to allow of misconstruction. The great law of the separation of the powers of government was wholly disregarded. The mayor was at once the executive power, the judiciary, and part of the legislature. The common council, in passing ordinances, were restrained only by the constitution. One would have thought that these charters stood a poor chance of passing the legislature of a republican people, jealous of their liberties. Nevertheless, they did pass unanimously through both houses."

Under these extraordinary acts, Joe Smith, who had escaped from Missouri, proceeded as mayor, commander of the legion, tavern-keeper, prophet and priest, to play what pranks he pleased.

"On the 8th of December, 1843," says Judge Brown, "an extra ordinance was passed by the city council of Nauvoo, for the extra case of Joseph Smith; by the first section of which it is enacted, 'That it shall be lawful for any officer of the city, with or without process, to arrest any person who shall come to arrest Joseph Smith with process growing out of the Missouri difficulties; and the person so arrested shall be tried by the municipal court upon testimony, and, if found guilty, sentenced to the municipal prison for life.'

"On the 17th of February, 1842, an ordinance was passed, entitled, 'An ordinance concerning marriages,' by the second section of which a person is authorized to marry, with or without license. There was a statute in the State of Illinois requiring a license in all cases, from the clerk of the commissioner's court.

"On the 21st of November, 1843, an ordinance was passed by the city council, making it highly penal, even to one hundred dollars fine, and six months' imprisonment, for any officer to serve a process in the city of Nauvoo, 'unless it be examined by, and receive the approval and signature of the mayor of said city, on the back of said process.'"

Under these proceedings, difficulties soon arose. Some of Smith's followers becoming opposed to him, had established a new weekly paper, "The Nauvoo Expositor." This the prophet, as president of the council, pronounced "a nuisance," and proceeded to abate it, or destroy it, by force. Those interested procured a writ from the proper court for the arrest of the leader, but the writ was not endorsed by the mayor, and could not be executed.

Then arose the question—How long shall the laws of the State be thus set at defiance?—and men through all the country round about vowed to see the warrants executed at the point of the bayonet. Two or three thousand men, some from Missouri and Iowa, being gathered against the city of the saints, Governor Ford came forward as a pacificator. Of what followed a description is given in the words of Judge Brown:

"On Monday, the 24th of June, 1844, Lieutenant-General Joseph Smith ('the prophet') and General Hyrum Smith, his brother, having received assurances from Governor Ford of protection, in company with some of their friends, left Nauvoo for Carthage, in order to surrender themselves up as prisoners, upon a process which had previously been issued, and was then in the hands of a public officer to be executed. About four miles from Carthage, they were met by Captain Dunn and a company of cavalry, on their way to Nau-

voo, with an order from Governor Ford for the State arms in possession of the Nauvoo legion.

"Lieutenant-General Smith having endorsed upon the order his admission of its service, and given his directions for their delivery, returned with Captain Dunn to Nauvoo, for the arms thus ordered by Governor Ford to be surrendered. The arms having been given up in obedience to the aforesaid order, both parties again started for Carthage, whither they arrived a little before twelve o'clock, at night. On the morning of the 25th, an interview took place between the Smiths and Governor Ford. Assurances of protection by the latter were repeated, and the two Smiths were surrendered into the custody of an officer. Bail having afterward been given for their appearance at court, to answer the charge for 'abating the Nauvoo Expositor,' a mittimus was issued on the evening of the 25th, and the two Smiths were committed to jail on a charge of treason, 'until delivered by due course of law.'

"On the morning of the 26th, another interview was had between the governor and the accused, and both parties seemed to be satisfied. Instead of being confined in the cells, the two Smiths, at the instance of their friends, were put into the debtor's room of the prison, and a guard assigned for its, as well as their security. During this time their friends, as usual, had access to them in jail, by permission of the governor. On the same day, (June 26,) they were taken before the magistrate who had committed them to prison, and further proceedings, on the complaint for treason, were postponed until the 29th.

"On the morning of the 27th, Governor Ford discharged a part of the troops under his command, and proceeded with a portion of the residue, a single company only, to Nauvoo; leaving the jail, the prisoners, and some two or three of their friends, guarded by seven or eight men, and a company of about sixty militia, the Carthage Grays, a few yards distant in reserve.

"About six o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th, during the absence of Governor Ford, the guard stationed at the prison were overpowered by an armed mob, in disguise; the jail broken and entered, and the two Smiths, (Joseph and Hyrum,) without any pretense of right or authority whatever, were wantonly slain. Having effected their object, all of which was accomplished in a few minutes, they immediately dispersed."

"The death of Smith by violence, and by his enemies, was opportune for the support of the system he sought to establish. He had arrived at that point in the revolution which he led, when

the least delay would have caused its waves to flow over and engulph him. He lived long enough for his fame, and died when he could just be called a martyr. He had become too violent and impatient, to control, for any length of time, the multitude—he could begin, but not successfully conduct, a revolution.

"The murder of their Prophet exasperated the people of Nauvoo. They were ready, and a vast majority determined, on immediate war to the knife, with all engaged in that horrid tragedy, or whoever might come to abet them. A few more sagacious minds perceived the danger of such a course, and began skillfully to prevent the utter ruin of their hopes, likely to result from open hostility to the State. They harangued them on the stand, and talked with the clubs collected at the corners of the streets. The great drum was beating to arms. It was a fearful struggle, that was going on in the breasts of the prudent. Revenge was deep in every heart, and the bursting movement there was interpreted to be the voice of the Holy Spirit; and it was made audible in the terrible curses poured forth on the Gentile murderers. The 'time to fight' was, by most, supposed to have come. But skillful delays were interposed by the influential; their arms had been just surrendered, and a new organization made, and leaders were to be chosen.

"The day passed off and no companies had started, and wrath was bosomed for the morrow. In the morning after, the congregation was early collected at the temple square or gathering place. The chief apostles promised them the vengeance of heaven upon their enemies, but that they were not ripe enough, for the vials of wrath to empty their torments upon them. Shortly the pestilence, the fire and the sword, would do their work.

"The funeral pageant next absorbed all their attention. The mourning was sore, sad and deep, over the beloved patriarch Hyrum, and the adored prophet Joseph.

"The struggle for the leadership, the Seer succession, which followed, however, soon dissipated the sorrow for the past. Rigdon, as second in rank, claimed promotion; also by former revelations, declared himself assigned to be their prophet. He called a meeting and proclaimed his position as head. James J. Strang contended for the place of Seer, and showed letters, over the deceased prophet's signature, assuring him that he should be the successor in the event of Joseph's death. But the College of the Twelve had other views, and a *vote* on the subject. They declared that definite restrictions, and the last will and testament of Joseph had been delivered to them in secret council. It revoked all former

designations, and devolved the choice upon them. Under the management of their sagacious chief, they elected the Peter of the Apostles, Brigham Young, to the responsible station.

"This enthronement drove Rigdon with a party to Pennsylvania, where in a short time his influence vanished, and the band dispersed. Strang founded a city on the prairies of Wisconsin, and had a numerous colony. Ultimately he removed to Beaver island, in Michigan lake, and assumed the title of King of the Saints, where the small kingdom still exists. These bodies and their leaders were excommunicated by the great majority under the proper Seer, as was also William Smith, another competitor for the throne, and a party in Texas, headed by Lyman White.

"The mobocratic spirit did not expire, when it destroyed the great leader. Threats and demonstrations clearly proved, that their present abode, which had been made lovely by unheard-of exertions, must be abandoned. A venerable patriarch, uncle of the prophet Joseph, in prophetic vision announced that the whole people must retire to the wilderness, to grow into a multitude aloof from the haunts of civilization.

"This matter was taken into consideration by Brigham and high council. The result was, that they would move as fast as possible across Iowa to the Missouri, and into the Indian country in the vicinity of Council Bluffs." *

The movement commenced with small parties in the winter of 1844–45; more parties started early in the spring of 1845. The main body, however, remained behind longer, as they had been commanded to dedicate the new temple which had been commenced before the first emigrants left the city of Beauty. This work having been accomplished with great pomp and splendor, the general exodus took place in the spring of 1846.

About this time a battalion of five hundred and twenty men was recruited among them for the United States service, to take part in the Mexican war.

In their new location, which appears to have been very unhealthy, they laid out and built the town of Kanesville. But they did not tarry here long, for they very soon sent out parties to examine the country still further West, in search of another "everlasting abode." These reported favorably as to the "*Great Salt Lake Valley*," in Utah Territory, and a further migration to that

* The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints, by Lieutenant J. H. Gunnison.

region was determined on. In the spring of 1847, a pioneer party of one hundred and forty-three men proceeded to open the way, while the main body followed gradually, in divisions of tens, fifties and hundreds, until finally all have departed excepting a few scattered families about Missouri river, on the borders of Iowa and Nebraska.

Their present location in the "Far West," is beyond the province of this work. Their history is still unfinished, and appearances render it probable, that the most *important part* is yet to come.

Among the conflagrations which, in 1845, destroyed the hopes of 1845.] thousands, none will be longer remembered in the West than that which devastated the city of Pittsburgh on the 10th of April, in that year, destroying in a few hours the labor of many years—blasting suddenly the cherished hopes of thousands, who but that morning were contented in the possession of comfortable homes, busy workshops, and magazines of manufactures and other products of well directed industry—unnerving the most self-possessed, who saw their own wealth suddenly pass from them while yet endeavoring to save that of their neighbors from the devouring flames. Our work is to perpetuate a slight record of the disaster, as none will be found in the streets of that busy city—the "Burnt District" having long ago been rebuilt with more substantial structures than those they replace.

In an account of the disaster, published by J. Heron Foster, editor of the Daily Dispatch of that city, (from which is compiled this brief notice,) he truly says:

"None witnessed the conflagration but know the difficulty of adequately describing it, and we trust that some charity may be extended to us should we fail in the effort to picture to the imagination of our readers the most destructive conflagration it has ever been our lot to describe."

Commencing about noon, on Ferry street, two squares from the Monongahela front, it rapidly spread eastward, until it reached five squares in breadth by eight or ten—when, being luckily hemmed in by a high hill on the north, and the Monongahela river on the south, its ravages were confined to a narrow space, along which buildings were destroyed for a mile from the point where the carelessness of a washerwoman had kindled it, and until further fuel was denied it. Efforts to stay its ravages by the people were utterly ineffectual—and the firemen only succeeded (with the aid of some men who engaged in blowing up the blazing houses,) in

preventing its spreading around the point of the hill, which would have doomed another fourth of the city to destruction. From the intense heat, water seemed of little use—the loftiest buildings melting before the ocean of flame, which rolled and leaped onward before the gale, throwing out its forked tongues as if in derision of the puny efforts of the suffering multitude, whose household gods were thus rudely torn away.

The handsome stone edifice of the Bank of Pittsburgh, with its metal roof and iron shutters—in the fire-proof qualities of which people reposed so much confidence, that many placed their valuables in its rooms for safety—shared the fate of less pretending buildings, and with its contents, (with the exception of what was in its vaults,) fell before the flames. The Monongahela House, long the most extensive hotel in the North-West—with the Western University, and a bridge over the Monongahela, (nearly one third of a mile in length,) fell easy victims—and the many splendid steamboats at the wharf were with difficulty saved by promptly cutting their cables and dropping down the Ohio to windward of the fire.

With the destruction of every building upon some fifty-six acres, and throwing houseless on the world nearly two thousand citizens with their families, the fire-king seemed satisfied—and the homeless sought shelter with their more fortunate fellow-citizens, comforted with the knowledge that but two human lives had been lost during the conflagration—those of Samuel Kingston, Esq., a member of the Bar, and a woman named Maglone.

As the fire occurred during a busy season, the most animated the city had seen for many years, the losses of personal property, by the destruction of the contents of the large business houses on Water, Market, Wood and First streets, were enormous—while the losses in buildings and machinery were still greater. It would be impossible to arrive at any near estimate of the total, but the losses assessed by the committees appointed to distribute the funds contributed for relief of the sufferers, as sustained by one thousand and eleven who applied for assistance—and these those who lost the least—amounted to eight hundred thousand dollars. Of these sufferers, there were three hundred and fifty whose losses were reported at less than a hundred dollars each, and the same number at less than five hundred. Of the city insurance companies, whose losses were eight hundred thousand dollars, two were unable to meet their liabilities—thus adding to the misfortunes of the sufferers, while the payment of losses by others brought the disaster home to

many a widow and orphan residing beyond the bounds of the district laid in ashes, depriving them of dividends upon which they relied for support. The amount insured in other cities it was impossible to ascertain.

No sooner had the mails, (for this was before the days of telegraphs,) disseminated the news of the disaster throughout the country, than they returned laden with the contributions of the people for the relief of the sufferers, while scarce a steamboat came to the wharf but was partly freighted with provisions for their sustenance, accompanied with expressions of sympathy, and the hope that the energy of her people would prove superior to the blow which temporarily crushed them. While the ruins still smouldered, and men gazed upon the ashes of their wealth, the spontaneous aid of a nation was tendered and received. In giving a statement of the Relief Fund and its distribution, Mr. Foster's pamphlet says:

"It would be manifestly improper to allude in more than general terms to the action of different cities in relation to the matter, and we shall content ourselves, therefore, by giving as full an account of the donations received upon the occasion as it is possible to procure—would that we could record more durably the name of every contributor to that noble fund, which has relieved so large a number whose houses were destroyed, and whose busy workshops were swept away by that flood of fire, which rendered desolate so large a portion of our city. Into it were cast thousands of widows' mites, and the hard earned wages of as many working men—all classes, down even to the child at school, aided us, and a debt of gratitude was incurred which we trust some day to repay.

"But first we may, in justice to our city, mention that the contributions given us from our own citizens, do not include large amounts privately collected and distributed at once, by individuals and charitable societies, and large quantities of produce, clothing, and furniture, furnished by individuals to sufferers, when in greatest need."

These contributions, (including fifty thousand dollars from the State treasury,) amounted to more than two hundred thousand dollars—which was distributed by the councils of the city, in a manner which alleviated much of the prevailing distress.

The limits of this work will not admit of saying more of this calamity. Within three months after it occurred, eight hundred buildings were contracted for in the Burnt District—and long ere this that portion of the Iron City of the Union has recovered from the blow,

and the district then in ashes, which comprised a great portion of "the old city," is now the handsomest and busiest part of that city of workshops.

"In early days, the southern settlements of Illinois presented but 1846.] few specimens of the more refined, enterprising, intellectual and moral people, and society generally there was of a very low class.

"As early as 1816–17, several counties of this section of the territory were overrun with horse-thieves and counterfeiters, who were so numerous and so well banded together as to set the laws at defiance. Many of the sheriffs, justices of the peace, and constables were of their number, and even some of the judges of the county courts; and they had numerous friends to aid and sympathize with them, even among those who were the least suspected. When any of them were arrested, they either escaped from the slight jails of those times, or procured some of their gang to be on the jury; and they never lacked witnesses to prove themselves innocent.

"The people, in many instances, in self-defense, formed themselves into revolutionary tribunals, under the name of 'Regulators;' and the governor and judges of the territory, seeing the impossibility of executing the laws in the ordinary way, against an organized body of banditti, who set all laws at defiance, winked at and encouraged the proceedings of this *citizen* organization.

"The regulators in number generally constituted about a captain's company, to which they gave a military organization, by the election of officers. The company generally operated at night. When assembled for duty, they marched, armed and equipped as if for war, to the residence or lurking-place of a rogue, arrested, tried, and punished him by severe whipping and banishment. In this mode most of the rogues were expelled from the country; and it was the opinion of the best men at the time, that in the then divided and distracted state of society, and the imperfect civilization, such proceedings were not only justifiable, but absolutely necessary for the enforcement of justice.

"There yet remained, however, for many years afterward, a noted gang of rogues in Pope and Massac, and other counties bordering on the Ohio river. This gang built a fort in Pope county, and set the government at open defiance. In the year 1831, the honest portion of the people in that region assembled under arms, in great numbers, and attacked the fort with small arms and one

piece of artillery. It was taken by storm, with the loss of one of the regulators, and three of the rogues, killed in the assault. The residue of the latter were taken prisoners, tried for their crimes, but probably never convicted."*

Nor does it appear that they left the country, for some years later they were still committing their depredations in the same neighborhood. The writer above quoted says, that

"In the summer of 1846, a number of these desperadoes attacked the house of an aged citizen of Pope county, and robbed him of a large amount of money in gold. In the act of committing the robbery, one of them left behind a knife, made by a blacksmith in the neighborhood, by means of which he was identified. This one being arrested and subjected to torture by the neighboring people, confessed his crime, and gave the names of his associates. These again being arrested, to the number of a dozen, and some of them being tortured, disclosed the names of a long list of confederates in crime, scattered through several counties. The better portion of the people, as in times past, now associated themselves into a band of regulators, and proceeded to order all suspected persons to leave the country."

But however honest and worthy might have been the intention of those who first formed this body of "Regulators," their proceedings, as is the case with all anarchical confederations, soon became lawless, cruel, and defiant of all government. The system of torture carried on by them, and inflicted on all suspected persons, had the effect of causing the list of persons accused to become greater every day. The modes of torture used were various. Some of the victims were dipped into the Ohio river, and held under water until they divulged the names of their supposed accomplices. Others had their thumbs pinched with bullet moulds. "Others had ropes tied around their bodies, over their arms, and a stick twisted into the ropes until their ribs and sides were crushed in by force of the pressure."

Some persons having entered complaints against some of the regulators for these acts of violence, warrants of arrest were issued, and some of the offenders arrested by the sheriff. They were, however, soon after rescued by their friends, and the sheriff, the county clerk, and the magistrate who had issued the warrants, ordered to leave the country under penalty of severe corporeal

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* Ford's Illinois.

punishment. They even, it seems, by torture and bribery, induced some of the notorious rogues to accuse these men of being accomplices, as a basis for the order.

In this condition of things, application was made in August, 1846, to the governor for a militia force to sustain the constituted authority at Massac. There was, however, nothing effectively done to quell the disturbance, and the regulators came down from Pope, and over from Kentucky, and drove out the sheriff, the county clerk, the representative elect to the legislature, and many others.

Not long after these events, indictments were found against many of the party, which caused the tide of wrath to turn against the grand jury who had been fearless enough to find these, and the witnesses on whose oaths they were based. All these were now ordered to leave the county.

Meanwhile, warrants having been issued upon the indictments, the sheriff summoned a posse, in order to execute them. But such was the terror now existing in the minds of the community, that all the force he could raise, was some sixty or seventy men, who had been ordered by the regulators to leave the country, many of whom were notorious rogues.

The rioters marched down to Metropolis City, the county seat of Massac, in much greater force, and a parley ensued, the result of which was that the jail was delivered over to the regulators, who at once liberated their friends. Several of the sheriff's posse were murdered, and he himself, with his most active friends, driven from the county.

An attempt to put down the regulators, which was subsequently made under the order of the governor, proved equally ineffectual, and they continued in power for the remainder of the year, without any force to check their career. During the winter of 1846–47, the legislature passed a law "authorizing the governor, when he was satisfied that a crime had been committed by twenty persons or more, to issue his proclamation; and then the judge of the *circuit* was authorized to hold a district court in a large district, embracing several counties."

The object of this law evidently was, to enable the State to change the venue in such cases as were in contemplation, and take them out of the proper county, it being very certain that no conviction of the regulators could take place *at home*. The constitutionality of this law has been doubted, but the question appears never to have been tested, for it does not seem that there were any prosecutions under it. Perhaps it has, nevertheless, had the effect

of deterring the rioters, or else they became tired of their work, for the excitement gradually died away and the confederation ceased.*

The first printed suggestion of the practicability of the Illinois and 1848.] Michigan canal, appeared in Niles' Register, for August, 1814, where is found a paragraph from a series of editorial articles, on the great importance, in a national point of view, of the States and Territories of this now great central valley.

"By the Illinois river, it is probable that *Buffalo*, in New York, may be united with *New Orleans*, by inland navigation, through Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan, and down that river to the Mississippi. What a route! How stupendous the idea! How dwindles the importance of the artificial canals of *Europe*, compared with *this* water communication! If it should ever take place (and it is said the opening may be easily made,) the territory [of Illinois] will become the seat of an immense commerce, and a market for the commodities of all regions."

As has been noticed, the first Governor of Illinois, after it had become a sovereign State, at the session of the General Assembly, in 1818, brought this subject before that body in his inaugural message.

He suggested an early application to Congress for a certain per centage from the sales of the public lands, to be appropriated to that object. In his valedictory message, in December, 1822, he again refers to this subject and to his first address, and says:

"It is believed that the public sentiment has been ascertained in relation to the subject, and that our fellow-citizens are prepared to sustain their representatives in the adoption of measures subservient to its commencement."

His successor, in his inaugural address, of December, 1822, devotes four pages to this subject, and refers to an act of the preceding Congress, which "gave permission to the State to cut a canal through the public lands, connecting the Illinois river with Lake Michigan, and granting to it the breadth of the canal, and ninety feet on each side."

With this was coupled the onerous condition "that the State should permit all articles belonging to the United States, or to any person in their employ, to pass toll free for ever." The Governor, who was a zealous and liberal advocate for an economical and

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*The above account is chiefly taken from "Ford's Illinois."

judicious system of Internal Improvements, proposed to create a fund from the revenues received for taxes on the military bounty lands; from fines and forfeitures; and from such other sources, as the legislature, in its wisdom, might think proper to set apart for that purpose.

He also urged the importance of an opening through Indiana and Ohio, with Lake Erie, by improving the navigation of the Wabash and Maumee rivers, and connecting them by a canal, to which objects he proposed the Illinois Legislature should invite the special attention of those States, and co-operate so far as jurisdiction extended. He further proposed the examination and surveys of the rivers and the canal route in Illinois; and to memorialize Congress for a liberal donation of land, in opening the projected lines of communication.

An act for the improvement of the internal navigation of the State, and a memorial to Congress on the subject, were passed by the legislature during the session.

This act, which was approved February 14th, 1823, provided for a Board of four Commissioners, whose duties were to devise and adopt measures to open a communication, by canal and locks, between the navigable waters of the Illinois river and Lake Michigan; to cause the route to be explored, surveys and levels to be taken, maps and field books to be constructed, and estimates of the costs to be made; and to invite the attention of the Governors of the States of Indiana and Ohio, and through them the legislatures of those States, to the importance of a canal communication between the Wabash and Maumee rivers.

At that time Sangamon river, and Fulton county, were the boundaries of settlements. A military and trading post existed at Chicago; a dozen families, chiefly French, were at Peoria. The northern half of Illinois was a continuous wilderness; or, as the universal impression was, an interminable prairie, and uninhabitable for an age. Morgan county, then including Scott and Cass counties, had about seventy-five families; and Springfield was a frontier village, of a dozen log cabins.

A portion of the commissioners, with a special engineer, made an exploratory tour in the autumn of 1823. In the autumn of 1824, another engineer was employed, with the necessary men to assist in executing the levels, and making the surveys complete. The party was accompanied by one commissioner. Two companies were organized, and five different routes examined, and the expense estimated on each. The locks and excavations were calculated on the supposition that the construction was on the same

scale of the grand canal of New York, then in process of making. The probable cost of each route, was reported by the engineers; the highest being seven hundred and sixteen thousand one hundred and ten dollars; the lowest, six hundred and thirty-nine thousand nine hundred and forty-six dollars.

At the next session of the legislature, an act was passed (January 17, 1825,) to "incorporate the Illinois and Michigan Canal Company." The capital stock was one million of dollars, in ten thousand shares of one hundred dollars each.*

The stock not being taken, at a subsequent session the legislature repealed the charter. During these movements within the State, the late Daniel P. Cook, as the representative in Congress, and the senators of Illinois, were unceasing in their efforts to obtain lands from the national government, to construct this work, which all regarded as of pre-eminent national advantage.

As the result of these efforts, on the 2d of March, 1827, Congress granted to the State of Illinois, in aid of this work, each alternate section of land, five miles in width, on each side of the projected canal.

The embarrassments of the State in finance, growing out of the ruinous policy of the State Bank, noticed in the preceding section, prevented anything being done until January, 1829, when the legislature passed an act to organize a Board of Commissioners, with power to employ agents, engineers, surveyors, draftsmen, and other persons, to explore, examine, and determine the route of the canal. They were authorized to lay off town sites, and sell lots and apply the funds.

They laid off Chicago, near the lake, and Ottawa, at the junction of Fox river; and the Illinois surveys and estimates were again made, but the project of obtaining a full supply of water on the surface level, was doubtful, and the rock approached so near the surface on the summit level between the Chicago and Des Plaines, as to increase the estimates of cost, and cast doubt on the project.

The subsequent legislature authorized a re-examination to ascertain the cost of a railway, and whether a supply of water could be obtained from the Calumet for a feeder.

The estimated cost for a railway, with a single track, for ninety-six miles, was about one million fifty thousand dollars.

At a special session of the legislature, in 1835–36, an act was passed authorizing a loan of half a million of dollars for the con-

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* Report of the Canal Commissioners, Vandalia, 1825.

struction of the canal, and the Board of Commissioners was reorganized, and on the 4th of July, 1836, the first ground was broken.

At the regular session of 1836–37, the "Internal Improvement" system became the absorbing topic, the canal was brought under the same influence; loans, to a vast extent, were created for both objects; and the most extravagant expectations were raised, but never realized.

The sole reliance of the State was on loans, without any finances of its own, or any means to pay annual interest and liquidate the principal. As a financial measure, the canal loans were distinguished from the internal improvement and other loans, but all failed with the credit of the State, before 1842.

Contracts were made, and the work on the scale projected made progress, until over five millions of dollars had been expended, and the work remained unfinished. The credit of the State having sunk so, that no further loans could be obtained, the contractors were obliged to abandon their contracts, with heavy claims against the State; and in 1843, a law was passed to liquidate and settle the damages, at a sum not exceeding two hundred and thirty thousand dollars. The Board of Commissioners was dissolved, and the works remained in the same state for two years.

The session of 1843–44, adopted a plan to complete the canal, by making the "shallow cut," or relying on the streams for water, without excavating six feet below the lake level, as had been projected and partially worked, and drawing supplies from that source. About sixteen hundred thousand dollars would complete the work on this plan.

The resources were about two hundred and thirty thousand acres of land; several hundred city and village lots; the water power along the whole line; a balance due the canal fund for lands and lots sold, and the canal tolls. All these resources were considered ample to complete the work, pay interest on the loans, and eventually redeem the stock, provided additional funds could be obtained. A proposition was made and accepted by the stockholders, a Board of Joint Trustees was appointed, and one million six hundred thousand dollars advanced. The whole work was completed in 1848; regular business was commenced, and has increased in a larger ratio than any of the estimates.

Of the monster "Internal Improvement" system, which brought one of the heaviest calamities on the State, but from which its recuperative energies are slowly recovering, this work affords no

space for particulars. From 1835 to 1840, the popular mind through the United States, passed through a species of mania. Men, who were shrewd, clear-headed, and safe calculators, became incapable of reasoning correctly in financial matters. The Legislature of Illinois, as did other legislative bodies, labored and acted under a singular hallucination.

A minority resisted; a prominent leader of which, the late General Hardin, was among the number that opposed the "splendid project." The law passed; ten millions of dollars were to be loaned and applied to various lines of railroads, and river improvements, and appropriations made for the same. The railroads extended like checker-work over the State; every one of which was planned, and estimates made by the committee on the copy of a sectional map of the State, just published, and which had reached the seat of government.

The whole length of the railroads to be made, was one thousand three hundred and forty-one miles. Extravagant as was this scheme, loans were negotiated to an amount exceeding five millions of dollars, and the money thrown away. The whole system went down about 1841, increasing the demands against the State, (including accumulations of interest due,) to an amount exceeding fifteen millions of dollars. Great as this burden may appear to others, Illinois has resources, and has made provision to liquidate this heavy debt.

The canal stock includes a moiety of this debt, and its resources and income will absorb that portion. The State has other resources. But in making a new constitution in 1847, which was adopted by a vote of the people, in March, 1848, a section providing a special tax of two mills on the dollar of the civil list, was adopted by a separate vote of the people, by more than ten thousand majority. This income is applied to the extinguishment of the principal of this debt; and it is probably the first instance in which the people, by a direct vote, have solemnly declared they will tax themselves to pay an old debt.

A Convention was held at Madison, October 5th, 1846, for the purpose of drafting a State Constitution, which was adopted in Convention, December 16th, 1846, but rejected by the people at the election held on the first Tuesday in April, 1847. A second Convention was held December 16th, 1847, and a Constitution agreed to February 1st, 1848, which was approved of by the electors at the election held April, 1848, and Wisconsin was admitted

into the Union, on an equal footing with the other States, on the 29th day of May, 1848.

Among the most important events that occurred in this year, were
1849.] two of a melancholy character, namely, the cholera, which raged with terrible violence throughout the West, and most particularly at St. Louis; and the great fire that in this year destroyed a large portion of the latter city.

Cases of the cholera appeared on boats navigating the lower Mississippi, during the last months of 1848; and an unusual predisposition to diarrhœas, and affections of the bowels, was manifested in St. Louis at the same time. Two cases of cholera, and one death, occurred the first week in January, 1849. That month there were thirty-eight deaths altogether from cholera, thirty in March, and eighteen in April.

In the first week in May, there was a fearful increase in the progress of the disease, and of deaths. Deaths from all diseases, per week, from one hundred and eighteen to one hundred and ninety-three. Total deaths in May, seven hundred and eighty-six; from cholera, five hundred and seventeen. For two weeks following the great fire, there was a perceptible decrease in the mortality and number of cases.

During the first week in June there were one hundred and forty-four deaths, seventy-four from cholera; second week, two hundred and eighty-three deaths, one hundred and thirty-nine from cholera; third week, five hundred and twenty-two deaths, four hundred and twenty-six from cholera; fourth week, seven hundred and ninety-eight deaths, six hundred and thirty-six from cholera.

From June 26th to July 2d, nine hundred and fifty-one deaths, seven hundred and thirty-nine from cholera; from July 3d to 9th, eight hundred and fifty-one deaths, six hundred and fifty-four from cholera; from July 10th to 16th, eight hundred and eighty-eight deaths, six hundred and sixty-nine from cholera; from July 17th to the 23d, four hundred and forty deaths, two hundred and sixty-nine from cholera. Last week in July, two hundred and thirty-one deaths, one hundred and thirty-one from cholera.

All these estimates, however, which are taken from the report of the health officer, are known to be too low. During the entire year of 1849, the mortality was about ten thousand, of which there were probably six thousand deaths from cholera.

The scourge disappeared, except occasional cases, after the 10th of August. From the 1st of November, 1849, to the 1st of April, 1850, unusual health prevailed for a city population.

The great fire broke out on the steamboat White Cloud, near the foot of Cherry street, at the hour of ten o'clock at night, on the 17th of May, 1849. The wind was from a north-eastern direction, and blew with great force all the night. In a short time twenty-three steamboats were on fire, and consumed; some with valuable cargoes on board.

The fire first caught the stores at the foot of Locust street; then, by another burning boat at the foot of Elm street, and simultaneously two fires were sweeping over several squares, driven by the wind with resistless fury. Massive buildings of brick or stone, three and four stories in height, offered no resistance. The fires from the buildings and the boats cut off all communication with the river, and by two o'clock in the morning, on the 18th, the city reservoir was exhausted.

Up to this time, the firemen did all that men and machinery could do, to stop the devouring element. Buildings were blown up, and several lives were lost; but about eight o'clock, A. M., after ten hours of devastation, its fury was spent. About four hundred buildings were burnt; many of them large wholesale stores. The steamboats, their cargoes, and produce on the landing, were valued at five hundred and eighteen thousand five hundred dollars; buildings, six hundred and two thousand seven hundred and forty-eight dollars; merchandise, six hundred and fifty-four thousand nine hundred and fifty dollars. Add to furniture, provisions, clothing, etc., and the loss was estimated at two millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. About two-thirds the value were covered by insurance.

The cholera during the summer, was more fatal than the fire to the business of the city.

For the first few months after the conflagration, "the burnt district" presented a doleful picture; but two years had not elapsed before the largest portion was covered with buildings of a superior character. Streets were widened, and naked lots rated at higher value than they had been previously, with their houses or stores upon them; and at this time it is generally believed that the conflagration benefited the city.

Railroad enterprises have of late years become so numerous that 1851.] it were useless to attempt to give an account, or even make mention of all that have been built—yet there is one, which was started in this year, which is of such uncommon magnitude, that it would seem worthy of being distinctively mentioned. This is the *Illinois Central Railroad*, which was incorporated by the

Legislature of that State, in the session of 1851, and was in its charter gifted with very extensive franchises and powers.

The road is remarkable for its unusual length; commencing at Cairo, at the juncture of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and extending through the centre of the State, to the North-West corner of the same, opposite Dubuque, it runs over a distance of seven hundred miles, (including Chicago branch,) traversing in its course a greater extent of fertile land, that is susceptible of the highest degree of cultivation, than probably any other railroad in the world.

In 1851, Erie, Pennsylvania, was incorporated as a city. As this place is, as it were, the gate of Western History, a short sketch of its origin will not be inappropriate in this place.

Early in the year 1753, while the entire North-West was still a vast, almost untrodden wilderness, and when the waters of the northern lakes had as yet been undisturbed, excepting only by the elements, and the light ripple caused by the Indian's paddle, or occasionally the boat oar of some lonely *voyageur*, or of some one of the Jesuits, who even then were living on the Canadian side below—at that time the French were the first among the whites, to land upon those lake-washed shores, and on the site of the present city of Erie, they erected a fort, to which they gave the name of "*Fort Presque Isle.*" *

This was the first of a series of military posts which they established, for the purpose of connecting their possessions on the St. Lawrence with "the beautiful river," (*La belle Riviere*) the Ohio, and thence with their posts on the Mississippi. In 1760, this fort was surrendered to the British; but three years later its weak garrison was overcome and massacred by the Indians, under the guidance of Pontiac,† and thenceforth again at *Presque Isle* the lake-wave sported along the shores of a wilderness, and the Indian's whoop was once more echoed back by solitary forests.

In the year 1789, the Indian title to that portion of Erie county called "the Triangle," was at last extinguished, and in 1792, the tract was purchased from the United States. In 1796, the place became interesting by the death and burial there of General Wayne.‡

The town was first permanently settled and laid out in 1795, and

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* See ante, page 103, in Coffen's narrative.

† See ante, page 168.

‡ Erie Directory, published 1853.

five years later it became the seat of justice for Erie county, though it was the year 1803 before the first court was held there. In 1805, it was incorporated as a borough, and in 1813, it became famous in the annals of the country, as the point where Perry built his fleet,* and from which he went forth upon that victorious expedition, the results of which he himself commemorated in his celebrated laconic message: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours."

The situation of Erie is exceedingly picturesque, and as beautiful as that of any city in the West. The population is between eight and ten thousand.

This year, like the year 1811, was throughout one full of disasters 1854.] and gloomy incidents, of which the heaviest portion fell upon the West.

The first and chief cause of distress was the exceeding heat and drought, and the consequent scarcity of provisions. In the early spring the season opened with sufficient promise, but as the summer advanced, there was a total absence of all rain; the ground became parched; the creeks and small water courses dried up, and many of the rivers became lower than they had been known within the memory of the oldest inhabitants. At the same time the heat was excessive. Everything was suffering for want of water; the grain became shriveled up and dried, and failed to produce crops; vegetables would not come to perfection, or became unhealthy, for the want of proper or ample nourishment to develop them; and even the cattle, in many sections of country, had to be sacrificed, on account of the scarcity of pasture and water, and the consequent impossibility of keeping them. Many farmers were obliged to drive the few cattle that they retained, several miles from home, to the rivers to get water. It was a season of unexampled drought.

In consequence, the prices of flour, produce and other necessaries became very far higher than had ever been known in the West, and the suffering among the poor was terrible.

Very much of the distress produced by the failure of crops this year, might no doubt have been saved, if the American people were more disposed to guard their agricultural interests. But it is greatly to be deplored that, both East and West, there is prevalent in our country a disposition to neglect that noblest, happiest

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* See ante, page 901.

and most useful of all pursuits—*agriculture*, and to throng the cities with a superabundant population, while millions of acres are lying idle in the "Great West," offering to man wealth, happiness and abundance of all that he may need. For this reason it is that each year's consumption nearly exhausts the granaries of the country. One season of dearth and scarcity brings us to the verge of famine, while in the West alone, there are millions of acres of rich land uncultivated, which, if only partially tilled, would produce a superabundance each year for the whole population, if men would only chose to remain "tillers of the soil," instead of becoming "hangers on" in cities. Even of the foreign emigrants, many, who at home were agriculturists, are encouraged to remain in cities, and take up occupations that are far less profitable.

The distress caused directly by the scarcity of provisions, was in mid-summer increased by sickness, which no doubt arose indirectly from the same cause, through the unhealthiness of provisions. Even the rivers, being drained to their dregs, failed to furnish their usual healthy draughts. During the latter part of the summer, the cholera, which seems of late years to have lost much of its epidemic character in the West, and seems to be becoming a regular visitant among men, made its appearance in many cities, and raged with unusual virulence. In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, which had never before been visited by that scourge, beyond the appearance of a few isolated cases, about a thousand persons died in the course of five weeks. Bowel complaints and mild forms of cholera morbus were so prevalent every where, that comparatively few escaped them. In the southern portion of the West, the yellow fever raged. Altogether, many families were broken up and many dear hopes shattered by the hand of the "fell destroyer."

It is pleasing to reflect, that amid the distress caused by all these adverse circumstances, gentle charity did not fail in her kind ministrations to the wants of the needy. In some cities of the West, in the fall and winter, there were "Howard Associations" or charitable societies formed, for the relief of the distressed, and "soup-houses" were established, at which, through contributions of the wealthy, the poor were furnished with food and bread, and thus, no doubt, much suffering was alleviated, and many probably saved from starvation.

There were also other sad accidents, which did their share toward increasing the general gloom. There were throughout the country in this year, one hundred and ninety-three railroad accidents, killing one hundred and eighty-six persons, and wounding

five hundred and eighty-nine; there were forty-eight steamboat accidents, in which five hundred and eighty-seven persons were killed and two hundred and twenty-five wounded; being an increase of two hundred and sixty-eight killed, over the previous year. There were also one hundred and seventy-one lives lost, by means of eighty-three fires, and the total loss of property by fire was twenty-five millions of dollars. Of all these accidents and losses, and particularly of the two first named, *the West* bore a very large proportion. Crime, too, this year footed up a fearful catalogue. There were six hundred and eighty-two murders committed; and eighty-four executions took place throughout the Union.

On the year of sadness and want just described, followed one of
1855.] an equal degree of joy and plenty. The weather during the spring and summer was, mostly throughout the West, as favorable as could be desired, and with the opening harvest, grief at past misfortunes soon lost the keenness of its edge, and the smiles of teeming fields were reflected back in the faces of their cultivators. The lands that for one season had produced so little or nothing, had the more strength now for the new crops, and all was teeming with plenty. There was an excellent yield of grain, pasture was good, vegetables abundant, and the fruit-trees, in many parts, literally broke down beneath the load of their treasures. Such a season of plenty as the year 1855, had not been known since 1810.

In addition to this, the Western rivers continued in good navigable condition during the whole summer, thus affording means for bringing all this produce to market. Trade was active, and the manufactories were in full and successful operation. The season throughout was so full of happiness, as to dispel all the gloom that had been caused by the misfortunes of the previous year.

The present year has thus far been remarkable only for the almost
1856.] unprecedented severity of its winter. During the first three months, the cold was intense and unremitting, and although there was a great deal of snow on the ground, that no doubt acted beneficially, yet, fruit of every description throughout the West, has been so severely injured by the cold, that the yield is unusually limited, and some species have been almost entirely destroyed.

The general health has up to the present time (early autumn)

been uncommonly good. There has as yet been no epidemic in any part of the West, and altogether less sickness than is usual for the season.

Very little mention has been made in these annals, of Minnesota, which became a territory in 1849, with St. Paul for its capital, and since that time its changes have been so rapid and numerous, that none of its affairs have as yet become matured for history. The same is true in regard to Iowa, Wisconsin, Kansas, and Nebraska. As the face of the country in these new regions is subject to daily changes, the wild forests and Indians' hunting grounds giving way, and becoming the busy haunts of civilization, so the affairs of men, too, are still in a state of transition, and all unsettled. Every thing is incomplete, and no reliable data can be obtained. The history of these regions is still slumbering in the lap of the future.

It was equally impossible in a work professing impartially to give *reliable* information, to say anything in regard to the great questions, some of which are intimately connected with the interests of Kansas territory, that are now agitating the Union. These are as yet too much questions of *party* politics, and from their newness, too little fraught with *abiding* results, to be properly introduced in a work of general *historical* annals. Where the well known heat of party strife and party interest affords so much inducement for exaggeration and even misrepresentation, it would be difficult to distinguish the reliable information from the one-sided accounts given by interested parties. For this reason it has been deemed most prudent to abide the time, and leave the consideration of these important matters for a future period, when they shall have become more mature.

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